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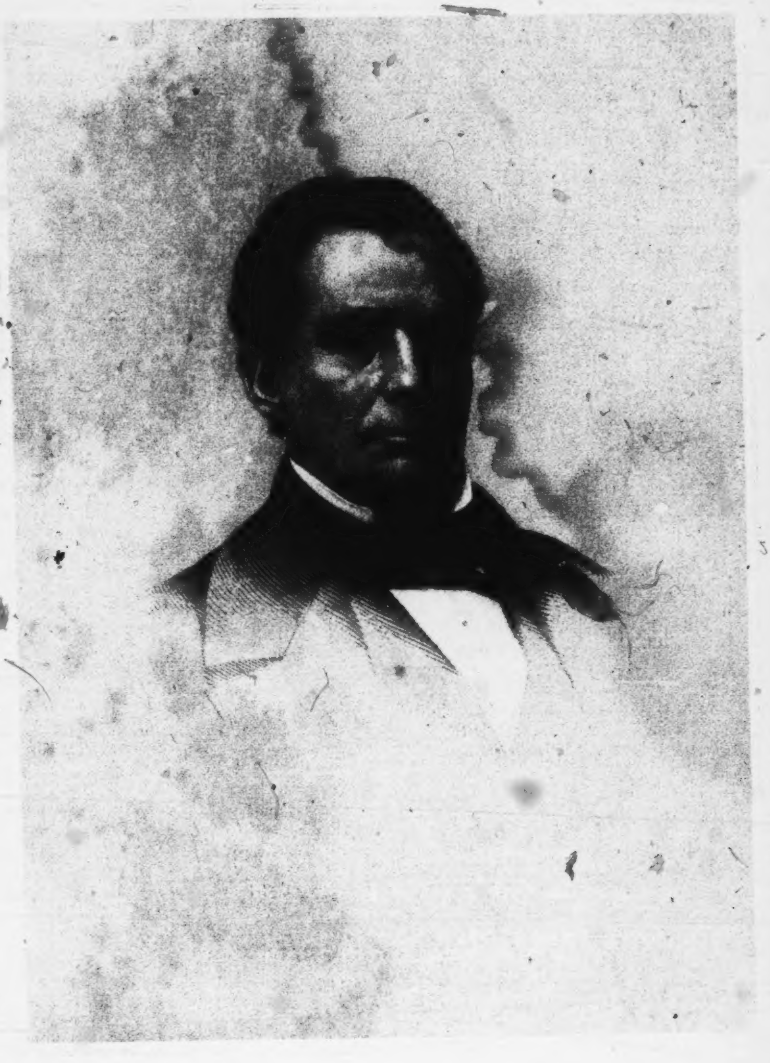

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MEMORANDA

AND

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

REPUBLIC OF TEXAS,

ITS

HISTORY AND ANNEXATION.

INCLUDING A BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
THE AUTHOR.

By ANSON JONES,
LATE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
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PRIVATE MEMOIRS

[Original, a Roll of Foolscap of 53 pages.]

COMMENCED BY ANSON JONES, JUNE 28TH, 1849, FOR THE USE OF HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

To S. OR S. OR E. [OR A.]

[1798.]

BARRINGTON, TEXAS, *June* 28th, 1849.

ANSON JONES, the son of Solomon and Sarah Jones, was born at the little settlement or neighborhood of Seekonk, [or Seekonkville,] in the township of Great Barrington, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on the 20th day of January, A. D. 1798, [another record says 1799.]

My father was a native of Weathersfield in the State of Connecticut, but was brought up at Worcester, Mass. My mother, whose maiden name was Strong, of East Windsor in the same State (Conn.) My paternal grandfather was Joel Jones, of Weathersfield, Conn., whose wife's maiden name was Hannah Brewer. They both died when my father was a child, and he was brought up by one of his maternal uncles, Mr. Brewer, of Worcester, Mass. [My maternal grandfather was Timothy Strong, of East Windsor, Conn., whose wife's maiden name was Sarah Stricklin. The family still live in the old paternal mansion, which descended, first, to my maternal uncle, David Strong, and then to my cousin, David Strong, who, dying in youth, the property now belongs to the heirs-at-law.] I am the youngest but one of ten children, (seven daughters and three sons,) of whom four of the daughters and myself survive at the time of commencing these memoirs. My mother died at Lenox, in Berkshire county, in 1816; my father, at the same place, in 1822, July 23d, aged 67. [Grandfather Jones' children were Phineas, Joel, Solomon, Isaac, William, and Lucy, (late Mrs. Hatch, now Mrs. Northrup, of Lenox, Mass.) Father's children were Sarah, Sophia, Mary, Nancy, Betsey, (now Mrs. Bailey,) Clarissa, William, Ira, Anson, and Almira, (now Mrs. Blatchford,) and four others who died in extreme infancy; I am the thirteenth.] Not long after my birth my father removed from Seekonk to the village of Great Barrington, just previous to which one of my sisters, named Nancy, then about five years of age, was drowned by falling from a bridge near my father's house into a mill stream, near which he resided. She was a favorite child, and I can well recollect how much pain my parents suffered in after life from the recollections of this sad event.

My own earliest recollections are of the village of Great Barrington. Here my father resided until about the year 1805, when he removed to a country part of the township of Great Barrington, known as "Root Street," to a small farm which he rented. Here, when quite small, I attended school kept by my sister, Sarah Jones. The school-house was almost a mile from my father's house, and on the line between Sheffield and Great Barrington townships. Here I obtained the rudiments of my education. [Grandfather T. Strong's children were by the first wife, Eli, Samuel, Sarah, and David: by the second wife, Martin, Levi, Timothy, and Deborah, (or Abi,) beside two who died in infancy.] A little later, I went to school about two miles and a half, "*Egremont Plains*," walking the distance summer and winter, but do not now recollect the names of any of my teachers. Here I obtained a fair English education. At a little later period, and when about ten or eleven years of age, I went to school to the Rev. Mr. Griswold, the rector of the Episcopal Church in Great Barrington, and brother of Bishop Griswold, and completed my English studies. In 1812, my father removed to the township of West Stockbridge, in Berkshire county, to a small farm which he rented there. [My father was five years in the service of the United States during the Revolutionary War, the whole of which service was in the army. He volunteered in 1775, and was engaged that year in the defence of Bunker's Hill. He was also at Saratoga when Burgoyne surrendered. He again volunteered in the "Silver Greys" in 1812–'13. All my paternal uncles also served in the first war with England, and two of them were captured by the enemy, and suffered all the horrors inflicted upon prisoners on board the "Jersey prison-ship," but survived their sufferings, and were exchanged. My uncle Phineas lost a leg during the war.] Here he resided one year, and then removed to the village of Lenox, the county-seat of the same county, (1812.) Here I commenced the study of the Languages and the higher branches of the Mathematics at the "Lenox Academy," kept by Mr. Glezen, (1813.) [This year I wished to join the army, and volunteered to go to the defence of Boston, but my father prevented my going. I studied with my book on the bench before me, while at work making harness, and obtained much of my education at "night-schools," after working hard all day.] My father being very poor, I was obliged to work and assist him in his business, and attend to my studies as I could find leisure and opportunity. During his residence in Lenox he removed two or three times to different places, either in the village or neighborhood, and finally to the eastern part of the township, about two and a half miles from the village, where, in 1816, my mother died. My two elder brothers, William and Ira, were now of age, and settled in business, the former at Utica in the State of New York, and the latter at Little York (now Toronto) in Upper Canada. My eldest sister, Sarah, was dead, and my three other sisters, Sophia, Mary, and Betsey, were living at Litchfield, Conn., and my youngest sister (Almira) was at home. I had now arrived at an age when it became necessary for me to choose my occupation for life. I was fond of reading and study, and employed every means in my power in purchasing books, and all the time which could possibly be spared in reading them, or in the prosecution of my academic studies. My constitution was very feeble, and my general health and strength delicate. My brothers were in favor of my learning a trade; my father and elder sisters wished me to acquire a profession, and had long assigned me that of medicine. Without any means, either in possession or expectancy, I shrunk from the idea of making the effort to obtain a profession, and feared I should not succeed in it afterwards—which last thought the most troubled me. About this time my father took me to a printing office at Pittsfield, the publishing office of the "Sun," I believe, partly with a view to see how I would like the business of a printer, and partly to ascertain whether he could, in the event of my being pleased, obtain an apprenticeship for me with the proprietor. It was the first time I had ever been in a printing office. The business pleased me. I thought it was better adapted to my weak habit of body than many other mechanical branches with which I had some acquaintance; and also further, that it would give me a constant opportunity to follow the bent of my inclination for reading and study. However, notwithstanding I expressed my preference for this business, my father failed for some reason to make any arrangement for the purpose, and it was concluded I should study medicine. At this time I had a good English education and a tolerable acquaintance with Latin and Greek, and knew a little of Mathematics. Latin I acquired with difficulty; Greek with great facility, and Mathematics I was very fond of. The death of my mother, and my father's extreme poverty, left me without a home, and without a dollar. Under such circumstances the attempt to acquire a profession necessarily involved the probability of years of struggling and dependence, of all other situations short of vicious ones, the most wretched and unhappy. But I had a goodly share of ambition, and yielding therefore the more readily to the cherished wishes of my father, I was persuaded to decide in favor of the profession chosen by him, and it was concluded accordingly. This conclusion entailed years of unhappiness upon me. I had no knowledge of the world—was shy and timid to a fault—had no wealthy or efficient friends—my brothers, from whom alone I had a right to expect counsel or assistance, were opposed to the occupation I had determined upon, and consequently withheld either. It is true they were not able to do much for me pecuniarily, but their countenance, encouragement, and advice would have benefited me greatly. These, however, I could not have. Perhaps my choice in the end was well; but if it were to make again, I certainly should take a different course. Nor would I ever advise a youth, situated as I was, to make the choice I did, for, although some do succeed under such circumstances, a much greater number despair and fail. And success in this case even, I should say, by my experience, is too dearly purchased.

In 1817 I took leave of my father, and never saw him but twice afterward. I went to Litchfield, where my sisters were, and made an arrangement to read medicine with Dr. Daniel Sheldon of that town, and entered his office accordingly. He put me into Boerhaave and Van Swieten, and I made no progress. A year was thus lost. Finding myself incurring debts more than was pleasant, I went to Goshen in the same county, and engaged in teaching a country school, occupying my intervals of leisure in reading such medical or other books as I could *borrow*, for I was not able to *buy* any. Concluding my engagements in Goshen I determined to go to Utica, N. Y., where my eldest brother resided, which I did in 1818. He was engaged in mercantile business on a small capital, and I entered his store in the capacity of a clerk, at the same time I entered myself as a student in the office of Dr. Amos G. Hull of that town, and read whenever my other duties permitted. The only compensation I received for my services in the store was my board. I was obliged still to go in debt, and at the termination of one year I again found it necessary to resort to teaching. My brother's business in the mean time went badly, and on my resuming my studies with Dr. Hull, after my school term had expired, I went to board with a man by the name of Hinman, in Utica, who professed some friendship for me. In 1820 I completed my term of studies, and was licensed to practice, (by Oneida Medical Society.) Soon afterward I went to Bainbridge, in Chenango county, and failing of success in my profession at this place, in consequence of the ground being entirely occupied by an old and experienced physician, I was persuaded, after a trial of little more than one year, and most unfortunately for me, as it afterward proved, to purchase a stock of drugs and medicine on account, and open a store in Norwich. I went to the city of New York with flattering letters from Dr. Hull and others, and, without difficulty, purchased the necessary stock of medicines. I rented a store in Norwich and commenced business. So soon as I got fairly under way my *friend* (?) Hinman sued and obtained judgment against me for my board, (at Utica,) and immediately took out an execution for debt and costs, amounting in all to some hundreds of dollars, I do not know how many. It was sufficient, however, to ruin me, with other debts which were now pressed for, and which had been incurred by me in procuring my academical as well as professional education. My stock of goods was seized by the sheriff, and to prevent a still greater sacrifice, by having them sold at public outcry, I disposed of them at much less than cost, to Mr. De Zeng, and realized money enough to satisfy the execution in favor of J. E. Hinman; and immediately notified my creditors in New York of my situation, promising to pay every cent as soon as I might be able. Some mischievous persons, however, taking advantage of circumstances, had been to the trouble to circulate false reports of me in New York, and my creditors there refused to show me any lenity. I placed myself on the defensive, however, as well as I could, and finally, after a good deal of trouble, succeeded in effecting a satisfactory compromise. [I subsequently paid every dollar.] Finding I had little prospect of success in my profession in Chenango county, I had in the mean time concluded to go to Harper's Ferry, where I understood there was a good opening for a physician, and to prosecute my profession there. At Philadelphia, however, I was arrested by one of my creditors, and gave up my watch and the last dollar I had in the world but twenty, to satisfy his claim. Unable to prosecute my journey, and knowing I had not a single friend at Harper's Ferry, I concluded to try my profession in the city of "Brotherly Love," where I had made some acquaintances and friends. But after trying a few months I found I was not making expenses, and I then again had recourse to teaching for support. After teaching about half a year I had an offer (1824) to go to South America, (Venezuela,) from Mr. Lowry, the American Consul for Laguayra, and in the fall of 1824 I sailed for that port in the brig "Coulter." I remained in Venezuela, residing partly at Laguayra, and partly at Caracas, until June 1826, when I returned in the same vessel to Philadelphia. Having now succeeded in getting a few hundred dollars ahead, I resolved to take a course of lectures, and *finish* my professional studies and graduate. After paying a visit to my friends in the State of New York, and going as far west as Cazenovia in that State, where my eldest sister then resided, I returned to Philadelphia, and again opened an office there. In the winter of 1826–'7 I attended a full course of lectures in Jefferson Medical College, and in March, 1827, received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in that institution. [In 1827–'8 I joined the society of "Odd Fellows," by initiation, in Washington Lodge No. 2; and having passed the different chairs in that Lodge, I was admitted a member of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania 23d of March, 1829—elected Grand Warden June 8th, 1829—D. G. M. 14th June, 1830, and Grand Master June 13th, 1831. On the 29th March, 1829, I organized, joined, and put in operation Philadelphia Lodge No. 13, of the city of Philadelphia, framing its "Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order," which are still continued unchanged, and have been the model for the Order everywhere. I was trustee of the South Fifth Street Hall and of the Kensington Hall, and President of both those Boards. In every station I filled I took a very active part—too much so for my personal interests.] For a while I thought I had a fair prospect of success, and continued to struggle along in Philadelphia, falling behind a little in paying expenses every year for five years, when I found I should have to give up the struggle for success in my profession there. About the time I had concluded to abandon my hopes in Philadelphia, I made the acquaintance of a man by the name of "Spear," a merchant, then doing business in Philadelphia. He had been in New Orleans, and proposed to me to join him and go into business at that place. Never having as yet met with any satisfactory success in my profession, and, consequently, a good deal disgusted with it, I too readily acceded to this proposal, and in October, 1832, sailed from New York in the ship Alabama for New Orleans. My name gave credit to the firm, but I soon found Mr. Spear to be a man devoid of principle, and reckless of character and every thing else. I therefore lost no time in dissolving my connection with him, which had been unfortunate to myself and some of my friends; and in the spring of 1833 I opened an office on Canal street for the practice of my profession. The summer proved very sickly, and I was succeeding as well in my business as I could reasonably expect, when I was myself attacked with the prevailing fever, and laid up sick for several weeks. By the time I was well enough to attend to my professional duties again the sickness had well-nigh subsided, and I had not realized enough to support me until the next summer. I had therefore to look elsewhere than to New Orleans for the means of making a livelihood. Besides, I found the pernicious habit of gambling, to which I always had an inclination, was growing upon me there. Before going to New Orleans, it is true, I had never indulged the inclination to any extent, but there the constant temptation thrown in my way I found was slowly overcoming my resolutions not to indulge this propensity. Whilst in this place, also, partly from having frequently little else to do, and partly to overcome the feelings of disappointments I had so often endured, and more particularly about this time, I also found myself learning to imitate the fashionable practice of taking a "julep" much oftener than was at all necessary. Both of these practices I most cordially despised, it is true, but notwithstanding the facts are as I have stated. I therefore felt anxious to get away from the place and its associations. About this time I made the acquaintance of two or three gentlemen who resided in Texas, particularly Captain Brown, who commanded the "Sabine," then in the Texas trade. It was represented to me that there was a good opening for a physician at Brazoria, then the principal commercial town in this country, and I was strongly pressed by Captain Brown (and others) to go down with him and look at the place. My impressions of Texas were extremely unfavorable. I had only known it as a harbor for pirates and banditti, and at first I was wholly opposed to going there to reside. Upon further inquiry and conversation, however, I concluded it was not so bad as it had been represented; and that whatever its former character had been, it had now assumed an entirely different one; and finally determined to accede to Captain Brown's request, to go and take a look at the country and judge for myself. I sailed with him from New Orleans on the Sabine about the middle of October, 1833, and arrived at Velasco after the usual passage. On reaching Brazoria, I was so much dissatisfied with the town that I forthwith engaged my passage back to New Orleans on the return trip of the vessel. She was not to sail, however, for a fortnight, and before the expiration of that time I had been persuaded, through the earnest solicitations of Mr. J. A. Wharton and other citizens of the town and its vicinity, to defer my return to New Orleans for one trip of the Sabine at least, and in the mean time to give the place a fair trial. The consequence to myself is, that I am in Texas still (1849)—the consequences to the country will be, to be judged of hereafter, when history shall have given her truthful and impartial award.

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

Looking backwards and forwards at my life from this point, this seems emphatically true of myself. For sixteen years previously I had struggled almost in vain against innumerable obstacles, and finally abandoning myself to a fate which it appeared I could not control or direct, I *passively* floated as it were upon the tide which bore me to Texas; and the sixteen following years have been to me comparatively prosperous and successful ones. It is true I have encountered many hardships, and suffered much physically and mentally; but I have succeeded in every thing I attempted, and accomplished every thing I undertook. My sixteen years previous to 1833 had given me that *schooling* in the knowledge of the world at thirty-five, which men properly trained in early life generally have at *twenty-five*. In Texas, therefore, I commenced the world anew, profiting by my severe experience in its roughest ways. I have also had constantly before my eyes a conviction from which I have been unable to escape, that somehow or other the destiny of Texas was interwoven with my own, that they were indissoluble, and that the one depended materially upon the other. Every thing for the last sixteen years has tended to confirm and strengthen this conviction.

When I landed at Brazoria, I had just seventeen dollars in money, and a small stock of medicine worth about fifty dollars more, and I owed more than two thousand dollars, principally security debts, which I have since paid. I became involved in these security debts in consequence of my connection with Spear of a few months, and the villany of a man by the name of Stephens, residing at Woodville, Miss., whom we had credited, and who shortly after ran away and went to Canada.

Having concluded to give Texas a trial, I immediately commenced the practice of my profession at Brazoria, and soon took the lead of all competitors in that county. I devoted myself exclusively and earnestly to business, and soon had to ride over a space of from 20 to 40 miles in each direction from Brazoria. In the spring of 1834, the prevailing sickness set in very early, and from that time to the 1st of September, I was constantly occupied every day, and frequently at night, in riding about and attending upon the sick; and scarcely a person in the community escaped an attack more or less severe. At the date above, I was at the house of Mr. Rhea Phillips, on the Bernard, attending a case there, when I was myself attacked with bilious remittent fever of a violent type. I rode, however, to "Bell's Landing," where there was a steamboat about to leave for Brazoria; and on her I went home, and took my bed, which I did not leave again for more than two months. I had two relapses, and came very near dying; made my will, and felt perfectly resigned to leave the world, and had no fears of the future. Contrary to my most confident expectation, however, from the extremest point of depression and debility, I began to get better, and finally recovered my health entirely, but was a long time in regaining my strength. During my sickness, my business was attended to by Dr. Berryman, a gentleman who had just completed his medical studies in my office, and who was, not long after, killed in a duel with R. A. Stevenson. Late this fall, or early in the winter, (1834,) my sister Mary came out from New York; and I rented and furnished a house in Brazoria, and went to housekeeping. I sent also to New York for my cousin, Dr. Ira Jones of N. Y., who came out in the spring of 1835, completed his studies under my care, and subsequently was associated with me in business.

[In 1834-'5, a charter or dispensation (the first in Texas) was obtained for a Freemason's Lodge, to be called Holland Lodge No. 36, from the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, to be held at Brazoria. Of this lodge I was Master, from the time of its formation until the winter of 1837-'8, at which time it was removed to Houston, in Harris county. This winter, viz., 1837–'8, the Grand Lodge of Texas was established, of which I was chosen Grand Master. The old Holland Lodge No. 36, of Louisiana, surrendered its charter, and was newly chartered as Holland Lodge No. 1 under the Grand Lodge of Texas. Since the expiration of my term of service as Grand Master of Masons in Texas, I have until the present time (1849) held the office of Grand Representative of the State of New York to the Grand Lodge of Texas, and still continue to discharge its duties.]

At the close of this year, (1834,) I found myself apparently permanently established, and in possession of a *practice* worth in money and available property about five thousand dollars a year, with a prospect of its increasing; and had I continued at my business, and not been induced to join the army, and go into public life, I might and probably would at this time have been worth an independent fortune, and as wealthy as any man in Texas; not, it is true, from the practice of medicine alone, but from that and the investment of its proceeds in property, which now would in most cases have yielded me an increase of from ten to twenty fold.

[Up to this year (1834) my habit of body had been spare, my weight being about 120 or 121 pounds. After my sickness at Col. Wharton's, in 1836, I began to grow fleshy, and my weight since has been increased to 150 or 155 pounds—height, 5 feet 8½ inches.]

This year (1835) the difficulties between Texas and Mexico assumed a character which made it quite apparent that a separation must take place, and that a protracted war would ensue. I was one of those, however, who counselled forbearance, and the maintenance of peace as long as the one was proper or the other possible. I consequently did not join in the war-cry early, and was not one of those who early this year secured the appellation of "war-dogs," most of whom afterwards, when the struggle actually came on, showed themselves true disciples of Falstaff, and that they believed "discretion the better part of valor," by leaving the country. I resisted all applications to take part in premature proceedings of rashness, satisfied that "sufficient for the day," when it came, would be "the evil thereof." I therefore attended closely to my professional duties, and was this year again eminently successful in business, though an anxious observer of the political horizon of my adopted country. I fitted forth my cousin, and sent him to the siege of Bexar, at his special request, with letters to the unfortunate B. R. Milam, then a soldier under Gen. Burleson. So soon as I could, in the fall, finding a rupture with Mexico was unavoidable, I prepared to visit San Felipe, where the "Consultation" was sitting, to witness in person their proceedings. At Columbia I found Padre Alpuché, a Mexican of some distinction, and a friend of Zavala's, who like him was disaffected with his own government, and had come to Texas to take part in opposition to it. He represented to me that he could be of service, if he could get to San Felipe and have an interview with Zavala, but could not ride on horseback, and had not the means of procuring a carriage. I therefore undertook to provide for him, and fortunately learned there was a buggy in town belonging to Col. W. B. Travis of San Felipe, which I could have. I therefore had my horse tackled to it, and with the Padre started to make the trip, over roads literally covered with water, or knee-deep in mud. The first day we lost our road, got benighted, our horse tired down, and it was midnight when we arrived at our place of destination, Mrs. Powell's. The next day we went to Cole's; here we were detained by the stormy weather more than a week. I however, by all this experience, satisfied myself that my *friend*, the Mexican Senator Padre Alpuché, was, in the first place, a *coward*, and in the second place, *untrustworthy* in other respects, and that he would, consequently, not do to depend upon for any thing important. This was doubtless of great service, for afterwards it became known to me that it would have been unfortunate for Texas if his advice had been followed; and that it was not followed, was probably owing to me, in a great measure.

My impressions of the Consultation, taken as a whole, were unfavorable—it was near the close of the session. There appeared to me a plenty of recklessness and selfishness, but little dignity or patriotism. Still there were some good men there. But I felt sick at heart at the prospect. I was introduced to Bowie—he was dead drunk; to Houston—his appearance was any thing but decent or respectable, and very much like that of a broken-down sot and debauchee. The first night after my arrival, I was kept awake nearly all night by a drunken carouse in the room over that in which I "camped." Dr. Archer and Gen. Houston appeared to be the principal persons engaged in the orgie, to judge from the noise. What made the whole thing more unpleasant to me, was, that the whole burden of the conversation, so far as it was, at times, intelligible, appeared to be abuse and denunciation of a man for whom I had the highest respect, Gen. Stephen F. Austin, then in command before San Antonio de Bexar, for not breaking up the siege of that place, and retreating to the east of the Colorado. I remained but two or three days at San Felipe; my feelings of disgust and disappointment I shall never forget. I cannot even now visit the place, though it has in the mean time been burnt and rebuilt, without the recurrence of sensations any thing but pleasant. I took occasion, however, publicly to express my opinions of what I saw and heard, until my friend, Col. John A. Wharton, came to me and assured me my life was in danger from some rude attack which was threatened, and advised me, that, however true and just my remarks might be, it was not the disposition of some parties to allow the utterance of them. I however continued their expression as long as I staid at San Felipe. Perhaps my feelings carried me too far, but I think my general impressions were correct. History will not be able to say much in favor of that "Consultation," nor of the Provisional Government they established. It however had the effect intended, of precipitating the final, and probably inevitable result, of an early separation from Mexico. I returned to Brazoria, satisfied we were in a bad scrape, and that the best and only course was an unconditional declaration of independence. I believed it not only useless, but *false*, to talk about sustaining the "principles of the Constitution of 1824." There were but the two alternatives left us, absolute submission to, or absolute independence of Mexico. Of course, I advocated the latter, and refused to have any thing to do with any other policy, or connection with the advocates of any other.

In December, 1835, I took steps to aid in calling a public meeting of the citizens of the municipality or county of Brazoria, at Columbia. There was a large attendance. I drew up, offered, and advocated, as chairman of the committee, resolutions in favor of a "Declaration of Independence from Mexico," and calling a Convention of the people of Texas on the first Monday in March, 1836, to make the Declaration, and to frame a Constitution; also resolutions fixing the *basis* of representation in said convention, &c., &c. These recommendations were advocated by myself, J. Collinsworth, and B. C. Franklin, and opposed by W. J. Russell. Fearing to trust the vote, I proposed not to take it, but to let the resolutions be signed by those who approved them, and go to the country as the expression of the individuals whose names should be appended. This mode was adopted by the meeting. We succeeded in getting about twenty or thirty names from among those who were present; but as the proceedings could not be printed for several days, our plan continued to gain, until nearly everybody signed before they were published. The Provisional Government, if it could be called a government, adopted the suggestions of the Columbia meeting, and made the call for a convention agreeably to the recommendations of our resolutions. I believe, therefore, I took the first efficient step for the *independence* of Texas, and offered and advocated the first resolutions for that purpose. The people of the country were at first startled by the boldness of the Columbia Resolutions, but events were in progress in Mexico which had the effect I anticipated, and by the 2d of March following, there were but few in the country who did not acquiesce in the propriety of the course proposed in those resolutions. The vote in the Convention on that day was *unanimous*, as I believe. (V. p. 114.)

In taking the active and responsible part I did in the Columbia meeting, I had no personal motive of any kind in view. Office was then the farthest thing from my mind. I felt solicitous to give a right direction to affairs, and perfectly willing to let whoever wished have the carrying of them into execution. I had kept aloof, and taken no part in bringing about or accelerating the public difficulties, but now they were upon us, I had no disposition to shrink from duty or responsibility. The crisis had come, and it was time for every patriot to speak out; but I solemnly declare, I was actuated by motives wholly unselfish. I might, if I wished, have been elected to the Convention, which I had taken so active a part in having called, but I declined all requests to become a candidate. I had no disposition whatever to enter upon a career of public life. I continued, as usual, my attention to business which was rather more pressing than ordinary in consequence of the absence of my cousin, who, however, did not remain away long. The siege of Bexar ended in the assault and capture of the place, and he returned home. Nothing further of interest *personally* occurred this fall, except the establishment of the Masonic lodge at Brazoria, of which I was chosen first Master. It was called Holland Lodge No. 36, and worked under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, and was the first Masonic lodge ever opened in Texas. It is still in existence as Holland Lodge No. 1, at the city of Houston.

There was no mistaking the portents of things when the year 1836 dawned upon Texas. Santa Anna and the Mexican people were thoroughly aroused by the events of Bexar, and evidences of an early and formidable invasion came with every breeze from the west. I began to prepare for the storm. I broke up housekeeping, and sent my sister home to New York in February. In March came the news of the fall and massacre of the Alamo, and I immediately enlisted as a volunteer private soldier in Capt. Calder's company, 2d Regiment infantry, and joined the army at the Beeson crossing of the Colorado, two days before the retreat to the Brazos commenced. My cousin, Ira Jones, I left at Brazoria to look after my interests, and herewith instructions, as requested by him, that if the place should have to be abandoned, he should join me in the army, which he subsequently did. During the time the troops were encamped in the Brazos bottom, the dysentery and measles broke out, (April, 1836,) and at the very urgent solicitations of Col. Sherman, and many of my friends and former patients in the army, I consented to take the post of surgeon to the 2d Regiment. It was necessary, in fact, for me to do so, but I made it a condition of accepting, that I should be permitted to resign so soon as the necessity of my acceptance of the place should cease; and that, in the mean time, I should be permitted to hold "my rank" as a private in the line. In accordance with this agreement, I continued to do duty in both capacities, until the increase of sickness compelled me to give up my "privateship." I was so successful in treating the cases of sickness which came under my charge, that, although the army was without tents to some extent a part of the time on the march, there was not a single death in the 2d Regiment from the time I was appointed, until the battle on the 21st of April.

[*April 2d*, 1836.—I discharged from this time the duties of Judge Advocate General, until I left for New Orleans, in May. V. "Army Orders."]

I saw but little of Gen. Houston, and had not much conversation with him until the evening of the day we crossed the Brazos at Groce's, when we took supper together with some relatives of Mr. Groce, who were occupying his house temporarily. He asked me, after supper, privately, what I thought of the prospects. I told him the men were deserting, and if the retreating policy were continued much longer, he would be pretty much alone. He said there was a "traitor" in the army among the officers, and asked me to guess who it was. I immediately, without a moment's hesitation, replied that I "guessed" it was one of his volunteer aids, Col. Perry. The General said, I have intercepted a letter of his to the Cabinet; he is endeavoring to have the command taken from me, and wants it himself. I told him I had no confidence in Perry, and thought him a reckless fool, but that he (Houston) might depend upon it, there was a deep and growing dissatisfaction in the camp, and that Perry's conduct was but an index of that feeling. He seemed thoughtful and irresolute; said he hoped yet to get a bloodless victory; and the conversation dropped, with an expression of an earnest hope on my part, that the next move he made would be *towards* the enemy. (April 15th, 1836.)

On the morning of the day we left camp at Harrisburg and crossed the bayou, a "general order" was issued, and a detail was made to stay with the sick; and I and Dr. Phelps (hospital surgeon) were of the number. I resolved, as I have done on subsequent occasions, to "disobey the order." I, therefore, having attended to my daily routine, handed over my sick to the hospital surgeon, and joined the army at the crossing, about sundown, and proceeded with it to Lynchburg. As a consequence, I participated in the battle of San Jacinto next day and the 21st, and that night was occupied the entire time, and until sunrise next morning, in assisting to dress the wounds received on the field. I accompanied the Commander-in-chief and the captive Mexican President to Galveston, having resigned my office of surgeon to the 2d Regiment in favor of my cousin, Ira Jones, who had joined the army a short time previous. I was now appointed Assistant Surgeon-General and Medical Purveyor to the army, and sent to New Orleans to procure supplies (May 10th.) I was absent about a month, and returning, made my head-quarters at Brazoria. The latter part of the summer I had a violent attack of dysentery, while on a visit with Judge Collinsworth at the house of Col. Wm. H. Wharton, ten miles from town, and was confined to my room for more than two months. During this time my cousin returned from the army, and in a few days after sickened and died, an event caused no doubt by exposure and fatigue while on duty; for he had one of the best constitutions in the world. He had many warm friends, and his death was deeply regretted by myself and all who knew him.

On my return, after my long sickness at Col. Wharton's, I found every thing in disorder; my office had been broken open, and every thing taken from it that was portable and valuable, even to my saddles, bridles, and blankets. My desk had also been robbed of what money I had. Two lawyers had "squatted" in one room of my office, and I was unable to get them out for several weeks; when I succeeded, it produced a "challenge" from my friend, the Chief Justice J. Collinsworth, which I accepted, to fight with pistols at ten steps. It was, however, settled, his object having been to "bluff," which, when he found would not succeed, he got his friend, T. F. McKinney, to get him out of the scrape. He ever after, however, hated me, and being in the habit of drinking to excess, threw himself away, and was finally lost in Galveston Bay the following year. At the close of this year, (1836,) having resigned my office in the army, I again prepared to resume my practice, which now for some ten months had been interrupted.

Before many months, however, I was diverted from my purpose, by solicitations from various *friends*, (?) from various motives, to be a candidate for member of Congress from Brazoria. It would be difficult to analyze the arguments and feelings by which I was actuated in consenting. I had "fought, bled, and died" for the country in the first place, and this had increased my desire to see it prosperous and successful. Habit had accustomed me to reflect more and more upon public matters. The first Congress of Texas had committed the most woful blunders, and there had been much reckless and interested legislation. I felt a desire to see these things remedied, and thought I might be useful. I was urgently solicited by *some* friends, whose wishes I respected and felt disposed to gratify. I therefore, unfortunately for *my own happiness*, yielded my consent to let my name be brought before the people. Soon afterwards it was discovered that I was opposed to the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company," and its friends turned against me. I made no secret of my sentiments. This I conceived to be one of the most corrupt schemes of iniquity ever sanctioned by a Legislature and a President, and constituted one of the main reasons why I was willing to give up private life, that I might have an opportunity of crushing it. But the issue was made sooner than I expected. Its friends were powerful; and Gen. S. Houston, then in the heyday of his popularity, had sanctioned it, and approved the law chartering it. But I attacked it so successfully in an article signed "Franklin," published in a Matagorda paper, that I effectually crushed the hydra; though from it have sprung a brood of enemies, which to this day have not ceased to strike at me for my opposition to it. Prominent among these are Dr. B. T. Archer, T. J. Green, T. F. McKinney, and A. C. Horton. I was elected to Congress, and first took my seat in that body at the called session of the 2d Congress, in Sept., 1837. In speaking of the 1st Congress of Texas, I have uniformly denounced in terms of censure, three acts as corrupt, and one as impolitic. In this connection, I may as well name them. 1st, the Texas R. R., N., and B. Co., (above alluded to;) 2d, the location of Houston as the seat of government; and 3d, the sale of Galveston Island. These three acts constituted a perfect "selling out" of Texas to a few individuals, or, at least, of every thing that was available in 1836; for, burdened with the Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Co., if it had been practicable to carry out the scheme, the public lands of the country would have been comparatively worthless. The Company would have been the great "feudal landlord" of the whole, and held them all by a *feudal tenure*. Houston and Galveston were *pretty respectable* speculations by members of a legislature; but the other was a grabbing up of every thing that was left.

There were *many impolitic* acts passed by the 1st Congress, —such as the one reviving the corruptly purchased charter of the "Agricultural Bank," [V. Act for relief of McKinney & Williams, 1st vol. Laws of Texas]—but the one to which I have more particularly alluded above, is the "Land Law," of this year. The passage of that law vested, in my opinion, certain rights and privileges which made it incumbent on the next legislature to pass the land law of 1838, which, objectionable though it may have been, was the best, under the circumstances, which could have been passed at that time, without conflicting with the equitable rights which had grown up under the former one.

[*January*, 1850.—I have been blamed for voting for the land law of 1838. The reasons are partly stated above. There are many others which influenced me. The colonization laws of Mexico and of Coahuila had vested rights—also the Consultation and Provisional Government, which had to be respected; and the country would not have submitted to a disregard of them by Congress. The evils are manifest which have grown out of that law. The Committee (of which I was one) foresaw and predicted them in their Report. The object was to make as good a law as possible under the circumstances, which we did, and presented it. Amendments were made which I disapproved of; but I defy any man now, after twelve years' experience of the law with its resulting evils, to draw up a bill which Anglo-Saxon land-stealers cannot take advantage of, without violating the rights which had inured to citizens of Texas under former legislation by Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas herself. The Mexican colonization system, which we had to carry out, was not well adapted to prevent the frauds of Anglo-Saxon cupidity and Anglo-Saxon ingenuity. The fault, therefore, is in the system which public faith required us to carry out, and not in the "law" by which it was done. I wash my hands of this matter entirely. The President in his veto pointed out the evils of the bill, as the committee had done which reported it, but failed to point out any remedy, or to propose any plan by which the public faith could be preserved. Everybody of ordinary sagacity knew there would be frauds committed the moment a land-office was opened in Texas. It took no prophet to tell us that; it would have taken *all* the prophets and apostles to boot to have told us how frauds were to be prevented in Texas land matters. It is a very easy matter to pull to pieces, though a very difficult one to construct, a perfect edifice. The greatest fault after all that can be found with this bill is, that it did not stop "perjury;" for, aside from perjury, (which no law can stop,) few evils have grown out of it. The law itself possesses every *possible* safeguard against fraud.]

The called session of the 2d Congress was merged in the regular session, and this lasted until January, at which time Congress adjourned to meet again in May. In the recess between the regular and adjourned sessions I visited Brazoria, and spent the time partly in settling up my old business there, intending to be ready to resume the practice after the adjourned session. That came on, and I again returned to Houston, and completed my term of service with the close of that session in June. At this period I became engaged to be married to my present wife, Mrs. Mary McCrory. The marriage was fixed for the last of the month; in the mean time I again made a visit to Brazoria on private business. While here I received a message from the President, requesting me to come to Houston immediately, —that he wished me to accept the appointment of Agent to the United States for the purpose of procuring a navy for Texas. So soon as I could arrange matters I returned to Houston, and when I called on the President, he told me that he had changed his mind about the service he wished to employ me in—that he had tendered the appointment of Minister to the United States to P. W. Grayson, (then a candidate for President,) but that he having declined accepting it, he wished me to accept it, and let S. M.

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Williams go for the navy. I told him both offers were entirely unexpected by me—that I did not feel competent to discharge the duties of either, and that although I had come to Houston agreeably to his request, it was to decline the appointment tendered. He then urged and insisted on my taking the office of Minister, said he did not know any one else he could get whom he could trust, and appealed to my patriotism to induce me to consent. I finally told him I would think of the matter, and give him an answer next day. But the next day I was taken very sick, and the final conclusion of the matter was delayed until I got about again, which was nearly a month. No person having been found in the mean time, I consented to accept, and my instructions were made out and handed to me. In consequence of accepting this appointment, the marriage arrangement was postponed until I should return from Washington city, which, as Gen. Houston's term would expire in a few months, was understood would be in the course of one year. I started from Houston on horseback, having recovered barely sufficient to ride, and went by Brazoria to Velasco. Here I took passage on the steamer Columbia for New Orleans. *From this time* I have kept a pretty constant *diary* of my life to the present period, as will be seen by reference to my books and papers. [See four small pocket memorandum books, and one large folio, also files of letters and other manuscripts.] I shall, therefore, merely string together some leading incidents, in order to give a connected view of my life from this period to the present time of writing. Most of my public acts will be found in the records of the country's history for the same period. I remained at Washington City nearly one year as the Representative of Texas, when I was recalled by General Lamar. I returned to Texas on one of the government vessels, (then called the Viper,) a war schooner, in company with Mr. S. M. Williams, agent for their purchase, and M. A. Bryan, the Secretary of Legation, both of whom were recalled about the same time. We landed at Galveston, where I first learned I had been elected to the Senate for two years, to fill a vacancy in that body occasioned by the death of William H. Wharton of Brazoria county. [I knew nothing of my having been a candidate.] I at first determined to decline, being tired of public life, and wishing to attend to my private affairs, but by the over-persuasions of many worthy citizens, I yielded to their request that I should serve. [My friends had compromitted me.] This was a great sacrifice for me; it ruined my business and prospects, and brought me in constant contact with an administration which was gradually sucking the life-blood of the country away. I had the pain of constantly watching the ruin which was progressing, without the power to arrest the downward tendency of things. [I had seen *enough* of this in the former administration.] At Galveston I accepted a public dinner on my arrival; shortly afterwards I went to Brazoria and partook of one with my fellow-citizens there. I then went to Houston to settle my business with the State Department, to visit the President, and make a final report of my stewardship while abroad. While here the yellow fever broke out; and not liking to leave while there was danger of an attack (on the road) where I could not get the necessary assistance, I thought it most prudent to stay and *face* the enemy. I escaped, however, and in October started for Austin, to which the seat of government had been removed. The 4th Congress met here, and I took my seat as Senator from Brazoria. For a little while I had some hope, and exerted myself to roll back the tide of reckless and adverse legislation, but I soon found it was useless to waste my strength in unavailing and hopeless efforts. I found that argument was not available—it was not *intelligence* so much as *honesty* and *patriotism* which was wanting in Congress. I, therefore, contented myself with doing what little good I could in a quiet way, and as there was no rudder, to let the vessel drift. Having abandoned all idea of resuming practice in Brazoria, which had now passed entirely into other hands, and becoming interested to a small extent in Austin city property, I, at the close of the session of Congress, commenced building myself a house on Pecan street. On the 17th of May I was married, and spent the summer principally in making improvements on my place, or in doing nothing. The fall of the year brought the 5th Congress, and I took my place rather mechanically in the Senate. A few days after the session commenced the President obtained leave of absence, the Vice President vacated the chair of the Senate to assume the executive functions, and I was chosen by one majority to fill his place. Deciding questions of order suited me, gave me employment, and filled up time which otherwise would have hung very unpleasantly on my hands; for, in the proceedings of a Congress, when the government was rushing downward with hourly increasing velocity, I, of course, could feel neither interest nor pleasure. It was at best only "locking the stable door after the horse was stolen." The 5th Congress came to a close, (1841,) and as if the ruin was not already sufficiently complete, Gen. Lamar started the Santa Fé expedition, which, as the gamblers say, "made a clean turn" of every thing on land, and the Yucatan one of every thing afloat. Having passed through my term in the Senate unsatisfactorily and unprofitably enough to myself, I made another effort in good faith to escape to private life. I sold my house and improvements in Austin, and took my family and returned to Brazoria county, and recommenced the practice of my profession at Columbia, boarding with Mr. Ammon Underwood. By fall I had succeeded in establishing a business about as extensive as I could attend to. But my office-holding had impoverished me, and embarrassed my affairs just at a time when the wants and expenses of a family were beginning to be felt. I however was beginning to emerge from these difficulties, when I was again implored to take upon myself the duties of office. The Presidential term of Gen. Lamar expired in December of this year, and Gen. Houston's second term commenced. It was a question of life or death with the country, which had been brought to the extremest point of exhaustion consistent with the ability of being resuscitated. Gen. Houston's first term had been characterized by many errors and follies, and by a wide-spread ruin Gen. Lamar had completed what his predecessor had begun. At this inauspicious moment I was solicited, urged, *implored*, and finally persuaded by Gen. Houston, K. G. Anderson, and very many others, to accept the office of Secretary of State. I was assured I should have worthy associates in the cabinet, &c., &c., &c., &c., and promised as a *sine qua non* to acceptance that I should have a paramount control. I then entered upon this new field of duty, with a determination to snatch the country from the verge of destruction upon which she was tottering, and to save her if possible, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable difficulties with which she was surrounded. In this purpose I never faltered nor ceased until complete success had crowned my efforts. It is too true the conditions of the compact with the President were violated by him in more than one instance; and when the danger appeared to be past, he wished to act in such a way as to induce the impression that Samuel Houston was the *sole* man in the government; but I was not to be turned from a purpose of such magnitude, when nearly completed, by these things. *My* object was to save the country, nor did I care to whom the credit of the act should inure, so the object sought was accomplished. To the candor and the justice of posterity I am willing to leave the settlement of these things; and though not indifferent to the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, I have no disposition to discount an enduring possession for present notoriety any more than "to mistake the noise of a mob for the trumpet of Fame." [From this time to the 19th February, 1846, see the public records and archives of the country for the history of my acts—also my letters to Mr. Tyler and others, as well as my memoranda and other manuscripts. *Note.*—1850, February 1st. I never was a *politician* or an office-seeker, either in Texas or anywhere else. I have never asked place or preferment. When I came to Texas it was with far other views. The *necessities* of the country, not my own will or wishes, drew me from private life.]

Having despatched Col. Reilly to Washington City with instructions on the subject of annexation, and given instructions to Gen. McIntosh at Paris for settling the French difficulty, I turned my attention to the Legislature for such action as our situation required, and principally to the all-important subject of finance. The currency of the country, or promissory notes, had sunk so low that they no longer circulated as money. A rigid economy was therefore enjoined, and an expenditure based upon, while it should be within, the actual receipts of the Government. As a temporary expedient, the issue of a limited amount of exchequer or treasury bills was recommended, for the double purpose of meeting a present emergency, and for facilitating the operations of the revenue department of the Government. Retrenchment was the watchword of the administration, and rigidly was it enforced, as the pockets of all government officers attested. On the adjournment of the 6th or "Retrenchment Congress," I visited my family at Columbia, and then joined the President at Galveston, where instructions were prepared for Dr. Ashbel Smith, who was despatched on his important mission to Europe. From this I again returned to Columbia, and then joined the President at Houston, to which place the seat of government had been arbitrarily removed. I remained here as long as it appeared to be necessary, and then went to spend some time with my family at Columbia, and attend to my business at that place. [*Note.* In June I went to New Orleans as Commissioner of the Five Million Loan, which I negotiated with Mr. Bourgeois D'Orvanne.] In July I was summoned by the President to join him at Houston, and again started to go there, but was taken down severely sick at Col. Wm. T. Austin's, where I was detained for several weeks, and then went again to Houston; and from thence to Columbia, where I stayed several weeks. I then joined the President at Washington, on the Brazos, to which place the seat of government, in a fit of Executive spleen at Houston, had been removed. Here shortly afterward commenced the regular session of the 7th Congress of the Republic.

[*Oct.*, 1842. From this time I was never absent from the seat of Government, except on (public) business. *Note.*—Jan. 1st, 1850. Having, during a period of more than ten years, been called upon to act much in conjunction with Gen. S. Houston, justice to myself, as well as to him, requires I should give a summary of this connection, and an estimate of his character. In 1835, I formed a very unfavorable opinion of him on first acquaintance, regarding him as a miserable sot, without dignity of character, and without principle of any kind, and altogether reckless. In the campaign of 1836 I became partially reconciled. From the time of his election to the Presidency, I wholly disapproved many of his prominent public acts, particularly during the 1st Congress in 1836–'7, and continued opposed generally until 1842. His course that winter (1841–'2) restored him to my confidence; but from that time, and the close of that session of Congress, we gradually drifted apart, until in 1848, when he joined the "free-soil party," we separated forever. I have therefore, at two periods, approved his course; at three others, disapproved it. The "vote," so far as I am concerned, seems to be three to two against him; and I think this is about the proportion of good and evil in his character, as exhibited during the time of my connection with him. But for the emergency in which Texas stood, I would never have acted with him *at all*. To show his intense selfishness, I advert to the certain fact of his seeking, in the first place, to break down my administration; and failing in this, to appropriate to himself the credit of all my acts, as Secretary of State and President of Texas, and by every means which ingenuity, recklessness, and falsehood could devise.]

About this time (1842) I removed with my family to Washington, and commenced boarding with J. L. Farquhar. This year I made a purchase of M. Austin Bryan, of his quarter of a league of land, near Washington, on which I now reside, known as Barrington. I paid him about $400 in money, and a medical bill for a small amount which he owed me. In Jan., 1844, I rented the plantation of Gen. James R. Cook's widow, adjoining my Barrington tract, and commenced farming on a small scale; and at the same time building and making other improvements on my own tract. I contracted with Mr. John Campbell to build a house, kitchen, and smoke-house, and to pay him $700, and furnish all the materials on the ground. (Details omitted here, v. original.)

On the 2d day of September of this year, (1844,) I was elected President of Texas for three years, from the 9th of December, by a popular majority of about 1,500 votes over Gen. Edward Burleson.

On the 5th of March, 1845, I removed to my new home, "Barrington," named after my native town in Massachusetts. On the 19th Feb., 1846, I surrendered the Government of Texas into the hands of Gen. J. P. Henderson, Governor, and Texas ceased her career as a Republic, and began that of a State of the American Union. May she never have cause to regret the change.

Since 1846 I have resided constantly on my farm, superintending [illegible] agricultural pursuits, and the education of my children. So closed the year Anno Dom. 1849.

ANSON JONES.

[52 pp. original. A page for each year of my life. Jan. 20th, 1850.]

MEMORANDA.

MEMORANDUM BOOK No. 1,

Commencing July, 1838, *and ending January*, 1839.

The Congress of Texas (2d) adjourned on the 24th of May. This body, though not characterized by great talent, have done much towards impressing a character on the institutions of the *country*. The land business was found by them in confusion, and surrounded by difficulties, and they did the best they could under the circumstances. Much litigation must ensue; they did all they could to prevent it. The national faith and credit were sustained—these were all-important considerations.

Gen. Houston wrote me June 9th, tendering me the appointment of Navy Agent, and requested me to return immediately to Houston from Brazoria. [I had an interview with him on the 22d June. I remained in Houston until 15th July.]

Dr. Irwin's (Secretary of State) greatest anxiety was the settlement of the Boundary Line question with the United States, and the establishment of friendly relations with that Government.

New Orleans, *July* 25*th*.—The Collector of the port, or the one acting as such, showed he was a genuine republican, by treating me with the utmost rudeness and indifference; had difficulty and delay in getting a permit to land one trunk; and a small package he would not permit me to land without sending it to the Custom House for inspection, so I abandoned it; and he, at my request, scratched it off the baggage entry I had made. [*Note.*—1852. So poorly stood Texas in 1838. The Collector knew I was her accredited Minister.]

July 28*th*.—In conversation with Mr. Ward, he stated that one of the principal objections which he had to going to Texas, and taking his family, was the want of schools there; that it was bad enough in New Orleans in this respect, &c. I tried last spring to procure an appropriation of the public lands for the purposes of education, and made a report to Congress on the subject. They referred it to the Judiciary Committee, who defeated the project, by delaying any action on it until the last day of the session. Branch was chairman, and I scolded him about it. Wm. H. Wharton has promised to bring the matter up again next session.

July 29th.—I shall be surprised at no one's committing suicide after hearing of Col. Grayson's doing so. It is the first time in my life that any one in the circle of my acquaintance has done such an act; and it has shocked me more than the death of a dozen others would have done in the usual course. I believe party abuse has been the cause, acting upon some predisposition to morbid melancholy. Col. Collinsworth's drowning himself was a thing in course. I had expected it, as I knew him to be deranged, and, when excited by liquor, almost *mad.* In all the annals of suicide, perhaps no parallel to these two cases can be found. Two years ago they were in this house, and on their way to Washington together, as Commissioners on the part of Texas to procure recognition, &c.; and, at the time of their deaths, both candidates for the highest office in the republic. Both committed suicide about the same time, and at the distance of 2,000 miles from each other; both at the time holding high and responsible offices in the Republic of Texas.

ON BOARD THE BUCKEYE, *July 31st.*—Find travelling on the Mississippi much pleasanter than I expected. We have about 40 passengers, including two ladies, and all very civil, genteel, and agreeable. There must have been an immense improvement here since the days of the "Broad Horns."

NATCHEZ, *August 1st.*—I did not see the town *on* the hill, which I very much regret, as I was disappointed in the lower town; it is a mere lodge on the side of the bluff, and much smaller than I had anticipated. This part is so notoriously infamous, that I had fancied it much larger, not expecting that a spot so small could have held vice and profligacy enough to make it so distinguished. It must have been very much condensed.

BALTIMORE, *August* 23*d*.—To-day I have to make my debut in Washington City. I feel like a schoolboy just before examination, and wish the "ceremonial" was well over.

WASHINGTON CITY, *August* 28*th*.—The "People" says my appointment was a reward for supporting the Administration! The Journals will show that I never supported the *administration;* my votes will uniformly be found opposed to every measure I did not approve. I only supported the country and its President, opposing error and extravagance.

October 1*st*.—Mr. Slacum called; informs me that the Bay of San Francisco is in lat. 37° 48′, and has from 7 to 9 fathoms of water. Texas should look to this and the Californias.

Read the essays of Americanus in the St. Louis Beacon, August, 1829, and La Salle, October, 1829, both by Col. Benton, on the bad policy of having lost Texas, and the policy and importance of reannexing it to the United States. These essays are strong and incontrovertible. Mr. Adams is acting a double part. He has lost Texas to the United States, and is trying to hide the blame for the loss in smoke.

WASHINGTON CITY, *October* 2*d*.—The important right which belongs to Texas of a free navigation of the Red and Arkansas Rivers to the Mississippi, and thence by that river to the ocean, appears to have been forgotten. By the law of nations (nature ?) she unquestionably has that right. No wonder that the United States were averse to the recognition of our independence. Annexation, as her statesmen foresaw, would have been much more advantageous. Owing to Northern fanaticism and the blind spirit of abolition, we remain a "spunky little independent republic," with all our "blushing honors thick upon us."

October 8*th*.—Mr. Catlett called at the State Department at 12 M., with my letter of credence (copy.) Mr. Vail sent for him at 2 P. M., and to morrow at 2 P. M. was arranged for my presentation to the President. Mr. Van Buren requested, through the Secretary of State, a copy of my intended address, which Mr. Catlett made out and sent him.

October 9*th*.—At 2 P. M., agreeably to arrangement, I took a carriage, and repaired to the Department of State. Mr. Vail received me very cordially and politely, and went with me in the carriage to the President's. We were introduced, by an attendant in waiting, into the reception room, or one so used on this occasion; it was the small room immediately east of, and adjoining the large circular one. After being seated two or three minutes, the President entered alone. I advanced to meet him, when the usual civilities were exchanged. I then took from the table within my reach, my letter of credence, which I had laid down there, and holding it in my hand, made a short complimentary address. When I had finished, I handed the letter to him, which he received, and then replied. He then advanced, and again offered me his hand, and invited me to a seat. He made many inquiries of me about myself; asked me if I was from *North Carolina*, or intimated as if he was under that impression. I remained about ten minutes, when, the conversation stopping, I rose; the President rose, and again shook hands, and saying he would be happy to see me again, bade me good morning. Accompanied by the Acting Secretary, I left the room. On the front steps the Acting Secretary took leave, saying I would always find him at the Department, and that he would be happy to do any thing for me in his power. So ended the ceremony of *Presentation.*

October 10*th.*—Addressed the State Department on the subject of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty of Limits.

October 12*th.*—Withdrew the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and exchanged the ratifications of the Treaty of Limits with Aaron Vail, Esq., Acting Secretary of State.

October 13*th.*—Received Mr. Vail's note in answer to mine withdrawing the proposition for annexation, and wrote officially to Gen. Henderson and Dr. Irwin.

November 6*th.*—Dined with Mr. Poinsett, (Secretary of War;) party very similar to that at the President's. Mr. Poinsett agrees with me on the impolicy of offensive operations against Mexico. He says that Mexico will not invade Texas, unless Texas, invading, should meet with a reverse, when Mexico, *enheartened*, would follow. All the northern States of Mexico, now disposed to be friendly, would also become hostile in case of their country being attacked, and give great annoyance to Texas. Texas should act on the defensive by land; if on the offensive at all, it should be by sea. The northern Mexican States are in favor of the Constitution of '24; the southern, more inclined, and better adapted to centralism.

November 22d.—Called at the State Department, saw Mr. Forsyth, spent a few minutes very pleasantly with him (unofficial.) He proposed that we should make peace with Mexico, by agreeing to furnish them their supplies through Texas, and thus enable them to withstand the French. I told him I thought it would not be good treatment towards *our friends* the French. He laughed, and said no, if indeed they were our friends.

November 24th.—Should the northern States of Mexico separate from the southern, it will be our policy to cultivate the most friendly relations, but not to join them to us. On this account *invasion* would not be advisable, if there were no other reasons. But whether they separate or not, the most friendly relations should be sedulously cultivated.

November 29th.—Read the article in McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce on the subject of Cotton and its manufactures. If England does not take the "blind staggers," she cannot much longer remain indifferent to the growing importance of Texas to her in this respect. [*Note.*—I have lost no opportunity to impress this matter upon the foreign Ministers here; and indeed upon every one, both in my correspondence and personal intercourse.]

MEMORANDUM BOOK NO. 2.

For the Year 1839.

[My attention was chiefly directed during the winter to procuring the passage of laws by the U. S. Congress for appointing Commissioners, and making an appropriation for running and marking the boundary line between Texas and the United States—for procuring admission for our cotton free of duty—and I also was much employed in the matter of depredations committed by Indians from the United States upon the frontiers of Texas.]

WASHINGTON CITY, *April 2d.*—In conversation with Mr. J. W. Houston of this city, he informed me he was present at an interview between Gen. Samuel Houston and Gen. Jackson before the former went to Texas, and that it was the understanding between them that Gen. Jackson would claim the *Neches* as the true *Sabine!!!*

April 8th.—No intelligence from the cabinet at home, each and all of whom appear to be exclusively engaged in the promotion of their own private interest and advancement; every thing else seems neglected.

April 9th.—A foolish project appears to be on foot to send a minister (Col. Bee) to Mexico; a shallow proceeding, which will probably result in no good. It will take about one year for the present administration of Texas to demonstrate its weakness and its . . . . Every honest and tried friend of the country has been removed out of the way, to give place to a few newly-imported politicians, who intend to reap the profits of others' toils and sufferings.

April 12th.—No Gen. Dunlap has come to hand. I do not understand the shuffling at home—"something is rotten in the State"—selfishness and intrigue appear to be the order of the day; little attention is paid to the great interests of the country; but there certainly *appears* to be a most "plentiful lack" of patriotism.

April 13th.—It is a strong evidence of the poverty of worth or talent, when such a man as L. is called for the head of a country. He is a very weak man, and governed by petty passions which he cannot control, and by prejudices which are the result of ignorance (of the world). Obstinacy he possesses, and what his friends call *honesty*. The financial affairs of Texas are in a most ruinous train; the recklessness of the present administration is most astonishing in this respect. Congress have made the most extravagant as well as *unlimited* appropriations, without providing any means. The repeal of the cash tariff system will have a most unfavorable effect also. Years of suffering and misery are entailed upon Texas if she persist in her present financial course. Individual ruin, and loss of national credit and character, must be the certain result. I thank God I on all occasions voted and used my exertions against the issuing a single "shin-plaster." These will put the country back ten years.

April 15th.—Every Texas shin-plaster now issued is a fraud and a national crime, and all confidence either in the wisdom or honesty of the government must soon be lost. Received papers from Texas, but *no letters.* Every thing attests the weakness and imbecility of the administration. The lawyers are like to have fine harvesting, and many are gathering to the field. The government must soon come to a stand still for want of funds. Their foolish extravagance is incredible, horrible. An *unlimited* amount of promissory notes have been appropriated for public buildings, when the present ones are sufficient for five or ten years to come, or even for twenty if necessary.

April.—The result of the Texas *system* (?) of finance will be to throw millions of shin-plasters into the hands of individuals at 10 cents on the dollar, which the Government will have to redeem at 100 cents, and 10 per cent. interest thereon (or repudiate.) This is the great swindling plan, and the bubble will burst one of these days. The situation of the diplomatic representative of such a government as Texas is above all others the most irksome and unpleasant. If there were any decent *system* of government, or one properly administered, this would be different. I will hold no other office until a change, and a radical one, is produced, as nothing but disgrace can come of it.

BALTIMORE, *May 24th.*—Embarked with Messrs. Williams & Bryan on board the "Viper" (for Galveston.)

ON BOARD THE "VIPER," *June 20th.*—Found ourselves fifteen or twenty miles to the east of Galveston at daylight—beat up—took a pilot on board, and crossed the bar about 1 P. M.

GALVESTON, *June 29th.*—Dined with the citizens of Galveston.

HOUSTON, *July 4th.*—Declined a (public) dinner at Beauchamp's Springs.

BRAZORIA, *July 20th.*—Dined with the citizens of Brazoria county. [On my passage homeward an election had been held in this county for senator, and I was elected. My friends, in their zeal and devotion, had *pledged* me to serve if elected, and I was compelled to redeem their pledges, and to accept, contrary to my wishes, and contrary to a previous fixed determination to retire from public life until better counsels should prevail in the country.]

August 14*th.*—The folly of Lamar is in nothing more apparent than his threats of *offensive* war against Mexico—and whenever a campaign is set on foot it will be disastrous. 15*th.*—Texas is overwhelmed with army and navy officers—there are enough for Russia—and poor Texas is without the means to support them many weeks longer. 16*th.*—Borrowing may serve to protract the crisis awhile, but come it must with a tremendous crash, ere long. 20*th.*—Gen. Lamar may mean well—I am not disposed to impugn his motives—he has fine belles-lettres talents, and is an elegant writer. But his mind is altogether of a dreamy, poetic order, a sort of political Troubadour and Crusader, and wholly unfit by habit or education for the active duties, and the every-day realities of his present station. Texas is too small for a man of such wild, visionary, "vaulting ambition."

August 26*th.*—It strikes me very forcibly our Indian policy has of late been wrong. We should be at peace with them, for we can make nothing by war. The United States and the Seminoles is an evidence.

Houston, *September* 13*th.*—The administration is operating like certain fevers upon the constitution—bringing the patient to the extremest point of exhaustion possible, and then leaving him either to die, or recover, (as chance dictates;) this is the only way Gen. Lamar can do with the country. The only chance for the promissory note system is for it to "go through its course," and exhaust itself (by a plentiful eruption.) All we can now hope for is to save the patient's life. 15*th.*—It is an old saying, that "when things get at the worst they begin to mend:" this is likely to be the only chance for Texas; but where can the men be found bold enough to undertake the herculean task of raising the country from her depression.

September 16*th.*—No policy could possibly have been more unwise than the removal of the seat of government to Austin, and corrupt means were used to place it there; but now that so much money has been expended, I shall be for its remaining at that place. 17*th.*—"Two removes are as bad as a fire," says poor Richard, and so I say about the seat of government, for *one* has been about equal to a moderate conflagration.

September 18*th.*—What will become of the gold button gentry of the army and navy? Poor fellows, you have a sad fate before you—for to go or stay is death, or at least starvation.

October 3*d.*—Received a letter from Christopher Hughes, with a copy of one from Viscount Lord Palmerston.

AUSTIN, *November* 1*st.*—At Austin, amid every discomfort and privation, no room or bed to be had for love or money.

November 12*th.*—Attended in Congress, placed on Committee of Foreign Affairs by changing Finance Committee with Dr. Everett.

November 19*th.*—Gen. H. is not so strong in what he does himself, as in what his enemies do: it is not *his* strength, but *their* weakness—not his *wisdom* but their *folly*. Cunning, Indian cunning, is the secret of his success. Old Bowles, the Cherokee Indian chief, learned him all he knows—though he has native tact, was an apt scholar, and learned *Indian* well.

November 21*st.*—I was inquired of by an influential friend of the President's, to know on what terms I would be his friend. My reply was, "Bid him disband his legions, submit his conduct to the general censure, and stand the judgment of a Senate, and I was his friend.

November 22*d.*—Gen. H——n in his administration of the Government diverged at a large angle from the true course, but as he travelled on it but a little way, the effects did not become apparent to careless, or inattentive observers. Gen. L——r's following the same wrong course, makes the evil prominent, and the effects felt by all.

November 24*th.*—No man is more completely master of the art of appropriating to himself the merit of others' good acts, and shifting on to others the odium of his bad ones, than Gen. Houston.

November 25*th.*—D. G. Burnett is a good, honest man enough, has patriotism, and means well enough, and has decided talent; but he lacks tact and judgment, and is always too much under the influence of his prejudices, which are very powerful. He has every kind of sense but common sense, and consequently will never do for a statesman.

November 30*th.*—Wrote to C. Hughes at Stockholm, the friend of Texas. Annexation is the policy for Texas now; but how to obtain it is the question.

December 3*d.*—The framework of the Government has been and is being shattered, weakened, and wasted so completely, that we shall have to abandon it, and by and by remove the rubbish and wreck, and begin to build anew from the foundation, if happily we shall have the means. We may patch up the shaking concern for a year or two, but it is a discouraging and a thankless task. I have no patience with the authors of the country's ruin.

December 6*th.*—Nothing since the days of the Crusades, it seems to me, has been more extravagant and foolish than the idea of *Texas* carrying on an offensive war with Mexico. 7*th.*—I have ever been opposed to making war upon our Indians. We had better *buy* their friendship.

December 10*th.*—In conversation with the President and his cabinet, I expressed the opinion that our *scale* of operations was too large; and that this was a great fault, thinking and acting as a great nation, when we were but a first rate *county;* and that there were counties in the United States ahead of us in wealth and population, and that we were about to realize the fable of the frog and the ox—and burst. I was *hooted* at by Judge Burnett for this opinion: "*nous verrons.*"

December 16*th.*—Committee of two Houses on Foreign Relations prepared the joint secret resolutions. There is again a faint hope of peace with Mexico, and independence. 17*th.*—Committee on Foreign Relations further discussed the secret resolutions for negotiation with Mexico. 18*th.*—(Joint) Committee on Foreign Relations reported the resolutions for peace signed by Lawrence and myself. 19*th.*—Passed the same to third reading. 21*st.*—The most important measures passed the Senate in secret session finally upon the (joint) report made by Lawrence and myself. I hope peace may be the consequence.

December 24*th.*—Gen. Houston, I fear, does not care how completely L——r ruins the country, so that he can hide the errors, the follies, and wide-spread ruin of his own past administration, and have it to say, "I told you so; there is nobody but old Sam after all."

December 31*st*.—Some of the mem. in this book have been transferred to it from another more especially devoted to *political* matters.

January 1*st*, 1840.—The prospects of the country are gloomy enough. If it were not for appearing to yield too easily to adverse circumstances, I would resign my seat in the Senate today, for I can do little good. The 1st Congress took an immense stride towards the ruin of the country. I served in the 2d Congress, (three sessions,) and trusted I had succeeded in shutting the floodgates of destruction. But the evils were only temporarily arrested. The 3d Congress opened the gates again and wider than ever, and now the flood of ruin must exhaust itself before they can ever be closed. The "Crevasse" is too large to be stopped. Hamilton's scheme is a desperate one. If it bring peace with Mexico, I shall not regret having voted to intrust him with powers which, under almost any other circumstances, I most certainly should have declined doing. But "desperate diseases require desperate remedies."

I had hoped something from General Houston, but he appears only intent upon making L——r's administration as odious as possible, in order that the contrast with his own may be favorable to him. He is willing the Government should be a failure, in order that he may have it to say there is no one but "old Sam" that the people can depend upon, and that he is the only man that can successfully administer the Government of Texas. L——r is certainly no statesman, and he and his friends are ruining the country and going to the —— as fast as General H. can possibly wish. This he sees, and chuckles at; hence nothing can be expected from him more than to save appearances. He is skilful to destroy his enemy, but will do nothing to stay the impending ruin. These are mournful but true reflections to commence the "New Year" with.

MEMORANDUM BOOK No. 3.

From January, 1840, *to the close of* 1843.

(The Memoranda in this book are principally private ones.)

Austin, *February 4th*.—[All *private* Memoranda omitted here.] Presented to the Senate, M. de Saligny, as Chargé d'Affaires of H. M. the king of the French.

February 5th.—Senate adjourned—freedom and liberty was once again restored, "*aucun ſ'respire.*"

March 13th.—Woke up at night with the alarm of "Indians." The suburbs of the town were plundered of all the horses, and Ward and Hedley killed and scalped; heard the cries of the latter while under the hands of the Indians. *14th.*—The town was again thrown into a panic by another alarm.

March 22d.—News came in from San Antonio of the destruction of the Comanches, who came in for the purpose of celebrating a treaty, and of the death of eight of our most valuable citizens, whose lives appear to have been most wantonly sacrificed.

April 6th.—Constant alarms of Indians and Mexicans. Our *wise* Government has resolved upon fortifications at Austin.

June 7th.—The fool order calling out the *militia*, came out yesterday; a crazy Administration have nearly ruined the country. One year more, and the work will be complete.

June 12th.—Stood guard over the town all night.

December 14th.—Elected President *pro tem.* of the Senate.—On the 20th of November, offered in the Senate a resolution to repeal all the laws authorizing the issue of promissory notes of the Government; which was refused by a vote of 10 to 2.

COLUMBIA, *August 14th.*—Started for Houston. *16th.*—Declined being a candidate for the Vice Presidency. *17th.*—Returned to Columbia.

AUSTIN, *November 30th.*—Received a letter from Gen. Houston, inviting me to accept the station of Secretary of State, and urging it upon me.

December 13th.—Attended the inauguration; accepted the appointment of Secretary of State, and remained at Austin through the month.

January 22d, 1842.—Instructed Gen. McIntosh relative to difficulty with France. *26th.*—Recalled Hamilton, and instructed Col. J. Reilly in reference to Treaty, Indians, and Annexation.

WASHINGTON ON THE BRAZOS, *June 15th*, 1843.—Issued proclamation for an armistice between Texas and Mexico. *17th.*—Received Gen. Murphy as Chargé d'Affaires of the

United States. 26*th*.—Lieut. Galan arrived with dispatches from Gen. Woll, Commander-in-chief of the army of the North. 28*th*.—Mr. O. Connor arrived with dispatches from Capt. Elliot, H. B. M. Chargé d'Affaires, announcing that Gen. Woll was authorized to negotiate the *terms*, &c., of the armistice. 30*th*.—Dispatched an answer to Capt. Elliot, and agreeing to the proposition to treat with Gen. Woll, requested the release of the Mier and other prisoners.

Galveston, *October* 29*th*.—Arranged with M. Le Vicompte de Cramayel, (Chargé d'Affaires of H. M. the king of the French,) the terms of the Convention about the royal line of packets touching at Galveston.

Washington on the Brazos, *December* 17*th*.—Dispatched Mr. Raymond, Secretary of Legation to the United States; *refused the proposals for annexation.*

December 31*st*.—The close of the year 1843, the conclusion of Gen. H.'s second year of his second term of office, and of the second year of my term as Secretary of State. Affairs in the main have been managed agreeably to my wishes and advice, and the country has recovered from its extreme depression. I have had nothing to do with the "seat of Government policy," and have been opposed to Gen. H.'s course upon it; knowing this, he has ceased to counsel with me upon it. I have also strenuously opposed his system of petty and vindictive warfare upon individuals, and the "Honorable Congress," which are gotten up by him to make political capital for himself, but are injurious to the interests and character of the country. Gen. H. and myself are drifting away from each other hourly. He has not kept faith with me in relation to Cabinet appointments. It was understood between us that I should have "worthy associates," or, in other words, men who would assist and sustain me, and who possessed the necessary abilities. The Cabinet officers associated with me are good, decent men enough, but, with one exception, have not the requisite qualifications,—have no strength or force; and they have been selected more with a view of subserviency to the President, than of their ability to subserve the country's welfare and interests. Appointments are now made to those offices without consultation with me; and this is a breach of the *implied* understanding between myself and the President, if it was not the expressed one, and I think it was "so nominated in the bond." But I have a vitally important object to accomplish in completing the salvation and safety of the country,—the complete restoration of its finances, and its ultimate annexation to the United States, or ultimate peace and independence; and from this purpose I have resolved not to be diverted by minor considerations, and more especially by private griefs. I may have to play the part of "Curtius," and if so, I am prepared to make a sacrifice like his, if the gulf of destruction which has so long yawned for Texas can happily be closed. I am also content to let Gen. H. be the "Cæsar," for it is only by yielding to his vanity and ambition that we can get on together; and the whole safety of the country, and the successful issue of the important measures now pending, require that we should co-operate; for, however powerless he might be to do good, his *position* as President puts it in his power to do great harm; and the condition of public affairs is becoming too critical to sustain any violent jar or shock. It therefore becomes my duty to yield to much private wrong, which I am resolved cheerfully to do.

Holding the position I do in the Cabinet of Gen. H., I am not at liberty, nor would it be proper for me, publicly to oppose any of his acts, or any part of his policy, however much I may be opposed to them privately. There are but two courses I can take—either to resign, or to hold my peace where I cannot openly approve. Were the country out of her difficulties, I should not hold office under Gen. H. an hour; indeed, I should never have taken office. The same inducement which caused me to accept, still causes me to continue. If I resign, all is lost for which I have so long labored; if I hold on, I must do a violence to my sense of what is right, and *appear* to sanction measures which I heartily disapprove. I must, in the language of Scripture, "do evil, that good may come"—but the evil is small, and the good may be great. I have, however, lost no opportunity to dissuade him from his petty wars upon Austin, Congress, and individual citizens, who will not fall down and worship him; and to some extent have succeeded;—but to the world, who little understand the relations existing between me and the President, I shall have to appear as his coadjutor in measures I disapprove *toto cœlo;* and, consequently, raise up for myself hundreds of enemies on this score, who while I live will not cease to persecute me.

MEMORANDUM BOOK No. 4.

From January, 1844, *to the close of* 1848.

[The Memoranda in this Book are principally private ones.]

WASHINGTON ON THE BRAZOS, *September 2d.*—General election for President, and other officers of the Government.

[Elected President of the Republic for three years.]

[The inauguration took place, Monday, December 9th.]

June 4th, 1845.—Wednesday, 4th, issued Proclamation of Peace with Mexico; same day received proposals of peace from the Comanche Chief, Santa Anna, the last enemy which Texas had—accepted them. Now, my country, for the first time in ten years, is *actually at peace with* ALL *the world.*

December 31*st.*—I very much fear I have given mortal offence to Gen. Houston, in having succeeded in my administration thus far. He will only omit to persecute and hate me, as he has so many others, on condition that I will let him appropriate all the credit of my acts as President to himself, as he is now endeavoring to do; and as he has already pretty successfully done, those I performed as Secretary of State. (V. vol. ii. pp. 267–8).

That Gen. H. preferred Gen. Burleson to me as his successor, is well known to me; and I suppose for the reason that he believed Gen. B. would break down, as L——r did, and leave Gen. H. a triumph, in enabling him to say, as he is so over-fond of doing, "There is nobody in Texas, after all, capable of governing the country, but old Sam." But I have prevented Gen. H. of this triumph, and of course may prepare for his vengeance. I have no objection to his taking as much of the credit as he pleases, if it will gratify his vanity or his ambition, so long as he makes a proper use of the capital so obtained, and appropriates it to the welfare of Texas; but *if ever* he fails to do this, I shall be obliged to vindicate the truth of history against him, as well as the ten thousand others who are interested in perverting it. To make annexation sure, I have had to make great personal sacrifices, and probably no less than to be misunderstood and abused for the remainder of my life, though I trust truth will ultimately prevail, and posterity judge correctly; at all events, I shall be in a few years beyond the reach of injustice. I had a difficult task to perform, to secure success to this great measure, by exciting the rivalry and jealousy of the three greatest powers in the world, and at the same time so to act as to effect my object and maintain the perfect good faith of Texas towards all these powers. The people were, and are impatient; they have been ground down by years of adversity, poverty, and war; and they look to but one object—escape from the manifold evils of the past. They would not, perhaps, break the national faith wantonly, but it is a far-off consideration to them, compared with annexation. The cry has been, and is, Annexation at once, at any price, and at any sacrifice. But I have been unwilling to break the national faith in order to gratify this unfortunate impatience. Like "Curtius," I have had no alternative but to leap into the gulf, and by the sacrifice of all political hope, and all just contemporary approbation, to save that most inestimable jewel, the National Faith and (with it her) Honor!

MEMORANDUM BOOK NO. 5, (Folio,)

From January, 1849, *to July*, 1850.—(144 pp.)

Barrington, *November* 14*th*.—From 1836 to 1846, I continued to serve the country, with slight exceptions, in various capacities, as Soldier, Representative, Minister, Senator, Secretary of State and President; my salary in the latter station for fourteen months was the only one which served to cover actual personal expenses. Still the Legislature of Texas (1st) in voting down a proposition of *Thanks*, indirectly thereby passed a vote of *Censure;* and the Government at Washington City through its organ, the Union, denounced me as a "traitor." So much for contemporary justice; and so much for having saved General Houston's second administration from the errors, the follies, and the wide-spread ruin of the first, and for having subsequently obtained for my adopted country peace, prosperity, independence, and annexation!

December 13*th*.—The following extract of a letter from Hamilton Stuart, Esq., Editor of the Civilian at Galveston, dated November 20th, 1847, expresses the opinion of a disinterested person upon some of my official acts. "Your letters for publication," (alluding to my letters in reply to Ex-President Tyler,) "and private note reached me yesterday. The former will be cheerfully awarded a place in our columns. The latter was welcome and gratifying. I am glad to see you emerge so far, both politically and personally, from the seclusion you appear to have courted since your retirement from a long and successful public career—traduced, but triumphant—resting from your labors now completed, and with little prospect that you or any other man in Texas will ever be again called upon to discharge duties so difficult, so responsible, and so important to the State, or so far affecting the Union, the whole of North America, and the leading powers of Europe. The events you write of belong to the History of the Age, and I am glad you have come forward to vindicate the integrity of that history which so many are interested in perverting." * * *

January 2*d*.—In communicating to the public, as I did in the fall of 1848, Gen. Houston's official order to me as Secretary of State, to close with the proposition of England and France, (of 24th September, '44,) I was actuated by a sense of duty to the people of Texas. I was alarmed at his course when that order was given, and resolved either to avoid a compliance with it or resign. Vested, as I was, with the actual discharge of the Executive functions from that date to the end of his term, and already elected his successor in the office, I felt at liberty to disobey the order, and I did so; although it had previously been communicated verbally to me several times, by Gen. H——n, to whom I had, again, in consequence tendered my resignation. I also resolved to keep the order a secret, so far as the public generally was concerned, and only showed it in confidence to some few persons. But when he joined the "free soil party," in his vote with Mr. Benton on the Oregon Bill, I became satisfied of his unfaithfulness to Texas, and felt no longer at liberty to withhold from the people so important a fact with respect to his course on the subject of annexation; I therefore published it with a short letter from myself in the

Western Texian. Anxious as Capt. Elliot was to defeat annexation, even he would have been unwilling to have seen it defeated at such a risk to the peace and harmony of the powers concerned; for, when I showed him the order of 24th September 1844, he exclaimed, "Thank God! that you have disobeyed it, for I tremble to think of the consequences which otherwise would have resulted. *War!* between the United States, on the one side, and Great Britain and France on the other, would inevitably have resulted from a compliance on your part with that order." Such also was the opinion of others, and *of myself*—an event at the time (war) I looked upon as the greatest possible disaster which could have happened to the cause of humanity, civilization, and to civil and religious liberty throughout the world. His friends have charged me with ingratitude towards him in publishing that order, but the charge is wholly false, for I ought to have published it before I did. It was public property, and I had no right to withhold it. Besides, I was under no obligations to him, I never asked or received a *favor* from him. The obligations which did exist, were of a reciprocal character, and bound neither to do what was wrong, or omit any public duty. * * (The proof of all this follows in the original memorandum.)

Had I have been as well satisfied of his treachery to Texas in 1844, as I was in 1848, and am now, I should not have withheld a knowledge of his course in the matter of annexation from the public a single day after I came into the Executive chair, or at least not a single day after the measure was consummated and out of danger of all contingencies. * * * (the rest omitted.) V. Waco, 10th No. "Ranger."

February 1*st*. * * * The annexation of Texas is an event the resulting consequences of which are too vast to be yet realized or calculated. Of this measure I was the Architect. * * I saved it subsequently from the destructive violence of some potent enemies; as well as of its best friends in the United States and Texas, who, like the boys in chase of the butterfly, would have crushed it in their imprudent and impatient grasp. The exciting and balancing, of the constantly acting and re-acting rival influences of England, France, Mexico, and the United States, and converging them all to the *one* *point*, with the view, and for the purpose of effecting my object, was a labor, in which for five years I did not give "sleep to my eyes, or slumber to my eyelids," and in which I was finally successful.

In 1836, '7, '8 and '9, the tables of the United States Congress were loaded with petitions and remonstrances against the admission of Texas and against slavery; nor did the feeling of opposition to the measure abate, to a degree which appeared to afford any hope for its accomplishment, until England and France were brought to bear upon the morbid jealousy and sensibility of the American people, and their leading statesmen. Among these last was Gen. Andrew Jackson, (v. p. 79.) His hatred, jealousy, and fear of the grasping power of England, particularly, was always proverbial, and in the latter years of his life became a kind of monomania. Of the feelings on the part of this very influential statesman every proper use was made which was possible; and so of many others. In 1839, '40, '41, '42, and '43, however, had any one spoken of annexation as a measure likely to be accomplished, (in 1845–6,) he would have been regarded as a madman. Nothing during this period appeared more improbable, no political proposition more absurd. Still, in the first of those years, (1839,) I had begun to turn my attention to that train of measures, and course of policy, by which I ultimately succeeded. I addressed in April, 1839, through the agency of Hon. C. Hughes, American Chargé at Stockholm and the oldest American Diplomate in Europe, a memorial to Lord Palmerston, H. B. M. Secretary of State, on the subject of the prospective importance of Texas in an agricultural point of view, and pointing out the way in which she might be useful and serviceable to the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain. To this I subsequently received a reply through the same channel, from his Lordship, saying, the subject was one of importance, and should receive due attention from him. This was among the first in the series of those acts, among the first *trembling* steps in that course of policy, which seven years after resulted in the annexation of Texas to the United States. C. Hughes was an efficient friend of Texas, now dead, and history will not do justice to his memory, if it do not give him his share of merit in annexation. From 1839, until the close of 1841, circumstances did not permit me to pursue any efficient measures, but I did what was possible during that time; and the first official act (almost) performed by me, after taking charge of the State Department, in the latter year, was, to instruct the Chargé to the United States to sound that Government on the subject; and from that time until Texas surrendered herself like "a bride adorned for her husband," I never lost sight of it for a moment.

* * * * * * * * *

I have had no connection with the *grasping war policy* of Mr. Polk's administration; and because I would not lend myself to his views, I was denounced by his organ, the "UNION," and suffered the whole weight of his adverse influence. I have ever been the advocate of *peace*, and opposed to war as long as it could be avoided. In 1835 I opposed premature excitement. Every practicable scheme of pacification with Mexico I subsequently advocated for ten years. But, being in war, forced to resort to hostilities, I would advise as vigorous a prosecution of them as the means of the country would permit. I always opposed offensive war upon Mexico by Texas, as she had no means to enable her to prosecute hostilities in an enemy's country, unless she resorted to plunder and robbery. I have always maintained the policy of maintaining peace with the various Indian tribes in the country, and the faithful observance of all treaty stipulations with them. And in 1845, when I called Congress together to act upon the propositions of the United States, I was enabled to announce to them the gratifying fact that "*Texas was at peace with all the world,*" Indians, and every body else; and it was the first time for ten years that this had been the case. * * * * * * *

The *advocate for peace* for ten years, I naturally turned with disgust and abhorrence from a proposition of Mr. Polk's through Com. S——n, "that I should manufacture a war for the United States." * * * * The anxiety of Mr. Polk for a pretext for a war with Mexico had been known to me for some time, through the agency of employees of the Texan Government at Washington city. That he was predetermined to have a war with that country so soon as the pretext was found I also well knew, and that such also was the feeling of a large party in the United States. I also felt satisfied that the *United States* had good and sufficient cause for war with Mexico, and, acting as a great nation ought to do, I thought, if she felt such cause existed, she should make the war *herself*, and upon the right grounds. * * * * The war was sought to be made every where except under the constitution, and by every means known to human ingenuity; and both on the eastern as well as western coasts of Mexico, and in Texas. Com. S——n's expeditions, Col. F——t's, Gov. W——e and Yell's missions, all had the same object, and also Com. Sloat's; and last, though not least, Gen. Z. T——r's. This last was a god-send to the administration, and the recommendation of Gen. T. to march the army to the Rio Grande was the consummation of hopes and purposes, of which the proposition to me was a palpable evidence. Gen. T. thereby sprung one of the numerous *traps* which had been set by the Government, and *caught the war*, whether ignorantly or collusively, I have no certain means of knowing. I suppose, however, a military man at the head of a well-appointed army would not be adverse to having an opportunity of meeting a foe in conflict, with whom he would be sure to win a certain kind of laurels; but I do not mean to attach any direct censure to the old general. [In August, 1845, he wrote me on the subject, and my answer of the 23d of that month is on record at Austin, v. p. 68.] I would tread lightly on the ashes of J. K. Polk, for he has "his reward" and has gone to his great Audit. What may be in reserve for Gen. Taylor remains to be seen. The acquisitions from Mexico, obtained by the war, may be an immense blessing to the United States, and to civilization, or an equal curse. This depends upon the use made of them. But I had no direct hand in bringing that war about. I made peace between Texas and Mexico, and in good faith observed it. I resisted all importunities to *manufacture a war* for the United States. I was not in 1845 a citizen of the United States, and of course had, as such, no interest in the quarrels between that country and Mexico. If the former wanted redress for wrongs of twenty years' continuance inflicted by the latter, she should not have had the meanness to have requested Texas to bring about the collision. And the people of the United States had been solemnly assured that annexation should not bring war; and so far as I was concerned, I was determined to do every thing in my power to consummate that great measure in peace. It is therefore in justice to myself, and not with the least disposition to reflect upon Mr. Polk, or any one else, that I make a short detail of matters, which, as a citizen of this glorious American Union, I could wish had not transpired.

In May, 1845, Commodore Stockton, with a fleet of four or five vessels, arrived at Galveston, and with him Hon. C. A. Wickliffe, ex-Postmaster General of the United States. These gentlemen had various interviews with Major Gen. Sherman, the chief officer of the militia of Texas, the character of which is not precisely known to me; but the result of which was active preparations at Galveston for organizing volunteer forces, the ostensible (and no doubt real) object of which was an invasion of Mexico. A party, it appears, was anxious that the expedition should be set on foot, under the auspices of the Major-General and Com. Stockton; but these gentlemen, it appears, were unwilling to take so great a responsibility: it was therefore resolved that the plan should be submitted to me and my sanction obtained—(quere, forced?) indeed such, as afterwards became apparent, were the Commodore's instructions; and the organizing, &c., had been gone into for the purpose of forcing my assent to the proposed scheme. On the 28th May, Gen. Sherman for himself and associates in the militia, and Dr. Wright, surgeon of the steamer Princeton, and secretary of the Commodore, (as he informed me,) took three days in unfolding to me the object of their visit. Dr. Wright stated that he was sent by Com. Stockton to propose that I should authorize Major Gen. Sherman to raise a force of two or three thousand men, or as many as might be necessary, and make a descent upon the Mexican town of Matamoras, and capture and hold it; that Com. Stockton would give assistance with the fleet under his command, under the pretext of giving the protection promised by the United States to Texas by Gen. Murphy; that he would undertake to supply the necessary provisions, arms and munitions of war for the expedition, would land them at convenient points on our coast, and would agree to pay the men and officers to be engaged; that he had consulted Gen. Sherman, who approved the plan, and was present to say so; and, besides that, the people generally from Galveston to Washington had been spoken to about it, that it met their unanimous approval; and all that was now wanting was the sanction of the Government to the scheme. Gen. Sherman confirmed what Dr. Wright stated, said he had had various interviews with Com. Stockton, and hoped I would approve the expedition. I asked Dr. Wright if he had written instructions from the Commodore, or any communication from him to me; that the matter was a grave one, and I did not well see how, without them, if disposed even, I could undertake such weighty responsibilities. As I expected, he replied in the negative, but that if I wished, Com. Stockton would visit me in person, and give me the same assurances in person. I asked him if the Minister of the United States was cognizant of the matter. He then stated to me that the scheme was rather a confidential and secret one, that it was undertaken under the sanction of the United States Government, but that the President did not wish to be known in the matter, but approved Com. Stockton's plan;—that as an evidence of that to me, Mr. Wickliffe was associated with the Commodore; that the President of the United States, satisfied that annexation was in effect consummated, wished Texas to place herself in an attitude of active hostility towards Mexico, so that, when Texas was finally brought into the Union, *she might bring a war with her;* and this was the object of the expedition to Matamoras, as now proposed. He further stated that Com. Stockton was known to be, individually, very wealthy; that he had means of his own sufficient to support and carry on the expedition; and that it was desirable it should appear to the world as his individual enterprise, while at the same time I was given to understand that the Government of the United States was, in reality, at the bottom of it, and anxious for its accomplishment and for the reasons stated. I then said, smiling, "So, gentlemen, the Commodore, on the part of the United States, wishes me to *manufacture a war* for them;" to which they replied affirmatively. Subsequently I had an interview with Gen. Sherman alone. He expressed to me his own anxiety that I should assent to Com. Stockton's proposals, represented that it was extremely popular among the people, and that he would have no difficulty in obtaining the requisite number of men, upon the assurances of Stockton that they should be provisioned and paid. I obtained all the information in my power from these parties as to their plans; and although indignant at the proposition * * I suppressed my feelings, and gave no expression of opinion, but suggested every objection and difficulty which presented themselves to my mind, and for three days kept them answering these objections or obviating difficulties, until they became pretty thoroughly impressed with the belief that I was thinking very seriously on the matter; and so indeed I was, but not in the way they hoped. I saw the dilemma in which I was placed, and for once found it necessary to temporize. There was much excitement in the public mind on account of my supposed opposition to annexation: there was in the public mind also a hatred of Mexico, and a burning disposition for revenge. Gen. Sherman was a popular leader, and Com. Stockton had it in his power to second him very effectually, if he chose, in any movement against my administration. Anarchy might ensue, bloodshed and violence; and beyond all these there was the imminent danger to annexation they might induce. Capt. Elliot had gone to Mexico, and I was expecting him in a few days with propositions of peace, and an acknowledgment of Texan independence. But, until he came, I could say nothing openly in regard to these expectations. Under these circumstances I answered Commodore Stockton that I would take a few days longer to reflect upon the matter, that Congress would soon convene, (June 16,)—that in so grave a matter I should choose to have their advice. I despatched Dr. Wright and Gen. Sherman with this answer, and suggested that they should visit Galveston, and if convenient, after further consultation with Com. Stockton and Mr. Wickliffe, return to Washington again, and that I should be pleased to see both those gentlemen also. I said no word which could be construed into an expression of opinion favorable to the contemplated capture of Matamoras, or assurance that I would sanction the measure. But I kept off the issue, and got breathing time. In a few days after Capt. Elliot, H. B. M. Chargé, returned from Mexico, and brought the preliminary treaty and an acknowledgment of our independence by that country. This enabled me to declare *my* independence of Com. Stockton, and Mr. Wright, Gov. Yell, Major Donelson, Mr. Polk, and Mr. Buchanan. * * * * I issued my proclamation, making known the Mexican arrangement early in June, and declaring a cessation of hostilities. Dr. Wright and General Sherman were on their return to Washington, (and in high feather, as I was informed,) when my proclamation met them at Hamlin's, and dashed all their expectations. Gen. Sherman returned home from there; but Dr. Wright came on and saw me. *One word* settled Com. Stockton's business, and assured him I never had the least idea of *manufacturing a war for the United States.* Soon after which he left our waters and sailed for the Pacific in search of the same *un*pacific object which had brought him to Texas, as I suppose. I, however, did not escape great annoyance and trouble in consequence of his attempt.

Many had been engaged and promised offices in the campaign to Matamoras, who were disappointed, and laid all the blame on me, (I came near having one or two street-fights with drunken fellows who swore they would have been captains or majors but for me.) The public too were disappointed, and the excitement against me was increased by this circumstance. I could have been very popular if I had sanctioned the war scheme, and allayed all excitement against myself; and probably there was no personal advantage which the United States Government had it in their power to bestow, or no emolument which I could not have stipulated for and received if I had so chosen, by acceding to involve the country afresh in a war with Mexico.

That this scheme had the sanction of the United States, I have the direct and positive assurance of the Texan Chargé at Washington City in September, 1845; besides which, Mr. Donelson, the United States Minister here, in his published despatches to his Government, alludes to the matter more than once in unmistakable terms; and to the passage of a law placing the militia under the command of Gen. Sherman. (See his letters of July 2d and 11th, 1845, among many others.) He in one instance censures me for not being "willing to fight" for our Rio Grande boundary, in allusion to my refusal to sanction Com. S.'s plan for seizing Matamoras. I never refused or was unwilling to fight for any interest of Texas, when *necessary*. I had fought for the Rio Grande boundary, and aided to establish it, long before either Major Donelson or Com. Stockton had thought of coming to the country. * * * And I procured from Mexico an acknowledgment of our independence, with that boundary. I sent Col. Bell, (now Governor,) early in 1845, west of the Nueces, and Col. J. C. Hays; and at the moment of acknowledgment was in full, undisputed, military and civil possession of the whole Rio Grande country, below El Paso at least. After all this, and just as we were on the point of annexing ourselves to the United States, to have sent an expedition to take Matamoras, and re-assert our claim by such an act, would have been a demonstration rather in favor of the *weakness* of our title, than its strength: and so I told Mr. Wickliffe, and, I believe, Major Donelson likewise; and so they knew very well, for it is a self-evident proposition, and needs no argument to prove it. * * * * * * *

[2 pages omitted.]

February 2d.—In conclusion, therefore, of what I have to leave on record, (now,) in justice to myself and the integrity of history in regard to my own administration, and that of Mr. Polk, of two Governments now merged in one by our immediate instrumentality, I am bound to say, the war between the United States and Mexico grew directly out of annexation; that it was the "foregone conclusion" of Mr. Polk when he came into office, to have that war with Mexico; that, failing in his most cherished scheme of inducing me to take the responsibility of provoking and bringing it about, *he blundered* into it by other means, and was finally very glad to *blunder* out of it, as he did. The war was begun without law, and in like manner ended without law; and a feeble, distracted, and imbecile nation, by it were divested of an immense territory, which, as a component part of Mexico, never could have been of use to her or anybody else, but which, in the possession of the United States, may and probably will become of incalculable importance to that country and the world—if it does not unfortunately dissolve the Union. * * * * * *

[2 pages omitted.]

It is true, the United States made the war *ostensibly* for the

DEFENCE of Texas; but, in *reality*, to consummate views of conquest which had been entertained probably for many years, and to wage which, the annexation of Texas afforded a pretext long sought and wished for. Texas never actually needed the protection of the United States after I came into office; and the *protection* so much talked about at this late period, was all a trick, so far as the United States were concerned. Mr. Donelson, without my knowledge, took occasion of having an interview with the Secretary of State of Texas, when absent from the seat of Government, at Galveston, and procured him to write the letter asking the protection of the United States. There was no necessity for it after the "preliminary Treaty," as we were at peace with Mexico, and knew perfectly well that that Government, though she might bluster a little, had not the slightest idea of invading Texas either by land or water; and that nothing would provoke her to (active) hostilities, but the presence of troops in the immediate neighborhood of the Rio Grande, threatening her towns and settlements on the southwest side of that river. Major Donelson was always "boring" me to ask for protection, protection, protection! (and conjuring up stories of Mexicans coming,) and *I* always laughed at him and the idea. * * * But Donelson appeared so intent upon "encumbering us with help," that finally, to get rid of his annoyance, he was told he might give us as much protection as he pleased; and which, at an early period, I had thought it my duty to ask of him, (not knowing then what might occur.) So he brought down an army and a navy upon us, when there was not a hostile foot, either Indian or Mexican, in Texas; not (as afterwards became apparent) to *protect* Texas, * * * but insure a *collision* with Mexico. The protection asked for was only *prospective* and contingent; the *protection* he had in view was *immediate and aggressive*. * * * * *

[3 pages omitted.]

February 4th.—There was no subject more explicitly agreed upon, understood, and settled, between Major Donelson and myself, in 1845, than that the Rio Grande, from its mouth to its source, was the true and rightful boundary of Texas, (as defined in the act of 1836,) and that the United States would never agree to any other adjustment of the boundary with

Mexico, than the one defined by said act. On the part of the United States, that boundary was fully recognized; no other one was ever dreamed of. It was also the understanding, that the lands of Texas now claimed by Santa Fé, were to be purchased by the United States on liberal terms, and the proceeds applied by Texas, in good faith, to the payment of her public debt. It was also understood, that the United States were to extinguish the Indian titles to lands in Texas, and take control of her Indians. It was never understood that the United States were to have the sovereignty; this was to be and remain in Texas. [*Note.*—I have spoken elsewhere of Mr. Polk's violation of these pledges.] * * * * *

February 6th.—An additional reason I have for believing the Government of J. K. Polk was, in 1845, determined upon a war with Mexico, was the strong disapprobation which he and his friends evinced to the preliminary treaty negotiated by me with the Mexican Government of Gen. Herrera, in the spring of that year, by which Mexico agreed to acknowledge the independence of Texas; and to my Proclamation of June 4th, declaring a consequent cessation of hostilities with Mexico. Had the United States wished to consummate the measure of annexation in peace, that acknowledgment of our independence, and that cessation of hostilities, with wise and prudent management, would have been *promotive* of such a result, at least. But such, unfortunately, was not the case; and as these acts appeared opposed to Mr. Polk's belligerent policy, they were condemned, and violently censured by his friends; and the "Union" denounced them as "*Treason!*" in tones of thunder, which were reverberated far and wide over the country. * *

February 5th.—Some newspapers in Texas have expressed an inability to understand why one so strenuous for obedience to constituted authority as myself, should have disobeyed the Executive instruction of September 24th, 1844, given me as Secretary of State, to close with the proposition of England and France. The reasons are to be found in the extraordinary character of that order; the fatal effect which would have resulted from a compliance with it, to the cause of peace as well as that of annexation; and the fatal embarrassments it would have given to my administration, then about to com mence. * * * The President was absent. I was charged with the duties of the Executive in his absence, and in that character had a right to judge of all matters in connection with our foreign relations. I was also the President elect; and when Gen. Houston left the seat of Government, it was his understood intention to retire, and leave matters to my control. * * * In my double capacity, therefore, of acting and elect President, I felt at liberty to *suspend* the execution of an order, which, as Secretary of State, it was impossible for me to sanction. It would have been worse than useless for me, as Secretary of State, to have addressed Executive instructions to our Minister in Europe, which I should have been obliged to have accompanied with the severest reprobation as the President elect of Texas. * * * The suspension of the order was therefore only an exercise of that discretion to which, under the circumstances, I had a perfect right. I should have been culpable if I had not acted as I did, and Texas would so have adjudged; for if annexation had been defeated, or even retarded, by a compliance with that order on my part, the people would have laid the blame at my door, in spite of any thing I could have said about obedience and subordination. There was another consideration, too, not to be forgotten in this connection. I had originated, as well as controlled and managed, the foreign policy of the country for three years. Gen. Houston had had very little to do with it—once, perhaps, in April, 1844, attempting to interfere, very uselessly and officiously. When I first took charge of the State Department, I occasionally consulted with him, and after explaining the course I proposed to pursue in regard to our foreign relations, and obtaining his consent thereto, I proceeded to execute my plans without further reference to him; and after laboring nearly *three years*, and just as there was a probability of a successful issue to my labors, I, of course, could not be willing to see every thing lost, and the country involved (afresh) in inextricable difficulty almost, to gratify the whim of an individual who appeared to have determined that, because I had not succeeded in consummating annexation during his administration, he would prevent me from effecting it during my own. I was not bound to commit such an act of official suicide. * * * [Two notes omitted.]

[4 pages omitted.]

February 11*th.*—That a compliance with the Executive order of 24th September, 1844, on my part, would either have defeated annexation altogether, or produced a war between the United States on the one side, and England, France, and Mexico on the other, or perhaps both of these results, I think there can be but little doubt, (v. p. 44;) and my means of knowing are, from the position I occupied towards all these powers at the time, probably better than any other man's in America. France and England at that moment were *cordially* united in a desire and a determination to defeat annexation, if possible; all that was wanting, was a plausible PRETEXT for interfering. With France and England, all the monarchical Governments of Europe sympathized on this subject, for all partook of the existing jealousy of the growing power of the United States. This PRETEXT would have been furnished, if I had complied with that fatal order. The condition was, that if France and England would procure an acknowledgment of our independence, Texas would pledge herself in a "Diplomatic Act" (v. Dr. Smith's despatch of June, 1844) to those powers she would never annex herself to any other country. To this diplomatic act the consent of the people of Texas would not have been necessary, or at least France and England would neither have waited for or troubled themselves about this consent, but immediately addressed themselves to carrying into full effect the agreement on their part. We have seen that an official of the English Government, without instructions from his Government, at least of a specific character, but merely at my request, went to Mexico, procured such an acknowledgment, and returned with it to Texas in something less than 90 days, (I allude to Capt. Elliot's trip, begun in March, 1845.) How much sooner, then, could the *authorized* agents of those *two* Governments, acting under the *sanction* of their *sovereigns*, have accomplished the object. No more time would have been necessary than to have gone to Mexico, and made the demand. The first thing, therefore, the people of Texas would have known of the matter, would have been that it was *un fait accompli*—"a thing done!"—the price would have been paid; the condition performed on the part of France and England, who would then have demanded a corresponding performance of the "Diplomatic Act" on our part. The news of this performance and this demand on the part of these two powers, would have been announced to me on the very eve of my entering upon the discharge of the Executive functions of the country, or about that time. Then it would have been "*too late!*" to have consulted the Senate, or the Congress, or to talk about the people's preference for annexation. The cry would have been on the part of these European Governments: "We have fulfilled *our* part of the contract, we call upon you to fulfil yours; for here is the 'hand and seal' of your Executive, pledging you to do so; we know nothing of your Senate, your people's will, or your Constitution. We only know your President." The result of this state of things would have been, that Texas would have yielded with as good a grace as she could to an alternative she did not like, or would have turned to the United States, more probably, and claimed their interference. Here the issue would have been made between the rival powers. The United States would most likely have insisted upon annexation, in which event, the PRETEXT wanted by France and England to "forbid the banns," would already have been afforded by the "Diplomatic Act." How this affair would have terminated, God, in his infinite wisdom, only knows; but it seems to me, that in the disposition then existing among the several Governments, war would have been an inevitable result. Such, too, was the opinion of the European Ministers and agents here. The Prince of Solms, a relative of the Queen of England, told me, in December, 1844, that annexation would be a *casus belli* anyhow, and I have his letter to the same effect. I know from various sources, that if France had stood up to her engagements with England, there would have been war growing out of it, as it was. Had the Diplomatic Act been negotiated, France *would* have stood by England in a war; but it was my refusal to sanction that negotiation which caused her to withdraw; and England had no idea of going to war with the United States unless she could take France with her. I "speak by the book" of these things. There existed in 1844 a most intense desire on the part of various European Governments, England and France particularly, to maintain the *independence* of Texas,—a desire, the extreme intensity of which I was sometimes at a loss to account for; and I was as well assured of the fact, as I can be of any thing not absolutely certain, that a compliance with the order of September 24th would either have defeated annexation, or caused a European war upon the United States.

It has been said, the Diplomatic Act and the Preliminary Treaty amount to the same thing. It is far otherwise. The Preliminary Treaty was understood by all parties to be only the Mexican proposition to be submitted to *the people* of Texas, together with the Resolutions for Annexation, who would *choose* between the alternatives, independence or annexation. * * * The submission of the Preliminary Treaty to the people of Texas, and the perfect understanding that it was to become null in the event of their adopting the proposition of the United States, are matters specifically set down in the agreement between Capt. Elliot and M. de Saligny, on the part of England and France, and A. Smith on the part of Texas; and the "additional article or declaration" by Mr. Cuevas, contains the expression of a similar understanding on the part of Mexico. On the occasion, therefore, of declining a compliance with the order of September 24th, as before mentioned, and in consequence of so declining, I saved the measure of annexation from defeat, or even from a worse fate; and that, too, by a man who has travelled over the United States, announcing himself as the author of, and sole agent in accomplishing, that great measure.

The sum of the whole matter is, England and France, influenced by the strongest desire to prevent annexation, and ensure the separate independence of Texas, conjointly resolved upon the Diplomatic Act in June, 1844, as a means of carrying out their mutual determination to defeat annexation; and for that purpose to secure a *pretext*, or, if you please, a *right*, to interfere in the matter. Gen. Houston, finding annexation could not be effected during his Presidential term, resolved it should not be effected at all; (v. his letter to me of 8th July;) and gave the "Order" to accept the proposition of England and France, and for the negotiation of the Diplomatic Act. France would have been willing, under the rights she would have acquired, by a compliance on her part with the conditions of that

"Act," to have cordially united with England in a PROTEST against annexation, and in a *war*, if necessary, to prevent it. But as I refused to agree to the proposition to celebrate that "Act," France believed she had not sufficient grounds for a protest or a war, and refused to join England in either of these measures; and England, without the "aid and comfort" of France, was unwilling to undertake them alone. But, that a desolating war between the United States and France, England, and Mexico, would have grown out of the agreement of Texas, through her Executive, to the "Diplomatic Act" of 1844, I have no more doubt of than of any *actual* occurrence during my administration, or that we are now annexed—*unless* the two European powers had "backed out" from their determination to prevent annexation, if a pretext for interference could be found. * * * How far it would have influenced the destinies of Europe and America, it is useless now to speculate about; but one thing is probably true,—*it would have entirely changed the condition of political affairs in Europe*, at least; and materially affected the destinies of both Europe and America for a long period of time. * * * *

February 12*th*—"RESUMÉ."—Among the principal acts and results of my fourteen or fifteen months' administration of the government of Texas, the following are enumerated:—

1st. The expenses of the Government were brought considerably within the receipts; and this for the first time, in the history of the country.

2d. There were no debts of any kind or description incurred, and a large amount of former debt was paid off. * *

[Note omitted.]

3d. The currency (exchequers) rose to par soon after the commencement of the Administration, and continued so until its close, during which time Texas did not issue a single bill of credit or paper money.

4th. Texas passed from a paper currency to a metallic one.

* * * * * * * *

5th. At the close of the Administration there was a specie surplus in the treasury of Texas sufficient to support the Government for two years or more.

6th. There was not a single defalcation during the term, nor a dollar of public money lost, as I believe, nor any act of repudiation of the currency committed or allowed.

7th. Without embarrassing the treasury, the expenses of a called session of Congress, of a convention of deputies, of a removal of the seat of Government, and of the repairs of the public buildings at Austin, found in a state of dilapidation, were incurred.

8th. Our frontiers were *efficiently* protected against Mexicans and Indians. There have been more Indian murders and depredations committed in any one month since annexation, than there were during my whole term. (V. Reports to Legislature, and Mem. Feb. 22, 1855.)

9th. We had no difficulties with Mexico, but kept the peace with that country; and set on foot no expeditions after "glory" or for "plunder," and ending in shame and disaster.

10th. The laws throughout the Republic were efficiently enforced, and the administration of civil and criminal justice restored, and uninterruptedly continued. * * *

11th. Immigration of a favorable kind was very large, and a new impulse was given to this and all the great interests of the country. Public and private confidence was restored, and the country made eminently prosperous and happy.

12th. All sectional strife was allayed, and the war between "East" and "West" terminated, as well as the unfortunate wranglings between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government.

13th. The representation in the State Legislature was equalized upon just principles, and all complaint on this score allayed.

14th. The question of the "Seat of Government" was harmoniously settled, and the erratic Government restored to its proper habitation at Austin.

15th. Reduction was made in the tariff and other taxation, and the foundation of other reductions laid.

16th. A decidedly favorable impulse was given to the cause of "common school education," as well as to that of science, religion and morality.

17th. Texas was placed at peace with the world.

18th. An acknowledgment of independence was procured from Mexico, with the Rio Grande as a boundary,—and with no condition except that of maintaining the same without indemnity, and absolving Texas from liability for any portion of the Mexican national debt.

19th. Annexation was consummated; and, so far as Texas was concerned, *peacefully*.

20th. There were no *disastrous* or *abortive* efforts made to settle our difficulties with Mexico, either by negotiation or by war.

21st. A constitution for the State was formed and adopted, (by a convention called by the President,) said to be the best in the world; in accordance with which a State Government was organized and put into successful operation, unattended by a single difficulty, foreign or domestic.

22d. Notwithstanding the position of extraordinary delicacy in which Texas was placed in her relations with the great leading powers of the world and with Mexico, the public faith and honor were preserved intact.

23d. The ATTITUDE of Texas was changed from that of a *suppliant* to the *reverse*, and the fact demonstrated in the face of Europe and America that she was in a condition, physically and morally, to maintain and continue her independent position among the nations of the earth, if she thought proper to do so. [The government was strictly *practical*, and had neither *Quixotism* nor *humbug* about it.] (Part of 24th.)

24th. No ruinous *monopolies* were chartered, nor any ruinous public *speculations*, during *this* term, permitted.

25th. The public lands were husbanded.*

February 12th.—A charge of being opposed to annexation has often been brought against me, based solely upon the simple fact that I had labored always to place Texas in so prosperous

* All the acts and results enumerated in this resumé may not have been performed or produced, *entirely*, in the fifteen months referred to, but they were *principally* so; and what cannot be *wholly* referred to that period were the result and consequence of my *actual* administration of the government for the previous three years, in every thing relating to our foreign relations, and of my agency for the previous one or two years in controlling and managing our domestic ones. A. J.

and independent a position, that annexation might not be an imperious *necessity* to her.

February 13*th*.—Excitement never was carried to so high a pitch in Texas as it was in 1845, when it was found that the ponderous and hitherto hermetically sealed doors of the United States were, in reality, opened wide to the measure of annexation. The people had suffered so much and so long from Mexican and Indian disturbances and depredations, and from the misrule of former administrations, and were so anxious for rest and security and for an escape, with honor and advantage, from the long pressure of past adversity and war, that they ran perfectly wild and frantic when the hope of a so-long-desired consummation was presented. Besides this feeling was another which politicians seized upon to further excite the public mind, and that was the one of *direct interest*, arising from the false assurance that the lands held in immense quantities by citizens would immediately become valuable, and that every man would thereby be made *suddenly* affluent. Demagogues indeed used every art to further inflame and madden the popular excitement, which sound policy required should rather have been allayed and quieted. The consequence was, that to their heated imaginations every act of mine appeared *slow*; and the cry was raised that I was opposed to the measure, and using every means, in conjunction with England and France, to defeat the public will. I, of course, had a storm of the utmost fury and intensity to encounter, and such as no other chief magistrate of a nation ever experienced. The consequence was, that when the doors of the Union were opened by me, the rush of the people from the outside was so great and furious that I came very near being run over and trampled to death by the excited and impatient crowd, whom I had been the means of admitting. But I managed to escape from it with only severe bruises, and a few hearty maledictions from a part of those already inside, for having let in these "outsiders" upon them.

In addition to the large party of landholders who contributed so materially to increase public excitement, it was still further inflamed by another party who took advantage of my peculiar position towards the United States, France, England, and Mexico, (which prevented me from declaring a preference for one of the alternatives now presented to the country, over the other,) to embarrass (with the hope of breaking down) my administration. This party was composed of my personal and political enemies. Another party united with these for a different purpose. This was composed of demagogues, broken-down politicians, mostly from other States, who had come in formidable numbers to Texas to get office, and who saw the means of effecting their object in loud and violent huzzas and clamor for annexation, and of course mounted the hobby and rode it down. It was another man's horse, and they did not care if they killed it, so they could reach their destined point in due time, and *curry* (not the beast, but) popular favor. *Still another* party existed who assisted the storm. This was composed of those who were interested in the public debt of Texas. They were incessant in clamor and abuse, and by their imprudence and impatience did much more harm than good (in 1845) to the cause of annexation, and the ultimate welfare of the country; and came near even defeating the measure they were so anxious to see effected "instantly, on *any* terms," who "would embrace the offer of the United States, if one of the conditions accompanying it had been that every man, woman and child in the country should be stripped and receive thirty-nine lashes on their bare backs," as I heard repeatedly declared.

I could have silenced all clamor, and defeated the hopes of demagogues, if I had consented to violate my faith towards France and England; and, by *leading* in the excitement, have been the most popular man in Texas. But by so doing the measure *might* have been defeated. The faith and honor of the nation would certainly have been violated—the position of the country lowered to that of a suppliant—the recipient instead of the dispenser of a favor, and the promises of ultimate advantages to Texas by the United States would not have been obtained. I, however, did not take this course, and the storm of popular excitement having no other object to beat upon, spent all its fury and broke all its waves against me. * * * When it is considered, however, how much I accomplished for Texas during my secretary of stateship, and my short term as president, taken in connection with the extreme paucity of the means and facilities at my disposal with which to operate, and the ten thousand and one difficulties and disadvantages under which I necessarily had to labor, I think I cannot always suffer injustice from the country. Small as I esteem my powers and abilities, and as they really are, I would much rather have undertaken to govern the United States during four years of the most critical period of her existence as a nation, than to govern Texas during the four years I was connected with her executive government. In the former instance means and men were always in abundance. In the latter there was, comparatively, a great want of both; and it is a common but trite saying, that "it takes a good workman to work without tools." Indeed, the difficulties attending an administration of the government of the United States, now, are far less than attended that of Texas while I was connected with it.

February 14*th*.—I have placed upon record (v. Valedictory) my objections to the terms of annexation as proposed by the United States, and my wish that they "might have been more favorable" to Texas, and for the welfare and harmony of both parties "more definite," and consequently "less fraught with subjects of future dispute." Still my *individual* opinion, as frequently expressed since, and to friends, in confidence at the time, was that, taking all things into consideration, Texas would best subserve her permanent interests and those of the mother country, by accepting her offer and rejecting that of Mexico, at least that the argument in favor of that alternative was predominant in my mind, and I thought it necessary (from experience of some former administrations of the government, and fear of like ones in future) to save Texas from herself and her demagogues. The immense and immediate benefits which were to accrue to the country on the consummation of annexation, as so fondly and willingly believed by thousands of our citizens, received no credence from me, and had consequently no influence with me in forming my opinions of the measure. As I did not partake of the popular credulity on these points, when annexation was proposed, so I have not in any degree partaken of the popular disappointment since, when it was discovered that this whole matter of "sudden affluence" was a mistake.

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February 15*th*.—There is one feature in annexation as finally accomplished, which is not less remarkable and worthy of consideration than that the measure was accomplished at all, in face of the obstacles once interposed. This is the "attitude" in which Texas entered the Union. * * * In 1836–'37, Texas (through her Executive, Gen. Houston) was an humble suppliant to President Jackson, and was *rudely* (as Mr. Wharton informed me) spurned by him. In 1837–'38, she was again (through the same Executive) a suppliant to Mr. Van Buren, and her request for admission was promptly and firmly rejected. Indignant at the position we occupied, and satisfied it was impolitic and unwise in every respect to occupy it longer, I offered resolutions in the House of Representatives of the Congress of Texas of 1837–'38, (*April*, 1838,) to instruct the Executive to withdraw the proposition from before the Government at Washington, and carried the resolutions through the House. The Senate, however, fearing the popular sentiment, defeated them in their Chamber. I then urged Gen. Houston to withdraw the proposition, but he declined; but finally, in the summer, when he requested me to take the office of Minister to the United States, I made it one of the conditions of acceptance, that I should be permitted to withdraw the proposition, which was agreed upon; and my first act, after presenting my letter of credence to the President of the United States, was to perform this duty. In 1844, Mr. Tyler invited Texas to occupy her old position of an applicant, and I refused, (v. p. 39.) He then proposed a treaty, to which I reluctantly consented, as I was satisfied it could not be carried through the Senate of the United States, as the result proved. But, in a very few months, so powerful were the influences brought to bear upon public opinion and public men throughout the American Union, that ITS GOVERNMENT was willing to occupy, and did occupy the position of a suitor to Texas, and a very earnest and importunate suitor, for an alliance between the two countries. England and France too, were suing to Texas for her favor and friendship. She therefore took her place among her sisters in 1846, as a proud equal, and not a humble inferior—as one conferring a favor rather than receiving one. And this was not demanding too much; I only placed her in her just and true "*attitude*," and hope she will always maintain it. * * *

February 16*th.*—In the manner of placing before the people of Texas the alternatives of "Peace with the world and Independence, or annexation and its contingencies," (v. Proc. *June* 4*th*, 1845,) which embrace the offers of the United States, on the one hand, and of England and other powers, on the other; I acted as was my duty to do, with strict reference to preserving my plighted faith towards all parties. I knew well that England, France, Mexico, &c., were to be the losers in the race, and I did not think it any thing more than right to show then, at least, that it was not because I had failed of doing them entire and perfect justice, so far as I was concerned. In stating the propositions to the people of Texas, as above, there was an inference drawn by them that I rather leaned to the alternative of "independence." This, however, was not the fact, the statement was perfectly fair, and already it has been discovered that annexation has its contingencies like every thing else, thought stoutly denied at the time. In this instance, as in every other where France and England were concerned, I did *strict* justice—fulfilled perfectly every promise to their Ministers—of which, happily, they are entirely satisfied; while at the same time, I did *not* express a preference for one party or one alternative over the other—a thing which, situated as I was, I had no right *to do.* As judge and umpire between rival friends, it was my duty to act with entire disinterestedness and impartiality; though I might sympathize with the loser a little, or seem to do so. The Ministers of France and England were deceived, it is true, but it was by their own over-sanguine hopes. They believed the people of Texas would prefer the alternative of independence, and, indeed, that it was their interest to maintain their separate existence. *I always* felt satisfied the people of Texas would decide differently, and would prefer the alternative of annexation to any and every thing else, if a tolerable certainty of it was presented them. I, therefore, felt at liberty to make the promise that I would not interfere in the matter, one way or the other; that I would impartially present the different proposals in good faith, and let them decide, satisfied how that decision would be given. Had there been any doubt on the subject, I would not have given the pledge I did, not to interfere, but would have reserved the right to urge upon the people the alternative I might prefer. The fact I have now stated, will truly and satisfactorily account for the perfect neutrality observable in all my State papers during my Presidency; and for my silence on the two modes of adjusting our difficulties, whenever silence was admissible; while at the same time I was stimulating the rival parties, by every proper means, to hasten on their respective proposals. My object was, in the mean time, to maintain a perfectly erect and *perpendicular* attitude; in doing which, I was accused of "being so straight that I leaned over backwards," and that towards England and France. But it was only in *appearance* so.

February 18*th*.—In reference to the subject of "*protection*" (v. p. 53) to Texas by the United States, as against Mexico, I always believed the *moral force* of that Government sufficient; and so I always told their Ministers, and particularly Major Donelson; still in asking their protection I could not officially specify *the kind*, but left that to their intelligence. What I wanted was, in the event of an invasion of Texas by Mexico, brought on by our negotiations for annexation, that the United States should interpose with the necessary means, fair words at first, and blows, if blows were necessary, and could not be avoided. The protection, therefore, asked for was prospective, and contingent upon an aggressive movement by Mexico. Her threats and braggadocios I disregarded, knowing perfectly well that they meant nothing but to gratify the national vanity and pique. One word from the United States, at least, would have been always sufficient to prevent the execution of her gasconading and unmeaning threats. In 1845, when Major Donelson met Mr. E. Allen, the Secretary of State, at Galveston, and overpersuaded him to ask *protection*, Mexico had ceased even her threats. The Preliminary Treaty had been negotiated, and Mexico had thereby acknowledged the independence of Texas, though at the moment, the news had not reached me. It was known to all the world, however, on the 4*th* of *June*, and before any forward movement had been made by Gen. Z. Taylor. After this the protection which the United States were so anxious to give, and subsequently did give, was *aggressive* as towards Mexico, and given with the predetermined view of bringing on a collision with that country, as, in the mean time, I had refused the solicitations of Mr. Polk and his cabinet, through Mr. Wickliffe and Com. Stockton, to "manufacture a war," (v. p. 48 to 53.) * * * V. Donelson's letters to me of May 2d, and June 1st, E. Allen's to me of May 3d, and Mr. Buchanan's despatch of May 25th.

The excuse that Mexico renewed her threats after our acceptance of the proposition for annexation, and rejection of the Preliminary Treaty, thereby making it necessary to move an army into Texas, was only a *pretext*, and as idle as it was false. Five or six companies of Texas Rangers, provisioned and paid by the United States, would have been all-sufficient for the protection of our frontiers from Indians as well as Mexicans—and would have obviated *this* cause of war. [On the 23d August, 1845, I wrote Gen. Z. Taylor, in reply to a letter from him of a date shortly previous, (which letter had, for its *real* object, the design to throw upon me the responsibility of recommending a movement of United States troops to the Rio Grande,) designating certain points then occupied by our own Rangers, as suitable ones for him to station troops at for the *defence* of the country; I designated no point beyond Corpus Christi, and but one company there, it being the same force I had previously maintained there. Failing in his object with me, Gen. Taylor took the responsibility on himself of a forward movement, and so produced the Mexican War.] V. p. 47.

February 19*th*.—It is now upwards of two years since my letters in reply to Mr. Tyler were written and published; and from a careful review of them I find nothing therein contained but what is strictly in accordance with facts, or that I would wish to change. I believe the archives of this and other governments to which they relate will substantiate, materially, all that is therein said. That some of the agents of these foreign governments here, or some of those sent abroad by Texas, may have occasionally misunderstood my views in relation to the two alternatives of independence and annexation, or my course in connection with those alternatives, and, consequently, in some instances, created wrong impressions concerning those views and that course, may indeed be true; but the cause of this will be found in the prudence and secrecy which, under the *peculiar* circumstances in which I was placed, it was necessary I should observe. * * [Page omitted.] * * The war with the United States and Mexico was *inevitable*, only because the United States had *predetermined* it should be so; and *solely* for that reason.

February 19*th*, (*Fourth Anniversary of the birth of the "State of Texas."*)—From 1835 to 1846 I had considerable agency in the most important public affairs of the country; and from 1841 to the spring of 1846, an almost exclusive control and direct management in all of general and permanent importance belonging to the Executive department of the Government. I am, and have been willing for posterity to decide upon all my acts during this period of nearly eleven years, my toils, my labors, and their results. I have had no "pruriency of fame." * * * During parts of this period I have been associated with Gen. Samuel Houston, whose first and greatest object has been office and political distinction. In fact, he has lived and acted for these alone. He possessed in perfection the art of appropriating all the merit of the good deeds of his associates, and of shifting on to them the odium of his own bad ones. He has made this art the study of his whole life, knowing it would oblige him. I have been willing he should take to himself, for the moment, the credit, if any, I may have deserved for my achievements in behalf of the country, though I was always careful to place myself in a position not to allow him to make me a "scapegoat" to bear any of his political sins. Had he not proved faithless to Texas, as I conceived he did in 1848 in his coalition with Freesoilism, he might still have possessed what he coveted. * * (But truth and justice require I should now place our several acts for these eleven years in a proper light.) * * Hence I have been compelled to say that annexation was consummated "in direct opposition to his policy," that he had "no agency in *my* administration," and that "I saved HIS *second* administration from *most* of the errors and follies, and from *all* the wide-spread ruin of the first." The archives of the country, when carefully examined, will to some extent show this to have been the case. What these lack will, I trust, be supplied by the testimony of our cotemporaries, (and by the previous and following statement of facts, which have come under my own observation.)

[They are part of the history of the country, and it is proper I should record them for such use as may hereafter be judged expedient. I have not, nor shall I, "aught extenuate, or set down aught in malice."]

General Houston came to the country about the same time I did, and at once sought and obtained office, which was his object in coming. I neither sought nor held office until circumstances compelled me to, nor had I the least view of such a thing in coming to Texas, (v. p. 14.) Up to the battle of San Jacinto he had produced nothing but discord and disaster. That battle was an achievement for which the world (right or wrong) will always give him credit, though, in my opinion, he is only entitled to the 783d part of what he has received. It was a rout and a slaughter; and with or without a leader we should have defeated the Mexicans as we did in that battle, if, indeed, ten minutes' conflict can be called a battle, and but for him pressed on, captured Felisola and the whole Mexican army, and probably ended the war. He omitted more than he achieved (v. p. 93.) * * * * * * *

From this time until his first administration commenced he continued to inflame and distract the public mind by his intrigues.* He had been in office but a short time until measures of the most disastrous character to the interests of the country were adopted by Congress, and received his official sanction. * * * * The resources of the country were squandered upon a host of useless army and navy officers, and others whose chief merit in his eyes consisted in subserviency to him, or in quarrels with others who would not yield to his dictation, while the country was bleeding at every pore. The East was excited against the West, and the West against the East, which continued as long as he had any influence or control in the government, and finally constituted one of the many difficulties, the settlement of which he left as a legacy to my administration in 1844. * * * * A disgraceful recklessness obtained in the whole administration of the government during his first term. The country was paralyzed and weakened, Mexico encouraged, the public faith and credit impaired, and the character of Texas terribly lowered, * * * its friends everywhere discouraged and disheartened. The foundation was laid for all those disasters which the country suffered under the three years' administration of Gen. Lamar, who had not the ability to *right the ship* and get her back upon the true course. This departure from the line of a proper policy, however, was not apparent to the people, or fully realized until after Gen. Houston left office. The vessel was scuttled by him; the leaks were all sprung, which caused her to come near sinking in the unwise hands of his successor. When the vessel of state, in consequence of the wrong course steered, and first by Gen. Houston, got among the rocks—or when the leaks were about sinking her, then all could see the evil, though but very few to this day know that it was owing as much to one as the other of these parties; but as the catastrophe of ruin occurred in the administration of Gen. Lamar, he has generally been blamed for it. The policy, however, and the consequence of it, which I have *figuratively* alluded to above, and which, pursued two years by Gen. Houston, and three more by Gen. Lamar, and finally produced such wide-spread ruin, was *originated* by the former. * * *

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* There were *intrinsic* difficulties enough in the administration of the government of Texas, after 1841 and up to the period of annexation, with which I had to contend; but beside these, I had to wrestle with Gen. Houston's obliquities for three years, and with the consequences of them during the balance of the above period. My own course, whatever else may be said of it, was always straightforward, open, honest, and true,—his, unfortunately, was neither, which frequently placed me in embarrassing dilemmas that more than doubled the difficulties with which I had to contend in administering the government, so as to preserve its faith and honor. Gen. Houston, however, in public speeches in Texas and elsewhere, has boasted of his "successful trickery;" but the boast is a vain one, for in this case "*Corruption* won not more than *honesty*,"—indeed, it won nothing for the country, however he may have profited by it individually.

That Gen. Houston used his influence to increase the storm during Gen. Lamar's administration, I have abundant reason to believe; and he was also incessant in his endeavors to create the impression on the public mind that all the evils, manifold as they were, which the country suffered, were produced by the administration of Gen. Lamar; and in this he was tolerably successful, though history will tell with her iron pen that this was not so. When the passions and prejudices of the hour shall have subsided, men will be able to see "not as through a glass darkly," but in the clear, calm sunshine of truth that it was not so. Both committed errors—Houston through recklessness, Lamar through weakness. The former planted the seed, the fruit matured under the latter.

During Gen. Houston's whole course, early and late, sectional, party, and personal strifes were kept at the very highest pitch to which he could raise them. His quarrels with Congress and individuals appeared to be his meat and his drink, because he possessed the unfortunate cunning always to make capital for himself out of these difficulties. The country, however, always was to the same extent the loser. Situated as we were, we needed union and harmony among all, not strifes and divisions. * * * * * * *

From this brief review of the course of Gen. Houston, and this estimate of his character as a statesman, the reluctance with which I undertook a prominent part in his second administration may be readily appreciated. Appalling and repugnant as was the task to my feelings, I undertook it in order to save the country from *utter* ruin and annihilation. The results are known, I will not dwell upon them; the task properly belongs to other hands than mine, and to other hands I am willing to leave it, satisfied that truth will finally prevail over error. * *

February 19th.—In the severe struggles of the past I have been often forced to act, not as I would wish in all instances, but as compelled to do by the circumstances with which I was surrounded. In 1837–'38 I breasted, as best I might, the untoward progress of events which I foresaw was leading the country to ruin, I trust to some purpose. But I stood alone. I soon found I was only "saving at the spigot," while others whose higher position and longer acquaintance with public affairs gave them greater power, "were wasting at the bunghole." All this time, however, I did all I could; I uniformly resisted the issue of paper money beyond what had been authorized before I took my seat in Congress. But I was swept away on the tide of self-interested opposition. * * * In 1839–'40 and '41, the "crevasse" was too great to be stopped, and the *Mississippi of ruin* had to exhaust its tide. When in the latter part of 1841 I undertook a paramount management and control of the administration, the evil was upon us, with all its disastrous consequences. In order to effect my object of saving the country from utter ruin and annihilation, on the very brink of which she was tottering, I had to secure and maintain a predominant influence with the President, without which I could not hope to succeed; for, however powerless he alone might be to do good, he was potent for mischief, as my former experience and the events of his first administration showed. To secure and maintain this influence unimpaired, and make it efficacious, I had to give, or appear to the world to give, a cordial support to all his acts. There were many of these I could have wished him to have changed, and often, very often told him so; but there was necessity for a thorough and cordial union and harmony between us, or nothing great or useful for the country could be accomplished. *Hence*, as I have said above, I was some time compelled to act in minor matters, not as I could have wished, but as policy required in the circumstances by which I was surrounded. And this is the true and only secret of the *devotion* with which I sustained his second administration, and the man himself. * * * * * *

[Note omitted.]

February 19*th*.—During our struggles for a settlement of our national difficulties, I have from time to time expressed myself as in favor of annexation or independence, as the hopes and the prospects of one or the other of these alternatives predominated. In my own career as Secretary of State and President I sought *both* at the same time, and made each subservient to the acquisition of the other, by which means both were finally presented to the choice of the country. In my intercourse with parties interested exclusively in one or the other of these modes of adjustment, I have said all the good I could, so far as truth and justice would permit, of their favorite mode, and stimulated them by turns to its accomplishment. Either would have been of the highest service to Texas, and I was always willing to take the one if the other could not be obtained. But I never expressed to any one, either verbally or in writing, a preference of one over the other if both could be obtained, until after both *were* obtained, and I had derived all the advantages I could for the country by the position of neutrality which the highest considerations of public policy required me to assume and maintain. I therefore never had occasion, any more than inclination, to deceive any one, and left myself free, at all times, to carry into effect the public will, and if the choice of alternatives should be presented, to vote for the mode I might ultimately prefer.

A party in the country have accused me of being opposed to annexation, *basing* the charge upon the assumed fact that the members of my Cabinet and the other officers of the Government were opposed to it, and reflected my sentiments. As for the members of my Cabinet and the ministers sent abroad, there may have been some diversity of sentiment, individually, as was natural; and so far as the last class were concerned, I did not think it good policy to send a violent friend of annexation to Europe, any more than a violent friend of separate independence to the United States. When my Cabinet was first made up, the alternatives were not yet presented to the country; and I did not ask or know what their opinions would be upon an uncertain and unknown future event, any more than they themselves did, or that I knew what my own would be. The terms upon which annexation and independence would, severally, be offered, if offered at all, were unknown, and consequently *no one* could tell what opinion he would have upon a matter he knew nothing about. But after the offers were made, Mr. Allen, I believe, was the only member of my Cabinet who preferred independence over annexation; and when I called him to that station I was almost a stranger to him personally, having never seen him but once or twice, and knew nothing of his opinions on this or scarcely any other subject. I approved him because he had the character of possessing great ability and honesty. * * * Col. William G. Cooke I understood as having no very decided opinion either way * * * though both he and Mr. Allen were perfectly ready and willing to do all in their power in carrying out the will of the people. * * Judge Ochiltree, Dr. Ashbel Smith, and Col. Green were avowed friends of annexation as proposed by the United States. The subordinate officers of the Government, as was natural enough, were generally in favor of independence. But I did not think it necessary to remove any of them, for annexation was too strong in Texas to fear any thing from their influence,—besides, as citizens of the country they had a perfect right, like all others, to the exercise of a choice. It was my understanding with them all that the will of the people, when expressed, should be promptly and faithfully executed, and to this there was unanimous willingness evinced on their part. I did not wish or seek to influence or change the individual opinions of any officer of the Government, so long as this understanding was faithfully adhered to, which happily was always the case to the last hour. Besides, I wished to occupy, and did assume and maintain a position of perfect neutrality as between the rival powers who were suing to Texas; and had I proscribed any man for his opinions, it would have been a premature disclosure of my own; or, had there been by *any* process an entire unanimity *made* to prevail among these officers, either in favor of independence or annexation, *this* would have amounted to nearly the same thing. It was therefore in accordance with good policy, no less than the requirements of justice, that I left every one at perfect liberty to indulge and express his individual sentiments. *More than all this*, I wanted officers around me who, as occasion required, could enter fully into the views of the different governments and different interests, and my Cabinet was so constituted that, as it were, I could talk to each in his own language. None of all these officers of the Government reflected my sentiments particularly; first, because they were not asked or expected to do so; and secondly, because they did not know what my sentiments were until the time came for me to avow them to the world.

The charge of my opposition to annexation has also been based upon the tone of the only newspaper published at the seat of Government, which was therefore styled my official organ, and which at first opposed the measure. This is all a mistake. The paper, if an organ at all, was the organ of Gen. Houston: it was neither established nor continued under my auspices, though, of necessity, official papers from the different departments were published in it. The editor and proprietor of it was long before and since the private secretary of Gen. Houston, in and out of office, and his confidential friend and amanuensis. I frequently requested him to refrain from his opposition, as he was increasing the public excitement against me. * * * After he left I procured a friend of mine and of annexation to take charge of the editorial department of the paper. I used my influence also, as far as I prudently could, with the editors of three other papers in Texas shortly before this time, to get them to cease all opposition to annexation. In two instances I succeeded fully, and in the other to a very considerable extent.

But these are wholly unimportant matters, and long since passed and probably forgotten by everybody but myself, and only interesting at all as indications of the morbid state of the public mind at that eventful period, when the smallest trifle sufficed to increase and further inflame the general excitement, and as *specimens* of the kind of food demagoguism fed upon.

February 21*st.*—In the American Minister's letters to the Secretary of State of the United States, there is one fact disclosed, which, while it reflects unfavorably upon the fair fame of the whole country, must ever remain a source of mortification to Texas in particular. This is that he, and the emissaries of Mr. Polk sent to act with him, had so far succeeded with the Congress of Texas and the Convention, that both those bodies were believed to be perfectly subservient to him, and that they would do his bidding in every thing. The secret of this belief in his influence was the lavish promise of office to members. I have been told by very reliable authority that there was not a single member who was not thus assailed. In his letter to Mr. Buchanan of 2d July, 1845, he speaks of the passage of a law over the veto of the President, placing the militia under the command of Gen. Sherman, as a thing which would have been done if he had insisted on it, at least such is the plain inference. This letter also discloses the fact of his whole knowledge of Com. Stockton and Gen. Sherman's scheme. Other letters written about the same time fully corroborate this fact, (v. letter of June 11th, 1845.)

February 22*d.*—"The proclamation of a truce between the two nations founded on propositions mutually acceptable to them, leaving the question of boundary not only an open one, but Mexico in possession of the east bank of the Rio Grande, seemed to me inconsistent with the expectation that, in the defence of the claim of Texas, our troops should march immediately to that river. What the Executive of Texas had determined not to fight for, but to settle by negotiation, to say the least of it, could as well be left by the United States in the same condition." *Extract from A. J. Donelson's letter to Mr. Buchanan of July 11th*, 1845. * * This letter was like the gun of Hudibras, which, "well aimed at duck or plover, bore wide and kicked the holder over." It is a labored apology for not *forcing* on the scheme of the United States Government through Stockton, by procuring action on the subject by Congress or the Convention, and thus "manufacturing a war" *against the consent* of the Executive of Texas, (and over his veto, v. p. 76.) In his effort to throw blame upon me in opposing this scheme so anxiously prosecuted by Mr. Polk through his agents here, Major Donelson unwittingly has shown that the whole blame of the war with Mexico, rests with the Government of the United States. This fact was seized upon by the whig party, and contributed to the overthrow of the democratic party in 1848. * * * But how deep would have been the indignation felt by all right-minded persons, if the true character and object of that letter were known. My opinion is that Maj. Donelson was originally in favor of Mr. Polk's scheme of "manufacturing a war" by the instrumentality of Texas; but, alarmed at my opposition and the bold infamy of the plan, gave it up as impracticable, after the issuance of my proclamation, and has had the precaution to *seem* to discountenance it from the beginning. I stated, on many occasions, to him my objections to the whole scheme attempted through Com. Stockton, not only of its impropriety, but its impolicy so far as Texas was concerned; and to get up a quarrel about a disputed territory and take forcible possession of Matamoras, under pretext of asserting our claim to the Rio Grande, by the "aid and comfort of the United States," just as we were on the eve of merging our separate nationality in theirs, could not, in the least, affect the justice of our claim, (favorably,) or aid in its ultimate adjustment in our favor between the Governments of the United States and Mexico, but would rather have an opposite tendency. His assertion (in another place) that my "proclamation of a truce without stipulating that Mexico should withdraw her troops from Texas, was a virtual relinquishment of the claim of Texas to the boundary of the Rio Grande," is a very idle one, and savors more of spleen than knowledge of international law. In the first place, Mexico had no troops on this side of the Rio Grande below El Paso, and in the second place, the "*statu quo*" was not affected by the proclamation at all. The "boundary and other questions were to be settled by negotiation," and not by occupation; and this was a point sought for by a ten years' war, and finally wrought out. To have renewed the war after our "independence was acknowledged" by Mexico, and she had agreed to negotiate definitely all subjects in dispute, would have been to throw away the fruits of a ten years' struggle; or else to have said (virtually) that we relied upon the United States to fight the battles in this newly provoked war, and that our object by it was, to *grab* all the territory we could, as we were very doubtful about the validity of our title except under the law of this kind of game.

By the first article, Preliminary Treaty, (or Cuevas Treaty,) "Mexico recognizes the independence of Texas," in these words. This was done in view of the *fact*, that we had always claimed the Rio Grande as a boundary, and that this claim had been recorded everywhere on our statute books, (and that "Texas" was defined by this boundary.) The great question, therefore, in dispute for ten years, must be considered and taken as having been yielded up by Mexico by the express terms of that treaty; for if she had been disposed to *cavil* afterwards, she might as well have cavilled for the Sabine as the Nueces, or for any other stream. But there was no room for cavilling left so far as a river was concerned. The Rio Grande was fixed upon, and understood as the one.

June 3d.—On page 45 I have alluded to Gen. Jackson, and his influence having, through my instrumentality, been brought to bear in 1844–'45, upon the matter of annexation. This influence was so great in operating upon public opinion in the United States, that it deserves a more extended notice, though he was a follower, strictly speaking, and not a prime mover in the accomplishment of this measure. In 1837 he was President of the United States, and all the reasons which he afterwards, in

1845, assigned why it was necessary to the safety and welfare of the United States that Texas should be annexed, existed (though many things were not so fully developed) as fully while he was in power, as they did seven or eight years afterwards. He should have known this—but he did not; he attached no importance to the subject further than he would have been willing to pay Mexico a small sum for Texas and California, and settle old scores. He was very reluctant even to acknowledge our independence in 1837, nearly a year after we were independent *de facto*, and it was only at the very last day and hour of his administration that he reluctantly signed a bill making an appropriation for a Chargé to this country. And his successor, Mr. Van Buren, who it was understood coincided with Gen. Jackson in all important matters, and was pledged to walk in his footsteps, most peremptorily rejected the application for annexation in 1838, and would never hear the subject mentioned afterwards with the least favor. It is true, both Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren assigned as a reason for not annexing Texas, *appearances* and the existence of a war between Texas and Mexico, but the former of these had very little force, and if there was any in the latter, it had lost very little of its weight when Gen. Jackson took grounds in favor of the measure —for Mexico was then marshalling an army west of the Rio Grande with the avowed purpose of re-subjugating us. What, then, produced the immense change in Gen. Jackson's views of the importance of this great measure during the last few months of his existence? The answer is plain. It was his morbid jealousy of England, and fear of her "grasping policy." This jealousy and this fear had through his active life been a ruling passion with him, and was "strong in death." He had characterized that nation as the "Highway Robber of the World," and in the latter days and evening of his life, as he receded from the objects upon which his vision had dwelt intensely for so many years, there was a "looming" in the distance which made them appear much larger than they were. In 1841 Mr. Van Buren went out of office, and up to that time not a word had been said by Gen. Jackson about the "necessity of annexation to the safety of the United States." But, in 1843, England had realised the vast importance of Texas to her manufacturing and other interests. She was made to see that we had cotton lands enough to raise sufficient of this great staple for the supply of the world. Texas was then a rich jewel lying *derelict* by the way. She was without a friend who thought her of sufficient consequence to take her by the hand and assist her in her accumulated misfortunes. Guided by her interests and by a far-reaching policy, England had resolved to become such a friend. During two years she conferred important benefits upon the country, and in 1845, in conjunction with France, procured an unconditional acknowledgment of our independence from Mexico. This was the secret of the immense change which so suddenly took place throughout the United States on the subject of annexation. What a short time before was either "inadmissible, impolitic, or of no consequence," all at once became "necessary, imperatively necessary to the prosperity, safety, and to the very existence of the great American Union." *Appearances* were no longer thought of, and the existence of a "war between Texas and Mexico" was not of the least consequence in the estimation of her statesmen and rulers. (It was rather a recommendation of the measure to the administration.)

It had always been my prime object, in procuring the interference of these European powers, to arouse the slumbering jealousies of the people of the United States. In this I succeeded even to my utmost wish. All the sensibilities and susceptibilities of Gen. Jackson were aroused, and the influence which he exerted upon his fellow-citizens was immense, as I well knew it would be. This truly great man believed, doubtless, as his friends have claimed for him, that he acted a *prime* part in the drama of annexation. This, however, is a mistake; the *prime* part was played by Texas herself.

It was doubtless important to the United States that Texas should be annexed. This, however, they ought to have seen and known as well in 1838 as in 1845, for Texas was in reality as valuable at the former as at the latter period. The attitude which foreign powers might assume towards her, was a contingency which should have been foreseen. The United States should not have been frightened into the measure, but led to it at the propitious moment, by a sober conviction of its value and by sound sense and reason. As it was finally accomplished it was in a whirlwind of aroused fears and jealousies which for the moment swept away all calm reflection. In 1837–'38 to 1842–'43, Gen. Jackson, and the statesmen generally of the United States, were very much "behind the music." In 1845, he and they got just about as much ahead of it, for there was *then*, in reality, no danger to be apprehended either from the English lion or the Gallic cock, for the whole matter was in the hands of the Texan Government, and of people who were well known to be firmly attached to the land of their birth, and who always preferred annexation to any thing else. It has been charged upon me (v. Houston Tel.) "that I fooled the United States, and the whole world" in this matter. If fooled at all they fooled themselves and others, as people are apt to do when they are "at random drove, their helm of reason lost."

In the commencement of 1842, Mr. Tyler being President of the United States, the subject of the annexation of Texas was brought to his attention by Col. Reilly, acting under instructions from me as Secretary of State. Mr. Reilly was in possession of the views of the Government, and *verbally* authorized to announce to Mr. Tyler that the then newly elected President was in favor of the measure if it could be brought about; and also that he would have been instructed to renew the proposition which had been withdrawn in 1838, if a reasonable prospect of success had been presented. But Mr. Tyler repulsed our advances with the same coldness and apathy which Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren had evinced to the measure, and continued to maintain this attitude of indifference or hostility to it, until near the close of 1843; and would not have woke up to a different appreciation of the matter doubtless, until he went out of office in 1845, if I had not made a lever of England and a fulcrum of France, and "prized" open his eyelids. This, however, succeeded; Mr. Tyler was the first to become frightened, and sounded an alarm the chorus of which was taken up by Gen. Jackson and others, and like the music of Tam O'Shanter, it grew constantly, from hour to hour, "more fast and furious," until the spell was only dissolved by the consummation of the measure in 1846. *Seriously*, the attitude of the United States Government towards the Texas question, from 1836 to 1843 inclusive, (seven years,) was one of weak and blind indifference to an important matter; and from 1844 to 1846, (two years,) one of ludicrous alarm and haste, about the same. It would have been more wise and dignified if they had adopted the maxim of Horace in regard to it. "*Nec tardum opperior, nec præcedentibus insto.*" The people of Texas, too, caught the infection of haste, and run a little wild about their favorite measure.

[Note on p. 115 of original memoranda.]

The subject of domestic slavery, about which so much alarm existed in 1844–'45, was never once so much as mentioned or alluded to by the British Minister to the Government of Texas, except to disclaim in most emphatic terms any intention on the part of England ever to interfere with it here. Indeed, that constituted no part of the policy of that far-reaching nation. She might be willing to tickle her abolitionists, (a somewhat numerous, but not very respectable or influential class of her citizens,) but had no idea of going on a crusade with them to abolish slavery in Texas or anywhere else. Her Texas policy was, to build up a power independent of the United States, who could raise cotton enough to supply the world; of which power slavery would be a necessary element, and this not *primarily* to injure the United States, but to benefit herself, not from enmity to brother Jonathan, but love to John Bull; and so with France. * * * * * *

June 3d.—In my memoranda for 1839, of April 2d, (p. 32,) is a note of a conversation with Mr. J. W. Houston of Washington, D. C., an intimate and confidential friend of Gens. Jackson and Houston, in which he informed me that Gen. Jackson agreed to claim the Neches as the true Sabine and as the boundary between the United States and Mexico under the treaty of 1819, with Spain, and that he would defend and fight for that line. * * * The retreat of General Houston in 1836, was, therefore, doubtless with a view to that understanding, and to place his army behind that line. It was anticipated that Santa Anna would not regard this *pseudo* claim, and would, in pursuit of the Texans, if the retreating policy were long enough continued, cross the Neches, which would have afforded the Government of the United States a pretext for making common cause with Texas, and produced the same state of things which was brought about ten years later by Gen. Taylor's advance to the Rio Grande, that is, "war by the act of Mexico," and with precisely the same want of truth. This plan was defeated by the determination of the Texan troops, by which Gen. Houston was forced on the 15th April, 1836, to deflect from the road to Nacogdoches, Gaines' Ferry, and Fort Jessup, and to take the one which led to San Jacinto. The affair at this place was one of those singularly fortuitous and accidental circumstances, by which "the best laid schemes of mice or men" are sometimes frustrated. The Texan people have great reason to be thankful to a kind Providence for that event, but the schemes of Generals Santa Anna, Jackson, Houston, and Gaines, were all, in different ways, more or less disappointed by it. * * *

[Note omitted, v. p. 85.]

June 3d.—I would not be understood as saying that Gen. Jackson attached *no* importance to the annexation of Texas previous to 1844–'45; but he had come to think that the settlement and occupation of this country, almost exclusively by Americans, made its ultimate reversion sure, or in the language of Col. Benton in 1844, that "any time in twenty years would be soon enough," for in that time Texas would be so worn down by her difficulties and dissensions, which last Gen. Houston was so happy in producing and continuing, that she would be glad enough in the course of that time to seek security and repose by falling into the arms of the United States upon their own terms. But California was not so situated, and for a foothold there Gen. Jackson would have paid liberally, Texas being considered as a contingent remainder; or he would have engaged in a war with Mexico for the same purpose, and to settle old scores and collect an old debt, if the pretext could have been found for commencing it. The retreat of Gen. Houston to the country between the Sabine and the Neches, the pursuit of Santa Anna and his crossing the latter stream, would have been considered an invasion of the territory of the United States, by their President, and by the Taylor of that day, Gen. E. P. Gaines—a conflict would have ensued between some of his troops and some of those of Santa Anna—blood would have been spilled upon (disputed) American ground—and "war commenced by the act of Mexico!" Then Gen. Jackson would have accomplished what Mr. Polk subsequently did; Gen. Gaines would have been the "second Cortez" instead of Gen. Scott, and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo would have been signed in 1838, instead of 1848. * * * (V. p. 85.)

I have frequently thought the recklessness of Gen. Houston and his disregard for the true interests of Texas, in 1836, '37, and '38, was in consequence of his coinciding with Gen Jackson and Col. Benton, in their views of the ultimate destiny of Texas, and that he treated her as some people do their riding horse, hobbled her to keep her from leaving home.

June 3d.—Gen. Jackson was, doubtless, the architect of the scheme for acquiring California, &c. Disappointed, however, in effecting his object, and in a pretext for a war with Mexico, he thought little of Texas, and cared nothing for her until she had got her hobbles off. Then when he saw her situation and her power—saw that she had become an object of lively interest to European Governments—saw that, so far from struggling for existence in the wild torrent of war and revolution, she had, by their kindness, found a plank to support her, and that she could land in safety on either bank of the stream, and might land on the *wrong* one, then, when she no longer needed his assistance, he, like Lord Chesterfield with Dr. Johnson, "encumbered her with help;" being scared well-nigh to death, not lest she might get drowned, (for like Paddy by hanging, she had got used to that,) but lest she should be incontinently swallowed by that insatiate monster, the "British lion," or have her entrails devoured by that promethean vulture, the "cock of France." *Inde hæc lachrymæ.* *Really*, the position of this great friend of "immediate annexation" in 1845, annexation which was so "absolutely and imperatively necessary to the prosperity, harmony, and even the very existence of the American Union," cannot but be regarded as a little ludicrous, especially if viewed in contrast with his well-known sentiments on the subject previous to that period. The same may be said of very many others.

The acquisition of the ports and harbors of San Francisco, was a great and important object to the United States, and Gen. Jackson was wise in wishing to effect it. * * * It would have resulted in the further acquisition by the United

States, of California and New Mexico. But the object has been accomplished by other hands than his, as it was sure to be in good time. The only regret I feel is, that the *means* and the manner of its accomplishment were not different from what they are.

June 3d.—I have said Gen. Houston's policy was to retreat beyond the Neches and beyond the line which Gen. Gaines, of the United States Army, would have defended; but that he was forced by the men of his army to depart from this policy, and to go to Lynchburg, from which resulted the battle of San Jacinto. (V. p. 83.) Among many reasons of a *positive and conclusive* character, which I have for this fact, are others of a circumstantial kind, among which I mention one. On the morning he retreated from the Colorado, he had, by the official report of the day, over 1,500 effective men. It was well known that many more were on their way to join him, and that in ten days his force would certainly amount to 2,000, or perhaps more. He was only opposed by a small detachment on the right or west bank of the Colorado, and the other detachments of the Mexican Army were scattered from Goliad to San Antonio, and could not have been concentrated under two weeks, and when concentrated, would not have amounted to more than 4,500 effective men. Supposing that Gen. Santa Anna could have crossed the Colorado without loss, which would not have been an easy matter, Gen. Houston could then have opposed a greater proportionate force to him than he afterwards had at San Jacinto, and with more than equal prospect of success. The excuse he has given the country about cannon is idle, for Texans never yet killed anybody in the open prairie with cannon, nor were they necessary either to frighten the enemy, or keep up the courage of our own men, for we relied upon the rifle, pistol, and bowie-knife. And if cannon had been so really necessary, we could have taken them from Sesma very easily any hour at Beason's, on the Colorado. We had 1,500 effective men there—Sesma not more than five or six hundred. He had several pieces of cannon which we could have taken any day for a week, in five minutes.

Of ammunition we had no lack, nor of provisions. There was, therefore, nothing gained by the retreat; but a universal panic and the celebrated "runaway scrape" were caused by it. Had it *not* have been that the retreat beyond the Neches was "fore-ordained," there was no reason for not fighting on the Colorado, which did not obtain with equal force for not fighting at Lynchburg; (San Jacinto;) for, if wrong to risk a decisive battle in the former, it was equally so in the latter instance. But on the contrary, the balance of argument must be considered as largely in favor of the Colorado. A stand here would have saved the country from the wide-spread and universal desolation and suffering which the retreat occasioned east of this river; and this was a consideration which, other things being equal, no military man could have disregarded without censure, as it could very easily have been foreseen. And viewing the matter in the light of subsequent experience in Mexican warfare, the battle of Buena Vista, for instance, if it was proper for Gen. Taylor on that occasion with 4,000 men of mixed and heterogeneous character, to encounter Santa Anna in his own mountain fastnesses at the head of 20,000 troops, equal on an average in quality to those he brought with him to Texas in 1836; then certainly it was proper for Gen. Houston, in the heart of Texas, to have encountered him when the disparity of their respective forces was so much less. In the one instance, it was one to five, in the other, as three to five. No one who understands the character and composition of our troops on the Colorado, and those on their way to join them, on the one hand, and of those under Gen. Taylor at Buena Vista, on the other, will hesitate for a moment in giving the preference in efficiency to the former. They were nearly all frontier men, all brave men, energetic men, most of them Indian fighters, keen marksmen, thoroughly acquainted with the use of firearms and the bowie-knife, and accustomed to every kind of fatigue and privation, and thus enabled to endure them. These qualities, their love of country, and high burning *individual* sense of her wrongs and zeal in her defence, more than compensated for any superior discipline or appointment which Gen. Taylor's army might boast. It is true, we had not the means to prosecute an *aggressive* war, but we had every thing necessary for a *defensive* one; and I cannot doubt but that if Gen. Taylor had been opposed to us, as an invader of our soil, on the Colorado, with the same identical force he had at Buena Vista, we should have been a full match for him, at least if we had had a leader equal to him. * * * But as regards the relative superiority of our forces as compared with the Mexicans, it was demonstrated at San Jacinto, as it had been at San Antonio, in 1835. In the latter instance 225 Texans defeated 1,500 Mexicans in a strong fortress and a fortified town; and in the latter, 783 Texans in ten minutes defeated 1,600 Mexicans under Santa Anna, (it being the flower of his army with his best officers,) driving them from a fortified encampment of their own choosing, and subsequently killing or capturing every one of them. I am therefore unable to see any good reason for the retreat of the Texan army from the Colorado. If it be answered that it prevented Santa Anna from concentrating his army, and thus giving us an opportunity to attack him in detail, the answer is simple. Santa Anna's army was scattered when that retreat was commenced, and he might as easily have been attacked in detail then, as he afterwards was, and as easily defeated. Besides, if he had concentrated his forces, and crossed the Colorado in safety, he never could have opposed us with a force relatively so superior as he did at San Jacinto, and we should have been far more than an equal match for him on any ground he could have chosen. In a military point of view, therefore, the retreat is without any reason, and can be accounted for but in two ways: first, the cowardice or ignorance of Gen. Houston, or second, his design to cross the Neches. In either case, he should be held accountable for the ruin brought upon Texas, and the immeasurable amount of suffering and misery entailed upon her helpless citizens, her women and children, by that measure. If Gen. Santa Anna had been at perfect liberty, undisturbed by an enemy, to select a spot to entrench himself upon, in all Texas he could not in twelve months have found a more eligible one than that occupied by him at San Jacinto. Nothing was gained, therefore, by *strategy*, but much was lost and suffered by what has been falsely claimed as such. The whole truth of the matter is, the Mexicans are a feeble, cowardly people, and cannot fight. With or *without* a leader, (or with *any one* of the fifty leaders we had,) we could have defeated them at the Colorado as we could or did at San Jacinto, or anywhere else upon our own soil. But Texas was never able to pursue an aggressive war, for she had no means to provision or appoint an army. Hence every attempt of the sort she has made, has been, as all men of sense and judgment knew they would be, disastrous.

June 4th.—The affair at the Coletto, under Fannin, was the only adverse one that has ever happened on our soil, (for in this particular connection I do not consider Santa Fé on our soil,) and the fault here was that they were not Texans at all. They were, nearly every one of them, strangers in the country, and knew nothing of the art of war. They were undoubtedly brave, but had no experience of frontier, or Indian, or Mexican warfare,—had not been accustomed to hardship or privation, and were unfit to encounter or endure them. Without the experience, therefore, which all Texans had, necessarily, in 1836, and without the discipline which among regular troops supplies its place to a great extent, badly appointed, Fannin, surrounded as he was by a force so superior as was that of Urrea, might *possibly* have fought his way out, (and doubtless would have done so if he could have foreseen the perfidy of which he was to be the victim,)—but may be excused for having surrendered as he did, upon terms, in order to save the effusion of blood. It is much to be regretted that he had not taken precautionary means to cover his retreat from Goliad.

June 4th.—The defence of the Alamo by Travis is one of the most splendid instances of bravery and noble devotion to the cause of one's country on the page of history, and has no parallel except the defence of the pass of Thermopylæ by Leonidas and his little band of Spartans. Although it resulted in the death of every man, though *not one* was left in the former, as in the latter instance, to tell the tale of their chivalric and patriotic deeds; though *all* perished, and the country sustained a heavy and irreparable loss in them, still the example of high and elevated heroism they left behind was of priceless value, and constituted a legacy, the benefits of which will last while Texas has a name. It nerved at the time the heart and the arm of every Texan, while the conduct of the cruel Mexican filled every bosom with indignation, as well as with high and noble resolve to avenge their countrymen and to imitate their example. These feelings reached beyond Texas, and thousands urged by them hurried to join the banner of the single star.

So also of Fannin; there was no panic produced in Texas, no thought of despair by his capitulation. But when the main army retreated first from the Guadalupe precipitately, then deliberately from the Colorado, and finally from the Brazos, its numbers being thereby lessened by distrust of the courage and skill of the men and their leader, and by the consequent necessity which drove many away from the ranks for the purpose of taking care of their helpless families, then arose such a panic throughout the whole country as has probably not been seen since Hyder Ali swept the plains of Hindostan with the resolve of placing perpetual desolation between him and his enemy; and the destruction in Texas, so far as it was carried, almost equalled that of this ferocious Eastern barbarian. Its evils will long be felt by her old inhabitants, and the memory of their sufferings caused by it, handed down from father and mother to son and daughter, to the third and fourth generation. And what is singular, although the author of so great and unnecessary a disaster has never given a single reason for that disastrous retreat; and although none can ever be given, he has succeeded for fourteen years in *humbugging* an intelligent people into the belief that it was a "*smart*" move on his part, and that by it he decoyed the enemy into a "trap." Nothing can be more false than this assumption. Santa Anna was just as much in a "trap" on the right bank of the Colorado as he was on the same bank of the San Jacinto. It might have been, and doubtless was a judicious move to fall back a little from the Guadalupe, for the purpose of rallying the country; but this last line of defence need not to have been abandoned, and the Mexican army could never have effected a safe retreat from that line back into Mexico in face of 2,500 or 3,000 Texan troops, which by the 21st of April would have been opposed to them; but must inevitably, without the most wretched blundering on our part, have been caught in a "trap." Santa Anna himself might and probably would have got back a fugitive to Mexico, as his *forte* is, and always has been, "running;" but this would not have been of the slightest practical consequence to this country, as he proved about the most useless as well as the most troublesome trophy taken at San Jacinto. * *

[Note omitted.]

There is yet another fact to show conclusively that the argument brought forward to justify the retreat from the Colorado, on the score of its affording an opportunity to attack the Mexicans "in detail," is without application or force. On the morning of the 20th of April, at 8 o'clock, we arrived at the forks of the road, the left one of which led to Lynchburg, distant some two or three miles, and the right or straightforward one to New Washington, distant about seven. The despatches taken from the Mexican courier on the 18th, and the Mexican officer taken with him, informed us that Gen. Santa Anna was in front with 750 men, and Cos in our rear with about 850 more. The smoke of New Washington, to which fire had been set in the early morning, told us exactly where Santa Anna was. New Washington is on a peninsula, and Santa Anna was in as perfect a *cul de sac* as ever was formed, from which there was but one way of escape, and that was by the road on which we were, and on which we halted half an hour on the morning of the 20th at 8 o'clock. Instead, therefore, of waiting for Santa Anna to return to where we were, or pushing on towards New Washington, where *he* was, we turned off to Lynchburg, left the road some two or three miles off, upon which the two detachments of the Mexican army were marching, and thus gave an opportunity for Santa Anna to escape back to the Brazos and to form a junction with Gen. Cos, (as he did,) besides leaving the way open to him to hold free communication with his main body of troops on that river. Had he adopted the policy of withdrawing, he could, when he arrived at the forks of the road above mentioned, have pushed on to the "bridge on the *only* road leading to the Brazos," some five miles off, crossed, and then destroyed it; he would therefore have avoided a pursuit, joined Gen. Cos, and then concentrating his forces, brought his whole power together on or near that river. And if Gen. Houston finding that Santa Anna would not take the door which he had left wide open for his escape, had even then wished to prevent the enemy from concentrating his force, he could have cut down the "bridge" himself either on the morning, afternoon, or evening of the 20th, (for Santa Anna had taken a position which gave us access to it,) and thereby prevented the union of Cos with his chief. And further, if Gen. Houston had wished for and sought an opportunity to attack the Mexicans at an advantage, and as he falsely pretended, "in detail," he had the opportunity of doing so nearly all day on the 20th, and on the 21st, from four to nine o'clock in the morning, at which latter hour Cos joined Santa Anna. But after inviting Santa Anna to concentrate the whole of his forces, after giving him the whole of the 20th and then nearly all the 21st to retire upon his main army, and finding he would not do it, Houston was *forced* to give him battle by the men under his command on the evening of the last-mentioned day. More stupid blundering or more arrant cowardice than was evinced by Houston on those two days, as above alluded to, probably the world never saw, and cannot furnish a parallel to in a military man. The only hypothesis which would relieve him in a small degree from this censure, is his predetermination, in spite of the troops under him, (or, rather, over him,) *to pursue his retreat, avoid fighting, and cross the Neches.* Certainly he said very plainly to Santa Anna—If you will let me alone I will you—go your way, and I will go mine; (and Santa Anna was a fool in not going;) else there was abundant blundering, cowardice, and want of skill previous to the battle. But the result shows that no matter how many faults a leader may have, no matter how much incapacity, stupidity, or cowardice, if he only stumbles upon success, the world will stamp him a hero. Such is military fame, and such it will always be.

Had Gen. Santa Anna, on the 20th and 21st April, adopted the policy of retiring upon his main army, and concentrating his forces, as he could and *should* have done, Houston would not have pursued; but crossing the San Jacinto at Lynchburg, and taking the lower road, reached the Neches in safety, thus effecting his original object in retreating from the Colorado, and defeating the will and wishes of the Texans under his command, by whom he was *forced, malgré lui,* to *deflect* from the road leading to Nacogdoches on the 15th, or six days before. (V. p. 83.)

On the 20th Santa Anna offered him battle from 10 o'clock A. M. until night, in the open prairie, on Houston's own ground, and with only 750 men. On the 21st he was reinforced with 850 men under Cos; and we fought him in a fortified encampment on the 21st. *Where* can excuse be found for such conduct in a general? To refuse battle to 750 men, we having vantage ground, on the 20th, and then to be forced to give battle next day to 1,600, *they* having vantage ground and fortified besides, is passing strange conduct. Gen. Houston's "fool-born jest," that he "did not wish to make two bites of a cherry," has not wit enough to cover such a blunder, and is devoid alike of truth and sense. He did not intend to bite at all if he could help it, but to retreat to the Neches and "obtain a bloodless victory," as he *told me himself*, at Groce's, just one week before. (V. pp. 16, 83.)

June 4th.—It has been contended that Gen. Houston's delay of two weeks on the Brazos is an evidence that he did not wish or intend to retreat across the Neches; but this is very idle. He needed a plea or pretence of *necessity* in order to enable him to retreat, and waited for Santa Anna to afford him this plea by crossing the river below, to which he offered no obstacle. So soon as a sufficiently plausible excuse was furnished by the crossing of the Mexicans, the retreat to the Neches was re-commenced, but defeated by the means I have mentioned, (on the 15th.)

I have said I did not regard the affair of the 21st at San Jacinto as a battle, but rather a rout and a slaughter, * * * as there was no *resistance* on the part of the enemy. I examined a number of Mexican cartridge-boxes, and in no instance was there more than one cartridge used from them, and half their escopets taken on the field were loaded. * * * The soldiers could not have fired more than once apiece on an average, and in no instance could a soldier have fired his gun more than twice. The fact is, as a general rule, "they brought their pieces to their faces, shut their eyes, fired, then run away as fast as they could," as a Mexican officer, whose wounds I was dressing, afterwards told me.

The best stand made by the enemy was by Castrillon, who commanded the artillery, (one piece,) and this was fired not more than three or four times.

Mexicans may fight pretty well at half a mile distance, or *parabolically* from behind a high stone wall or a church; but never have been, and never will be able during the present generation at least, to stand the shock of a charge by Americans. They should always be engaged, if possible, at close quarters, and hand to hand. This was the secret of our success at San Jacinto, not any generalship that was displayed on that occasion. The men could not be kept from rushing on the Mexicans. Houston ordered a halt, but was disobeyed, and the fight won, as it had been brought on, against his will; and under the auspices and actual leadership of Col. John A. Wharton, Col. Sherman, and a few other kindred spirits, who despised Houston and his temporizing pusillanimity and cowardice, as they esteemed it.

It is not pleasant for me to say these things of one whom I would not wrong, and whom I have praised whenever I could, and sometimes too highly; and for whom I have entertained no unkind feelings. But the cause of truth and justice demands it of me.

* * * * * * *

Falsehood should not forever prevail over truth; and that I may contribute, as is my duty, so far as facts are in my possession, to the final triumph of the right, I have recorded these things in sorrow, and not in anger.

June 4th.—I have spoken of the unfortunate course pursued after the 21st April, (v. p. 71.) The Mexican army were then panic struck, divided into separate detachments, disheartened, and offered to surrender to Col. Karnes, (as he told me,) and were perfectly willing, ready and anxious to surrender to any officer of the Texan army who would agree to recognize them as prisoners of war, and guarantee their personal safety. If proof of this fact were wanting, there are hundreds who can attest it; and the very precipitate and headlong retreat of Filisola from the country, and his official report of his condition after the 21st April, made to the Mexican Government, most abundantly proves this to have been the case. But Gen. Houston acted on this occasion as he has on so many others, playing the dog in the manger; that is, not being able to pursue and capture Filisola himself, he determined no one else should gain the credit of such an exploit, which he too plainly saw would shade his furtive laurels. The country he appears never to have thought of, unfortunately, except when it could be made wholly subservient to his selfish views.

Giving credit to Gen. Houston, therefore, for all he justly and unjustly claims in his campaign of the spring of 1836, it may truthfully and rightfully be said, he deserves more censure for his omissions than praise for what was performed. And in all his public life since that time, acting upon the same principle of absorbing selfishness, he has ever exerted himself to prevent the country from being benefited in any way, *unless* the credit of the act producing the benefit could in some way or other be appropriated by him. *So* wanting has he been in patriotism, *so* intensely selfish and aspiring, and *so* jealous of every man in Texas who might by any possibility ever come in his way.

* * * * [The Executive Order of September 24th, 1844, would have defeated annexation.]

[Note on page 116, original memorandum.]

The crossing Buffalo Bayou the afternoon of the 19th April, from the north to the south side, has been used as a strong argument that Gen. Houston did not intend to go to the Sabine. This is without force—he could not stay where he was: he dared not attempt a further retreat, and was forced by his troops to cross the bayou. The same power which made him take the road to the bayou on the 15th April, made him cross it on the 19th of that month. When he could no longer retreat himself, he tried to induce Santa Anna to do so by leaving the road open from New Washington to the Brazos. But when he *could* not retreat any longer, and when he found Santa Anna *would* not, he *consented* to be *compelled* to fight; and had we have been unsuccessful at San Jacinto, would have laid all the blame of the disaster to our *forcing* him. He held in his own hands the most abundant and explicit proof that he went to San Jacinto and fought the battle there against his judgment and his wishes. This proof it was easy for him to destroy, as he did, when it no longer suited his purposes to retain it.

Memoranda of Books 6 and 7, from July 1850 to April 1851. (These are *all* private memoranda.)

MEMORANDUM BOOK NO. 8, (FOLIO.)

From April, 1851, *to July 28th*, 1853.

December 31*st*, 1851.—(Extract.) "The tranquil and pervading influences of the American principle of self-government was sufficient to defeat the purposes of British and French interference, and the almost unanimous voice of the people of Texas has given to that interference a peaceful and effective rebuke," &c., (J. K. Polk's Annual Message, 1845.) All this is a mistake. There was *no* "interference" as stated, or in the sense implied. Texas over and over again, with the full and entire consent and approbation of all her people, sought the friendly offices of England and France for a period of five years; and had those offices been made effective a few months earlier even, the almost "unanimous voice" would have decided in their favor, and given "a peaceful and effective rebuke" to Mr. Polk's intrigues. Nor would the United States have had any right to complain, for they too were invited and urged for many, very many years, to use their good offices with Mexico, and informed that we preferred annexation to any other alternative; but they turned towards us "the cold shoulder." Mr. Polk forgets also that it was that very "interference" of which he so unjustly complains which proved the means, the lever, the battering-ram that opened the door to annexation in the United States. Jealousy of those powers growing out of this very "interference" proved the effective cause of that mighty, that almost miraculous change which public opinion on this subject then underwent from 1843, when it had almost no friends, to the latter part of 1844, when it had a majority of the people in its favor. Mr. Polk also chooses to forget that it was this same "interference" which made him President of the United States, by bringing to the cause of annexation, which was the great issue in this election, a majority of votes. Mr. Polk should not have abused the bridge which carried him so safely over.

January 15*th*, 1852, (v. pp. 48 to 52, 54 and 76. Missions of Gov. Yell of Arkansas, Gov. Wickliffe of Kentucky, Com. Stockton and Dr. Wright of the U. S. Navy, and A. J. Donelson of Tennessee, in 1845.

The missions of all the above had but one object—that of persuading or compelling me to assist Mr. Polk in manufacturing a war with Mexico, covered up, however, under a professed zeal to accomplish annexation, which stood in no need of their aid, and of protecting Texas from Mexican invasion when there was no danger of such an invasion, except from their intrigues. I have elsewhere in this volume (v. pp. 48 to 52) given a sufficient account perhaps of the acts of Com. Stockton and Surgeon Wright. Gov. Yell remained but a short time, and probably becoming disgusted with the mission, returned home. But Gov. Wickliffe remained as long as he had any hope, and left just in time to escape a legal investigation of his acts. * *

From Galveston to Austin, (where he went soon after his arrival, and where he ascertained I would not sanction Com. Stockton's scheme,) he everywhere urged violence and rebellion against the Government of Texas, encouraged the dissatisfied and the mischievous; and this, too, after the Executive, the Congress, and the Convention had accepted the proposals of the United States on the subject of annexation, and that great and glorious measure had been by me placed beyond danger, except from the machinations of such men as Gov. Wickliffe, and those with whom he thought proper to associate himself, viz., demagogues, military aspirants, restless, disappointed politicians, personal and political opponents of myself and my administration,—and all who from anarchy and war alone had any hope of bettering their condition or gratifying their passions. Major Donelson, though originally engaged in the same cause, yet stood rather aloof himself, probably because, as he was the *authorised* minister of the United States, he was so instructed, lest he might compromit the Government in a scheme which, although they desired its success, they dared not too openly avow; and finally, no doubt, because he became alarmed at the bold infamy of the plan. * * * He has not, however, been quite able to conceal his chagrin and mortification at my defeat of all the schemes of this cabal; for this appears too plainly in his letters to Mr. Buchanan in 1845, where he evidently, after exhausting the realms of truth, ransacks those of error and falsehood for causes of censure against me. I need only cite his charge of "delay in calling Congress and the Convention," (v. his despatch of June 4th, 1845,) when there was no delay in either case, as he had himself previously acknowledged in various ways, and when he had counselled and requested me in his letter of May 5th not to call the Convention at all, but to wait the action of Congress on the subject; which, if I had done, it would probably have postponed the matter of annexation *three* months. * * * (V. my letter to him on file of January, 1852.)

Had these emissaries ceased their efforts to overthrow my administration when they found the measure of annexation was secure in Texas, they might with some plausibility have claimed the *peaceful* and safe consummation of this measure as the object of their mission; but their opposition towards me increased exactly in proportion as the certainty of this peaceful and safe consummation became apparent.

Mr. Donelson saw in the precipitate flight of Mr. Wickliffe from the country, as well as from other indications too palpable not to be perceived by him, that he was greatly mistaken when he told Mr. Buchanan that he could *safely* interfere with my constitutional functions, as he saw that violence was the next thing to be expected, probably anarchy; and that not only their hopes of driving me into their war scheme would be defeated, but that annexation itself would be prevented. So he took counsel of his fears.

January 19*th*.—While the President of the United States was acting the pious "*mawworm*" in reference to pretended "interference" on the part of France and England in the affairs of Texas, he was himself actively engaged in carrying on the most disgraceful system of intrigue. * * * *

These emissaries pretended great anxiety to protect Texas from Mexico, and complained that I did not act with sufficient promptness in this matter; but unfortunately for their sincerity, their clamor against me increased a hundredfold when I proclaimed a cessation of hostilities between the two countries. * *

January 20*th*.—I have abundant reason to thank Almighty God, daily, night and morning, that he gave me the WILL and the POWER to resist all efforts on the part of the Government of the United States and their emissaries here, to induce me to aid them in their unholy and execrable design of "manufacturing a war with Mexico," by taking the initiative, and for the purpose of gratifying their personal ambition or cupidity.

With J. K. Polk and Zachary Taylor rests the responsibility, in chief, for the war which was finally got up, and for the lustful, reckless, and rapacious spirit engendered by it, so portentous of future ill to this country. They have both gone to their great and final audit, and, having repented ere they died, their friends are allowed to hope (none more sincerely than myself) that they have obtained the clemency of that great Executive to whom they have now "rendered an account for the deeds done in the body." * * * * And for myself, however misunderstood and abused for my part in the great drama of annexation, still I would not exchange my "calm and quiet conscience" for all the "pomp and circumstance" which recently surrounded either the President of the United States who initiated, or the poor old General * * * who became President of the United States by his conduct in this Mexican War.

I may have judged too harshly of some, or all these missions; but I have only given, as nearly as possible, an account of the impressions they made upon me at the time, 1845, and I can truly say with Burns:

"*Time* but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear."

And if my inferences are too harsh, my *facts*, at least, are true, and I defy all contradiction of them.

January 20*th*, (*Mexican War and Preliminary Treaty of* 1845.)—By some I have been censured (V. National Intelligencer, 1846) for counselling a "vigorous prosecution of the war," when I was opposed to the manner of its commencement. In this, however, I was right.

There were great causes of complaint against Mexico, (though two wrongs never make a right,) and, the war having begun, no matter how, it was not only good policy, but *mercy* to all concerned, that it should be speedily terminated. This was all I counselled. Of course I could not wish success to the enemies of my country, but my desire was to see her victorious, and victorious from the *start*. She was obliged to conquer in the *end*, for her physical power was one hundred times that of Mexico. Had my advice been followed, and one or two vigorous blows struck in the commencement, by a suitable force, say 50,000 men, the war might have been concluded in six weeks as well as in two years, and there would have been saved by this course the lives of 20,000 men who fell by disease, and the expenditure of fifty millions of money, by delay. The crop, too, of "*military heroes*," those pests and enemies of republics, (with some exceptions, and in proportion of about one to a hundred,) would have been very much diminished; and there would have been, in this, a probable prospective saving of five times the above number of lives and millions of money, and less demoralization in society, less "Filibusterism," and much more quiet security, liberty, and true glory in the world. God grant we may never have another war, if only to save us from vain-glory and mock heroes; for "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and far, infinitely, immeasurably more beneficial ones: may it, therefore, ever continue.

In placing (as I did in 1845) Texas at peace with the world, I believe I did more for her true interests and ultimate welfare than could "ten thousand men, armed in proof and ready for the battle." Humanity will never learn its true glory, dignity, and well-being, until it learns to place a proper estimate upon war. * * * * There are doubtless occasions when war becomes necessary * * Such have been our wars of independence. * * * The United States have now become a great and powerful nation, and by just and prudent conduct need have no more wars, having now a *moral force* sufficient to cause their rights to be respected throughout all lands and seas. The "pen" with her is literally "mightier than the sword," and she needs, hereafter, to use no other weapon, if she will take care to use this properly, and to do justice always. Let us have agricultural, commercial, manufacturing heroes, legislative and cabinet heroes, heroes in science and the arts of peace; but Heaven save us from another deluge of military ones for the next century at least. Rather break up the button moulds, and let the feathers stay on the animals to whom they belong of right, and to whom they are *useful* as well as ornamental. "Turn your swords into ploughshares and your spears into pruning-hooks and learn war no more." Then will the country prosper—then may she confidently look upwards for the approving smiles, as well as the richest blessings, of a just Providence, "which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will." * * * * * * *

January 26th.—I have seen enough of war to despise it heartily. It is a miserable, wretched *game* at the best, and should only be resorted to when all other means have been faithfully tried and exhausted. War becomes a stern necessity sometimes, but not half so often as weak or wicked rulers wish to make the people believe. It is a relic of *barbarism*—and civilization, religion, and humanity should set their "canons" against it. I came to Texas in 1833, with no view of attempting to separate her from Mexico. * * * My sole and exclusive object was to find a suitable field for the exercise of my profession, and to make myself useful in the prosecution of pursuits altogether peaceful, in this new and young country of my adoption. Indeed, I came in an hour when there appeared little expectation of a war, or but little probability of it, at least on the surface of things; though, doubtless, scheming politicians were then at work in Texas and the United States preparing such an event. * * * I knew nothing of their plans in this respect. No whisper of them had ever reached my ears. * * For two years after my arrival, I steadily opposed all violent or aggressive movements towards Mexico—counselled forbearance, struggled faithfully to have friendly relations maintained with the parent country. But in May or June, 1835, war broke out —by whose fault or act it does not concern me, at this time, to inquire—and in October of that year Santa Anna overthrew the Constitution of 1824; establishing a central military despotism in its place, (which he afterwards told me he thought the only kind of government under which Mexico could ever prosper;) and these two events, and their consequences, left me no alternative but to stand up for the actual independence of the country—which I did for about ten years, and which I finally achieved.

But I wish to leave upon record my unmeasurable and unmitigated abhorrence of war; and my hope and trust is that the United States will, on all occasions, and for all time, act so justly, so wisely, so prudently, and at the same time so firmly conduct their affairs, as to escape the necessity of a resort to it. It is the "ultima ratio" of kings—it should be, if such an expression may be allowed, the "ultiprima ratio" of republics.

January 27th, (*Cuevas Treaty.*)—In my letters to H. Stuart of the Civilian, in 1847, I have pretty fully explained the facts and the reasons influencing me in making the Preliminary Treaty with Mexico; and thereby obtaining from that government the full acknowledgment and recognition of Texan independence, with the boundary of the Rio Grande as we had claimed it. In agreeing to wait, as I did, *ninety days* for the completion of that treaty before I should conclude negotiations for any other settlement of the question of the nationality of Texas, I in nowise, or in the least degree, compromitted the safety and immediate success of annexation. On the contrary, I promoted both these objects, more particularly the *safety* of that measure. The ninety days gave time to develop public opinion here; and as the Congress of the United States (as I was well assured) would not be convened in special session, and consequently could not meet until December, it gave me upwards of *nine months* in which to assemble a Convention and have a State Constitution adopted; and all of *six months* after the expiration of the time allowed for the negotiations at the city of Mexico, even if I had obligated myself to wait that time before issuing a call for Congress and the Convention to assemble, *which I did not.* Now, as I performed every thing on the part of Texas required by the Joint Resolutions of the United States Congress for the annexation of Texas, and had the new State Constitution placed in the hands of the President of the United States more than *two months* before the expiration of the time required, I think it rather unjust that it should be imputed to me as a crime, because, in the mean time, I achieved the *actual* independence of Texas and placed her at "peace with the world." But if this was a fault, "most grievously have I answered it." During a connection with the Government of Texas, of the most weighty and responsible character, for nearly ten years, it is the only fault, as I know of, ever *even* imputed to me; and it might seem that *if* I did wrong in this instance, all my other acts in behalf of the country might have made atonement. But I did *not* commit a fault, even in this matter, * * * unless it was sacrificing myself on the altar of my country's highest, holiest, and best interests. * * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

January 28th.—By that Treaty, and my other acts, I removed every possible danger which threatened the cause of annexation, that could be removed; while, at the same time, I fully vindicated the *honor*, the *integrity*, and the scrupulous *good faith* of Texas in the eyes of France, Great Britain, Europe, and the world—a consideration, in my opinion, of the very highest importance. Time will abundantly demonstrate all these things; not, however, in my lifetime. I renew my appeal from cotemporary malice, selfishness, jealousy, and injustice, to the truth of history, and the calm judgment of posterity.

February 17th.—I have just seen a letter written by Gen. Duff Green, of Washington city, to Mr. A. J. Donelson, editor of the "Union," and published in the "Southern Press," in which he states that Mr. Donelson told him, in 1845, that I had sent Mr. E. Allen, then Secretary of State, to visit Gen. S. Houston in order to induce him to join me in defeating annexation. I never sent Mr. Allen or anybody else to Gen. Houston while I was President, on this or any other errand, and never consulted him or asked his advice on any subject during the time; for I well knew, from the 8th of July, 1844, that he had "changed his front" on the subject of annexation, and did not wish ME to consummate it; but preferred breaking down my administration, which I took excellent care he should not have the pleasure of doing. I knew Gen. Houston too well to advise with him on any matter connected with my administering the government.

February 23d.—Since writing the above, Col. Ward and Hon. E. Allen and lady arrived here from Austin, and spent the night at Barrington. Mr. Allen states that there is no truth in Gen. Duff Green's statement, (or rather Mr. Donelson's,) as above, about him. That he did not go to Gen. Houston's house that year—nor was he ever, to his knowledge, "followed" anywhere "by the American Minister"—that I never requested him to use any influence with Gen. Houston, or any one else, in opposition to annexation, or in persuading any one to oppose that measure; that Gen. Houston wrote to his private secretary, Wm. D. Miller, editor of the Washington newspaper, to urge upon him to use all his influence and power in opposing annexation; that he (Houston) approved every word which had appeared in his (Miller's) paper opposing it; promising to sustain him with all his means in so doing; requesting Mr. Miller to say the same for him to Mr. Allen, and get his co-operation in opposing the measure; and that he (Mr. Allen) saw said letters, in the handwriting of Gen. Houston, and read them at Mr. Miller's request, and at the request of General Houston contained in said letters. Mr. Allen also states that he met Gen. Houston at court, in Montgomery county, in the spring of 1845, and that Gen. Houston communicated the same sentiments to him verbally, and showed him a letter he had written to Major Donelson, condemnatory of annexation as proposed by the United States, and taking the most decided grounds against the measure, (which letter was also shown to me by Mr. Miller, but a copy refused, as per Gen. Houston's request and direction.) Mr. Allen also states that the letter published by Gen. Houston in the National Intelligencer, and purporting to be the letter read to him by Houston, is changed and altered in all its original features. (In this respect, my recollection corroborates Mr. Allen's statement—the original having been much more condemnatory of annexation than the published one.)

Mr. Allen further states, that the despatch of Major Donelson of 31st March, 1845, and shown to him next day, was not delivered to him until about two weeks afterward; and that Major Donelson made various alterations in the original paper after the 1st of April, resuming it for that purpose. (This last I also know to have been the case.)

February 28*th*.—"East and West." In 1839, a bill was brought into the Congress of Texas to divide its Supreme Court so as to give a branch of it to "Eastern Texas." The Constitution of the Republic provided there "should be *one* Supreme Court, which should hold its sessions annually," &c. The Bill making, in effect, *two* Supreme Courts, and its sessions to be *semi-annual*, I conceived to be a clear violation of the provision of the Constitution above referred to; and, on that account, I voted against the bill, (in the Senate,) and it was defeated (after having passed the House) in the Senate, by *one* vote, I believe. In 1840 it was again presented, and having passed both Houses, (my vote being still against it,) the President sent it back—the House passed it over the veto, which, however, the Senate sustained. In 1841–'2 it was again passed, and signed by the Executive, (S. Houston,) contrary to my advice. In a few days after it was declared unconstitutional and a nullity by the Supreme Court; it being, as I understand, a unanimous decision. My uniform opposition to the measure, on account of its manifest unconstitutionality, was seized hold of by certain parties in Eastern Texas, and the impression created there, which doubtless exists to the present day, that I was opposed to the interests of that particular section; and I have, consequently, been ostracised to a certain extent there, for doing what *all* are now satisfied was right and proper—that is, for opposing an infringement of the Constitution, and doing my sworn duty as a Senator. (V. Letters of Gen. J. P. Henderson, in 1841 and 1843.) In 1844, I was similarly ostracised for being opposed to the interests of the "West," on account of the removal of the seat of government from there; a measure I had nothing to do with except to *oppose*. The fact has *always* been, that I was equally desirous of promoting the interests of every section of the country, [as my whole public course demonstrates.] My local residence in the middle of the Republic enabled me to be entirely just to East and West alike; and my disposition, at all times, was in accordance with my local position. I had no partiality, and was unjustly censured in both instances. But, strange as it may seem, I am still regarded by some, perhaps by many, both East and West, as *opposed* to their particular section, and from the causes above specified.

I note this as "one of the thousand" examples in my public life of how much faster Error travels than Truth, and as one among ten thousand instances of cotemporary jealousy and injustice.

Thursday, May 6th.—By a memorandum recently found among my papers, I ascertain the date of my first arrival in Texas to have been the 20th of October, 1833, when I landed from the "Sabine," (schooner,) at Velasco. I arrived at Brazoria, November 1st, 1833.

In the "Texas Republican," a newspaper published at Brazoria, of the date of 15th August, 1835, is a recommendation of a call for a convention of the people of Texas, "to *consult* upon their affairs," signed by myself and others. The date of the document is 9th August, 1835. It was republished in the "Texas State Gazette," in 1850. (This document did not appear to embrace any *war* measure.) There was a great division in the minds of people at the time, and two parties existed, a "Peace" and a "War Party." I thought we were too few to divide, and, therefore, wished to bring about union and concert of thought and action.

On the 23d of August, 1845, I wrote to Gen. Zachary Taylor, (late President of the United States,) in reply to a letter of his of a date shortly previous, that I had *no* intelligence of any hostile demonstrations on the part of Mexico—that I did *not* apprehend any—that her concentrating troops at Matamoras was in self defence, and in consequence of the United States concentrating forces at Corpus Christi, and not for the purpose of invading Texas; but, as a matter of precaution and safety to our frontiers against Indians, as well as the possibility of a Mexican attack, it would be well to keep up a force of five or six companies of men at the different points in the line, from Corpus Christi to Fannin county, on Red River, which, at the time, (and previously,) were occupied by Texan Rangers. The *most South-western point* indicated was Corpus Christi. This letter more fully and perfectly throws all the responsibility of the Mexican War upon Mr. Polk and Gen. Taylor. Gen. Taylor's object, in his correspondence with me, (as I have good means of knowing,) was to obtain a recommendation for a movement of troops to the Rio Grande. Failing in this, he took the fatal step himself!! (V. his letter to the War Department.)

Tuesday, June 1st.—I have ever been opposed to banks and banking of all and every kind: *not* but that with proper guards and restrictions, and with suitable management, they may be useful to a commercial and manufacturing community, and a convenience to all classes; but that they are so liable to abuse, that the practical evil of their existence will always be greater than the practical good thereof. Among the first political essays I ever wrote was one printed in "Poulson's Advertiser," at Philadelphia, in the year 1830 or 1831, on this subject, strongly condemnatory of these institutions, and particularly so of the course the Pennsylvania Legislature were then pursuing. This essay was anonymous, nor did any person, except myself, know who its author was. And in Texas, in 1837, I successfully combated a mammoth banking institution, (the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company,") [v. Essays of "Franklin," vol. ii., p. 180,] and destroyed it, although its charter had been approved and signed by Gen. Houston; and although nearly every politician of any influence in the country was in favor of it, and interested in it directly. Had this institution been allowed to take root and fasten itself upon the country, it could never have been got rid of except by a serious civil commotion or a revolution, and would have been most ruinous in its consequences to the best interests of Texas. What Jackson did for the United States in the destruction of the United States Bank, and what has recently been done for Louisiana in the destruction of injurious banking monopolies, I did for Texas in the complete annihilation of the monster bank above alluded to. No voice but mine was raised against this institution. "Alone I did it," and its friends have so declared by the constant and rancorous hatred and opposition with which they have ever since pursued me; and which will only cease, as it seems, in the Grave!

Thursday, Aug. 26th.—Wrote his Excellency, Gov. P. H. Bell, in behalf of railroads and other internal improvements; in which I expressed the opinion, that if a proper system could be agreed upon and suitable agents found to carry it out, Texas needed works to be now or soon commenced, which would cost fifty millions in their ultimate construction—that is, I thought it time to lay the foundation of such a system if practicable, &c.

[Memorandum book No. 9 all private memoranda.]

MEMORANDUM BOOK NO. 10, (FOLIO.)

From February 11th, 1854, to August 5th, 1854.

Thursday, March 2d.—Understanding a company were about to enter into the project of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of a railway, I visited New York several times last fall for the purpose either of getting up such a company, (if none was already formed,) or of aiding the one already formed in the enterprise, and more especially to ensure the Texas route for the road. Disappointed in the first, I subscribed in the accomplishment of my second purpose, to the capital stock of the New York Company, and having been chosen a director of the company, and appointed a commissioner to Texas, Arkansas, and California, with R. J. Walker and L. S. Chatfield, I repaired to Austin in December and remained there until February, in discharge of the duties of the latter office. Others were added to the commission, and many things were done by it, some of which I disapproved of as impolitic, but yielded a consent for the purpose of maintaining harmony and unity of action; though on the whole I very much doubt whether our mission to Austin will be altogether as successful as our constituents might reasonably expect. Unfortunately our members were very much divided in opinion, and efficient and concerted action was thereby rendered impossible. *My* efforts, especially, were much paralyzed in most matters, and I lost all confidence in my colleagues.

While at Austin I proposed two important enterprises to the Legislature, to carry out which I had already engaged the necessary capital. One was the "Texas Steamship Company," the other the "Texas Iron, Steel, &c., Manufacturing Company." The first had in view the establishment of a healthy competition in the carrying trade of the Gulf of Mexico, by the introduction of a first-class LINE OF STEAMSHIPS between Galveston, Matagorda, and New Orleans, which should be extended (by means of small steamers) to Aransas, Corpus Christi, and the mouth of the Rio Grande; and ultimately, as necessity should require, the line of ships should be further extended to Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York, via Havana, asking for it, the fostering care of the Government at its inception.

The second had in view the early development of the COAL, IRON, and other mineral resources of Texas, looking especially at present to the manufacture of *railroad iron*, and the consequent facilitation of the construction of our proposed RAILWAYS. Both of the above enterprises failed of success before the Legislature, which was characterized by great timidity; and a want of sound practical views of what was best calculated to promote the prospective welfare of our new but vastly extended territory in the early development of its boundless latent resources, an object *now* and immediately of an importance paramount to most others. Had the Legislature properly seconded my views in these two joint enterprises, the welfare of Texas would have received, as I think, a new and important impulse in the right direction. But "fear admitted into public councils" ofttimes "betrays like treason." [I trust, however, the expected good is not lost, but only postponed for a time.]

Wednesday, *Aug.* 2*d.*—Attended at the office of the Secretary of State at Austin. Examined the bids for the construction of the A. & P. Railroad, which were this day opened, and the contract awarded. New York Pacific scheme exploded by Robert J. Walker!

Thursday, *Aug.* 3*d.*—Started on the stage three hours before day for home, in company with Mr. Harwood of Dallas. Stayed at La Grange.

Friday, *Aug.* 4*th.*—Reached home, and *Saturday*, 5*th*, made preparations for a trip to New York.

MEMORANDUM BOOK No. 11.

From August 5th, 1854, *to November 20th*, 1854, (Pocket-Book.)

November.—In 185[illegible]–'3 I directed much attention to the subject of a railway to the Pacific Ocean through Texas, which I considered the best, most desirable and useful route. Reflection satisfied me the scheme was now quite practicable, and especially if the Federal Government would do its duty. The amount of my labor in reference to this matter had been very considerable, and, as I believe, not unproductive of much good; and in the summer of 1853 I visited New York and the other northern cities, partly with a view of ascertaining in person whether men and capital could be had to accomplish the enterprise, and, if so, to enlist them in it. Since 1834–'5 I had reflected much on the subject, and was induced to believe that, sooner or later, the road would be built, and that it would be (or should be) the *first* to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific through our own territory, regarding it as a question of *time* only. I succeeded at the North in calling the attention of men of capital and experience in this direction, and was about to be entirely successful when an event occurred which prevented.

In July, 1853, the State of New York passed a charter incorporating the "New York Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company," with a capital of $100,000,000, and public attention was much attracted by it. In October and November the commissioners named in the act proceeded to organize, and my friends concluded they would wait the result of the operations of this company before they would do any thing. They were influenced to this course (which I did not approve) by the great weight of character possessed by many of the gentlemen connected with the New York Company, and partly also by the incipient pressure in the money market, consequent upon the prospect of a European war, and other causes. In this situation of affairs I was invited and very strongly urged to unite with the New York Company, and it having become evident that this would, for the time, be the only associated effort made for the construction of the work, I very reluctantly consented; for, though there were in its number many men of high character and reputed wealth, there were others of no character and means at all—mere speculators; and there was about the whole thing a rather evident odor of *gas*. Mr. R. J. Walker's subscription of ten millions, it was confidently said, was for English capitalists; and the other large amounts were excused upon various grounds, which, if they had been correctly stated, would have been sufficient. Much stress was laid upon the necessity of an early organization, in order that the company might act efficiently in view of the approaching session of the Legislature of Texas, (which everybody knew would make a liberal donation of the public lands for the road,) as the New York act required the whole capital stock should be subscribed before the company could elect its officers. There was very great force in this argument, and I *hoped* (to say the least) that this company might succeed. I was therefore willing to contribute aid in this fond hope, to accomplish what there appeared to be no other means of accomplishing. I was assured the company should, at the earliest possible moment, be purified of its dross, and that every thing should be to my satisfaction when we should "fairly get under weigh." I was requested by gentlemen from Texas and others to take one thousand shares of stock, to be distributed in Texas to any of her citizens who might wish to subscribe for it. This I did solely for the purpose stated; and the stock was delivered to me, in blank, for distribution on my return home. I was elected a director, and attended the organization of the Board, when I was immediately appointed a commissioner to Texas, &c., and requested to start at once for Austin, which I did. I was, however, delayed on the road, and did not reach Austin until the 18th December, when I found a bill had already passed the Legislature providing for the construction of the "Mississippi and Pacific Railroad." This bill had been forced through in hot haste, and evidently without mature reflection or judicious advice; for however correct it might be in its main features, it was most unwise in many of its details. I concluded to remain at Austin for the purpose of procuring some necessary supplemental legislation, in order to obviate some or all the objectionable features of the act, and stayed until the close of the session. Mr. L. S. Chatfield, Col. T. Butler King, &c., were also there; but there was such a diversity of opinion between these two that all efforts to obtain the desired legislation were defeated, and the act remained, "with all its imperfections on its head." Embarrassments in the money market continued—the cloud of war burst over Europe—alarming frauds were perpetrated by officers of railroad companies at the North, and confidence in all enterprises of the sort being deeply impaired, it soon became apparent that success in our large scheme was doubtful, if not hopeless. In this state of things some of our best men became discouraged and left the company quietly, while all the worst remained; so that instead of getting rid of our chaff and keeping the wheat, as we had at first expected, we got rid of the wheat and retained the chaff. All this became apparent in the spring and summer now just passed, by the subscribers refusing to pay the assessments upon the capital stock.

I visited Austin in May in pursuance of my duty as commissioner, to be present at the award of the Government of the contract under his first proclamation; but I did not sign the proposal then submitted by the company, having then little remaining confidence in their being able to do any thing. The Government postponed the award till August; and I went to Galveston, expecting to meet Messrs. Walker and King there, and to see if any thing could be done by them. They, however, did not come according to promise, and after waiting at Galveston three weeks I returned to Washington, satisfied the whole matter would have to be abandoned, so far as those gentlemen were concerned, at least, if not so far as the great enterprise itself was concerned, and for some time to come.

In July or August last Messrs. Walker and King (being every thing left of the "New York Atlantic and Pacific Company") suddenly appeared in Austin and secretly connected themselves with fifteen Texans, and made a proposal for the contract with the State, (all without my knowledge.) Messrs. Walker and King sent for me, and I went to Austin, when Mr. Walker, to my astonishment, informed me he had brought the $300,000 for the purpose of making the deposit required by the Texas act. He did not say in what it consisted; but my impression obtained from him was, that the cash was on hand for the purpose. My astonishment was removed, however, the next day, when I learned the true character of the worthless funds intended, and I immediately quitted Austin that day for home, refusing *most emphatically* to have any thing to do with the matter or the new company, one way or the other.

From Austin I proceeded direct to New York for purposes connected with the road, similar to those which had induced my visit in 1853, i. e. to see if I could form a company of the right kind of men to undertake the Pacific enterprise. * * * It is not necessary to advert to the embarrassments which surrounded and continue to surround this project. The bad management of Messrs. Chatfield, Walker, King, &c., the continued stringency of the financial affairs of the world, the disastrous continuance and progress of the European war, and the diminished confidence of capitalists consequent upon these and other causes, are but too well known. I may have sown seed which will ripen into fruit, but this time alone will show; but I am not without considerable hope. I spent (in this last trip) between three and four months in unwearied efforts to succeed; and if I have not *achieved* success, I think I have "deserved it."

Of the one thousand shares capital stock of the New York Company delivered to me in blank for distribution, I distributed three hundred and fifty in this State to bona fide subscribers, without solicitation on my part in any instance: the remaining six hundred and fifty shares I returned to the secretary of the company on my arrival in New York, last September, which completed my official duties, and dissolved all connection on my part with the company of every kind and description; nor am I interested, directly or indirectly, in a single share even of its capital stock.

P. S.—I have for years considered that Texas, more than all other of the States, needed railways. *Without* them her vast resources will not be developed for a century: *with* them she would, in a very short time, become the most important State in the Union—the common meeting ground for the merchants of western Europe and eastern Asia, and a mart for the commerce of the world! Her rivers, it is true, are many, and penetrate far into the interior, but do not afford sufficient water for the purposes of navigation. They will not do to depend on, even for local uses, much less as channels for a great commerce. Not until Texas has fifty millions' worth of railways constructed will she reach the point of a full development of her resources, and a full fruition of the advantages of her local position on the map of the world.

December, 1854.

(*Extract from the* "*National Vindicator,*" *July*, 1844.)

"ANSON JONES IN 1835."

[PREFACE.]

"In the history of our separate nationality, we find the name of Anson Jones conspicuous among those who set the ball of revolution in motion, and nailed the flag of independence to every liberty-pole in the land. *He was the author of the preamble and resolutions*, which we present below, *and which were the immediate cause of the assembling of the Convention at Washington—the Declaration of our Independence—the formation of our present Constitution, and the establishment of our existing Government.* Unassuming and unobtrusive as he is in his intercourse with men, he was, at that eventful period which 'tried men's souls,' and in that crisis full of danger and untold destiny to struggling Texas, calm, but firm and decided. With the eye of a statesman, he gave consistency to chaos,—with the nerve of a soldier, he performed his duty. He fought with the sword as well as the pen; and in the camp and the cabinet, he has, under every vicissitude of fortune, stood fast by the principles he avowed in the resolutions, and advocated in the meeting to which we have referred. These resolutions we shall introduce to our readers, with a letter from a gentleman of Brazoria county to the editor of the Austin City Gazette, dated San Luis, May 8th, 1841.

"DEAR SIR:—As you are publishing some very interesting sketches of the early history of Texas, I have copied for your use, from an old Brazoria paper, published about the 1st of January, 1836, the proceedings of a public meeting which was held on Christmas-day, A. D. 1835, which are herewith enclosed. After much search I have been enabled to find a single copy of these interesting and important proceedings, (which was in the possession of our esteemed fellow-citizen, James F. Perry, Esq., the brother-in-law of the late Gen. Stephen F. Austin,) and this was mutilated in such a manner that the preamble could not be correctly made out. I have therefore been compelled to omit all but the concluding sentence of the same. The resolutions are, however, complete; and a full list of the thirty-five citizens who in 'the time which tried men's souls' were willing to affix their names to what were then, by all, considered bold, and by many, rash measures, is also given. Perhaps you will have it in your power, by means of the Gazette, to procure a copy of the preamble entire. If so, I think it would be an important acquisition to the civil history of Texas, as it will show the true grounds upon which the people of Texas (at least those of this county) thought it necessary to resort to force, and to a separation from the mother country. The resolutions are energetic and bold, and the first adopted in Texas recommending the call of a convention of the people, a declaration of absolute independence, and the formation of a separate constitution for the permanent government of the country.

"Subsequent facts are well known. The Governor and Council adopted the measures recommended by the Columbia meeting; and a call for a convention was made, which assembled at Washington on the 1st of March. The declaration was made to the world on the 2d, and a constitution framed, which was submitted to the people and adopted by them.

"But very few were bold enough, on the 25th of December, to advise a measure which was unanimously deemed absolutely necessary on the 2d of March ensuing, so rapid was the progress of our revolution.

"With great respect,
"Your obedient servant, &c."

COPIES OF VARIOUS DOCUMENTS UNPUBLISHED OR OUT OF PRINT.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Proceedings of a public meeting at Columbia in 1835.

Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of the citizens of Columbia was held at the town of Columbia on Friday the —— instant. Josiah H. Bell, Esq., was called to the chair, and St. Clair Patton appointed Secretary. An address explanatory of the objects of the meeting was delivered by J. Collinsworth, Esq., on whose motion the following committee were appointed to draft resolutions, viz: Wm. H. Patton, Asa Brigham, Anson Jones, Edwin Waller, and M. C. Patton. On motion, the chairman was added to the committee, and the meeting adjourned until 3 o'clock P. M.

The meeting having re-assembled pursuant to adjournment, Dr. ANSON JONES, on behalf of the committee, presented and read the following preamble and resolutions, (which he advocated in a speech which was listened to with profound attention,) when, on motion, it was resolved, that those who concurred in the opinions therein expressed should attach their names thereto.

[Part of Preamble, &c., is wanting.]

—"for driving us from Texas, and confiscating our lands and property. And Whereas, the original articles of compact and confederation between the different component parts of Mexico, as they existed in the constitution of 1824, have

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been abolished, and another and opposite system adopted centering all power in the city of Mexico:

"Therefore, Be it Resolved, 1st. That it is our opinion, and we therefore recommend to the People of Texas of the different jurisdictions, the expediency of calling a new Convention of Texas with radical powers, and at an early period, to declare to the world the grounds upon which we will act, and to make such other arrangements as may be necessary for our protection as a people.

"2d, Resolved, That the time has now arrived when it is necessary to declare the total and absolute Independence of Texas, and that *the people are at liberty to establish such form of government as, in their opinion, may be necessary to promote their prosperity;* and that a call be made on the Governor and Council to order writs of election to issue for elections to be held for members as early in January next as practicable; and the Convention to meet on or before the 1st of March ensuing.

"3d, Resolved, That the Governor and Council be requested to apportion the representation according to numbers as nearly as may be convenient; agreeably to the principles of the federative government of the United States of North America.

"4th, Resolved, That the Convention be instructed to form a constitution for the permanent government of Texas, and to submit the same to the people of the different jurisdictions for their adoption or rejection.

"5th, Resolved, That E. Waller, Esq., be requested to present these resolutions to the Governor and Council, and urge the adoption of the measures therein recommended."

(Signed) W. H. Patton, Asa Brigham, Anson Jones, E. Waller, M. C. Patton, Josiah H. Bell, Committee.

The following persons, in addition to the committee, concurred in the preamble and resolutions, and attached their signatures thereto, viz.:

John Sweney, John D. Patton, Jas. Collinsworth, B. C. Franklin, John Foster, A. B. Smeltzer, G. Tonille, T. S. Albury, James Welch, R. Bledsoe, J. T. Harsell, Thos. McDugal, J. Gordon, L. C. Manson, John Chaffen, Cyrus Campbell, S. M. Hale, C. R. Patton, D. Jerome Woodlief, B. J. Jyams, R. D.

Tyler, D. T. Fitchett, Jesse Williams, J. Æ. Phelps, P. R. Splane, Pleasant Bull, Willis H. Faris, and G. B. McKinstry.

The meeting then adjourned.

(Signed) JOSIAH H. BELL, *Chairman.*

ST. CLAIR PATTON, *Secretary.*

COLUMBIA, Dec 25th, 1835.

[NOTE.—In accordance with the above preamble and resolutions, (the first on the subject of a *total separation from Mexico* ever passed in Texas,) a convention was called for the 1st of March; a constitution prepared, adopted, and submitted to the people; and Texas declared a sovereign and independent Republic. The ball was put first in motion by "*old Brazoria*" (then called Columbia) at this meeting.]

[Report on Annexation, April, 1838.]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred a joint resolution on the subject of authorizing the President to withdraw the proposition of Annexation to the United States of North America, having had the same under consideration, beg leave to submit the following report:

[Resolution introduced by me April 23d, 1838.]

Texas, deriving her origin from the United States of North America, and allied to her by the strong ties of consanguinity, common origin, similar government, and language, feels for that nation a deep and filial regard. So powerful has been this feeling, and so intimate has been the connection and the intercourse between them and us, that we have still thought and felt as if we were yet a part and portion of them. We have not realized the fact that ours was a *foreign* nation, that we had separated ourselves from them, and had once become a part and portion of the Mexican Republic. Reason told us we were Mexicans by adoption, but feeling still showed us we were in every thing else Americans, and descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race. Having been driven by military and religious despotism to take up arms for the defence of our rights and liberties, we have, after a sanguinary struggle, achieved a separation from Mexico, and established our independence. So soon as this was accomplished, we naturally turned our eyes from the nation who had so cruelly oppressed us, to our maternal country. We were few and weak, without an established government, and without means, just emerging from a revolution:—anarchy and confusion were threatening us. The Mexican nation was still breathing threats of vengeance for the disgrace which her armies had sustained, and a formidable savage enemy was hanging like a cloud upon our frontier. In this condition Texas, fearing she could not sustain herself alone, almost unanimously resolved to ask to become annexed to the United States, and the application has been in consequence made to that Government, but without success, or present hope of any.

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[NOTE, *February 5th*, 1850.—I find this imperfect copy of a report written by me in April or May, 1838. It ended with a recommendation to authorize the President to withdraw the proposition for annexation. A resolution to that effect passed the House, but was lost in the Senate, (through mere timidity.)

The reasons for withdrawing the proposition, were, that it had been definitely acted upon by the United States (Jackson and Van Buren) and rejected; and that it would allay excitement to have it withdrawn; and that its remaining at that time before the Government of the United States could be of no use, but was doing positive injury to the cause.]

Notes of a Speech delivered in the House of Representatives of the Congress of Texas by me, in the winter of 1837–'8, *on the "Bill for issuing Promissory Notes of the Government for* $3,000,000 *or upward."*

Moved to defer the consideration until the amount of debt can be ascertained. Showed the importance of the bill. The finance of the country is its very life and soul—like the healthy circulation of the blood in the natural system, the political one depends upon it. The issue will not stop at three millions, and the expenses of Government, army, and navy, will be increased. The effect of a large issue will be to depreciate the currency. You cannot relieve the necessities of the country by an issue of rags; the country is not to be enriched by such means, but will be impoverished by the extravagance it will occasion. Property is the only standard of value, &c., &c. Increase the quantity of the circulating money, and every thing rises in proportion; property rises with the plenty of money, or rather, the money falls.

If this be true of gold and silver, how much more will its effects be seen in a paper currency like the present, based upon nothing but a precarious and uncertain foundation. It cannot go out of the country, and must fall, necessarily, to a par with the present price of government scrip, (8 cents.)

Take all the resources of the country, and the expenses of the government must be double its income. Consequently the debt is increasing, and no means left to redeem the issue of from three to seven millions. Paper money must fall—will not raise the military scrip, but depress the civil; increase the expenses of the government more than five-fold, half a dozen prices must be paid for every thing. *Ruin* must and will ensue.

Ten or fifteen thousand dollars thrown away to make the paper *look pretty*—to gull the simple, and to sink the money still lower than at present. Will the *soldier* be benefited? No! only *deceived*. I respect the soldier, have shared his toils, and know his sufferings, and am more than willing to relieve his distresses, &c., &c. * * * * *

I have clearly shown that the market value of this money must go down, inevitably, to 10 or to 5 cents. It is as plain as the sun at noonday. The author of the bill knows it—there is his confession of distrust in sec. 5th. He is willing to violate the constitution, impair the obligation of contracts, and lead us finally to the enactment of "stop laws," made only to enable the rogue to swindle the plain-dealing honest man. * *

National faith should be observed—it is the foundation of national credit—it is our best interest to promote it. Its destruction is detrimental in the highest degree, injurious alike to the character, the honor, the welfare, and the ultimate prosperity of the country.

Our whole public property nearly has already been pledged; there is only sufficient left unpledged to raise means upon to defray the pressing and urgent expenses of the Government. The country is in war,—vicissitudes may occur; something should be saved to meet emergencies and for a "rainy day."

The system proposed by this bill removes all the previous pledges—leaves nothing, violates national faith, destroys credit, advances the interests of unprincipled and unholy speculators. The scheme is worse, and a thousand times more ruinous than the bank. If this Congress *dares* to pass it, curses long, and loud, and deep, will fall upon them, and more than were ever heaped upon any set of men. We are sworn to act justly. For the consequences of this measure we shall have to answer at the bar of our own consciences, at the bar of our several constituencies, at the bar of our country, at the bar of the civilized world, at the bar of posterity, and at the bar of God.

And how came this bill into the House? who is its author? who *dared* to pen its provisions? Was it the intelligent joint committee? Sir, it was conceived in darkness, and brought forth in secret. No one knows, or can know its father; but whoever he may be, he has not, as yet, claimed the *credit* due him. And what, sir, are its objects? What will be its practical results? Who will be its beneficiaries? I will tell! A *land bill* has just passed! Gentlemen have "got horses," and now they come in for "saddles, bridles, and blankets," to ride them with. The "land" is secured in prospective, and now the *dues* must be got up and paid? Poverty is the mother of ingenuity; wits have been racked, brains cudgelled, the midnight oil consumed, the Genii and the spirits of speculation consulted, and this bill is the result!! and if carried, the object will be accomplished. The *Government dues* can then be paid in "chips and whetstones"! * * * And is it for this we violate national faith, character, and credit! Shall we "sell the mighty space of our large honors for so much trash as can be grasped thus"!

The object of all this is small and contemptible; the evils—the injury—mighty, immense, incalculable, endless!

The bill of the committee possesses not one of these objections; it provides for a fulfilment of all previous promises. * * * It has been drawn up with great care after mature deliberation, and by the best talent which this country possesses; this must recommend it to honest minds. * * * I have no views of speculation. My *private* and personal interests are with the other, my duty and conscience with this. I will never yield! I shall dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass; the last entrenchment I can find shall be my grave. * * * I shall publish my course, my exertions, my arguments, and remonstrances to the world! I shall call for the yeas and nays, and hold them up in the face of Heaven! I call upon gentlemen to reflect. I hope and trust I am surrounded by men whose purposes are honest. Do not be deceived by specious appearances. This is a whited sepulchre without, but within it is full of corruption! Save your country in this hour of her peril, and the blessings of thousands will be upon you; betray her, and their curses will follow you to your graves. *

Again I call upon you to sustain the national faith and honor! Your oaths, your consciences, your country, posterity, and God require it!! * * * * *

[NOTE.—The bill was defeated at the time, but passed the next winter, and all the evils of the Promissory Note System which I predicted, came to pass soon after. The money fell to five cents, and finally ceased to circulate as a medium in 1841. The public debt was increased about five-fold by this unwise measure.]

IN CABINET COUNCIL, FEB. 5TH, 1842.

Opinion of the Secretary of State on the Refunding Bill.

The objections to the act for the redemption of the public debt of the republic of Texas are simply these:

1st. That it proposes the consolidation of a funded debt already consolidated with a perfect understanding with the public creditors.

2d. That it is a violation of an express contract of this Government as to a rate of interest previously agreed upon after a full review of all existing obligations.

3d. After a solemn understanding in reference to this interest, and the period of payment by this republic, any deviation is injurious to justice and to public credit.

4th. Such [illegible] repudiation will be totally destructive to the public faith of Texas, and injurious to her reputation and that of her people.

The measure of receiving the Custom-house duties in gold and silver is one of *indispensable necessity;* but if Taxes postpone for a time the payment of either the principal or interest of her public debt, it must be with the distinct avowal, in the face of the whole world, that she holds both sacred, that she will neither vary the terms, time, or conditions; and that she will pay these in good faith the moment her resources, which are large enough for a mighty empire, are developed. Respectfully submitted by ANSON JONES.

CITY OF AUSTIN, *Feb. 5th*, 1842.

[*Endorsement.*—I have always opposed the funding system in Texas. I opposed it in 1837–'8 with all my might. I thought it would be ruinous at the rate of interest proposed, viz., 8 and 10 per cent. I never would have consented to more than three per cent. A. J.]

IN CABINET COUNCIL, FEB. 1ST, 1842.

Opinion of the Secretary of State on the modes of paying the Public Debt of Texas.

The entire debt of Texas may be estimated at $8,000,000. Deducting from this the amount already funded, $2,500,000, there would remain $5,500,000, which may be called floating debt.

Texas is not at this time in a condition to pay either principal or interest. It is no less true that its public domain of 200,000,000 of acres of land will furnish, in time, abundant resources to pay the debt. It only remains to make a wise application of these resources.

The first duty of a debtor is to insure the creditor the future payment of the debt, to the full extent of the means he may have and possess. Now it is sufficient for the Government, at present, to proclaim to the world: That her public domain is a sacred and inalienable pledge to her creditors; and that its product in some form shall be applied to the payment of the debt in full, and that the incessant solicitude of the Government is directed to this object.

Such a principle, clearly avowed and invariably followed, would preserve the public faith in all its purity, and would prove that Texas, now so calumniated by its enemies, is still worthy the confidence and support of honorable men. This acquisition, upon the credit and upon public opinion, is of vital importance to the country; for without credit and a sound public opinion, the political existence of a nation is always in danger.

Sustaining a deserved and established reputation for honor and good faith, the means of paying the whole debt naturally present themselves.

Let us consider first the funded debt of which the interest is payable semi-annually. This *interest* can be paid in certificates similar to the floating debt, as below.

As for the floating debt, three ways are presented for its honorable liquidation.

The first consists in calling immediately on all the holders of these liabilities, to present them at the treasury for the purpose of obtaining a provisory certificate of indebtedness. The term of three years should be fixed for this operation, after which the right to the interest which we propose to pay should cease on claims not presented. The year following, bonds should be issued of $100 to $1,000, redeemable in thirty years, and bearing interest at 3 per cent. per annum, with the privilege of using them under all circumstances in payment for the public domain.

By this measure, the Government would gain fairly four years, during which it would have time to prepare its means of payment. There now exists a law to the effect that the lands belonging to the public domain may be taken by the public creditors at $2 per acre. From the necessity of realizing from its domain the means of satisfying its creditors, the Government should cause to be surveyed in sections of 640 acres, say 500,000 acres of its best lands, in the most eligible locations, and these to be offered at public sale at the minimum of $1 25 the acre, payable in specie or treasury bonds.

It is natural to suppose that competition would raise the price above $1 25; for every bondholder would prefer a good section of land which he could dispose of forthwith, and in such manner as should suit him, to a bond bearing only 3 per cent. interest. By this system regularly pursued five or ten years, it is probable the whole debt would be paid off.

Six or eight million acres of land taken from the public domain of two hundred millions, and transferred to men of enterprise, and capable of making them available, would be the result of the operation. In this way, the public debt, instead of being a national evil, would, in one respect, be an advantage. For the employment and occupation of these lands being a necessary result of circumstances, would, by their force, call into activity *resources* which speculation would not otherwise seek out, until capital shall become more abundant in this country than at present.

The second means, equally simple, would attain the same object.

The Government, to be consistent with itself, should sell its lands for specie only, fixing a price in accordance with the wants of the inhabitants of the country and their resources. These sales might be extended to Europe by means of agencies already established. And in this case the entire net receipts from the land should be primarily applied in payment of the interest on the funded debt. * * * * * The excess would serve, on the 1st of January of each year, for cancelling the obligations or treasury bonds, at par, in specie, by means of a lottery, which would give an equal chance to every bondholder. In this manner the burthens of State would be gradually lessened by the cancelling. And as the price of the land might, without danger, be increased as the system progresses, the cancelling would be more rapid in proportion, and the bonds would soon attain to a par value.

The third means consists in authorizing, as is done in Europe, the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase the liabilities of the Government as he shall have means at his disposition.

Whatever, in fine, shall be the *manner* adopted, it is evident the immense wealth of the public domain furnishes the means of paying, without effort, the public debt, and of developing, at a time not remote, the resources of the country by works of public utility, and of building up a system of popular instruction.

Respectfully submitted by ANSON JONES.

FEBRUARY 1st, 1842.

IN CABINET COUNCIL, DEC. 22D, 1841.

Opinion of the Secretary of State on the Financial and War Policy of the Country.

The country is *absolutely* without present means of any kind: her resources are large, though *prospective*, but her credit is utterly prostrate. She has impending a floating, promiscuous debt of, say six millions, and a funded one of two and a half. Her *annual* income will not suffice to pay the *interest* on the latter alone, if it were *all* directed to that object.

It is absolutely necessary that a Government should be sustained: our *existence* as a people depends upon it; and the present income of Texas is not more than sufficient for this purpose, and with the sternest economy.

But *one course* presents itself. The public debt must be postponed for the present, and the revenues collected in gold and silver. The expenses of the Government *must* be reduced to a sum within the probable amount of these revenues.

To obviate the great difficulty of the scarcity of specie in the country at this time, the revenues must be anticipated by treasury drafts or notes, to be received and paid by the collectors of customs, dues, and taxes, and to be receivable by them as an equivalent for specie.

The issue of these drafts or notes should at no time exceed the probable income of a single quarter of a year; but may be paid out again, from time to time, as they return into the treasury.

The *civil* expenses of the Government can easily be estimated, and those for the *defence* of the country approximated.

Our policy, as it regards Mexico, should be to act strictly on the *defensive*. So soon as she finds we are willing to let her alone, *she will let us alone*.

The navy should be put in ordinary; and no troops kept in commission, except a few Rangers on the frontiers.

The Indians should be conciliated by every means in our power. It is much cheaper and more humane to *purchase* their friendship than to *fight* them. A small sum will be sufficient for the former; the latter would require millions.

By a steady, uniform, firm, undeviating adherence to this policy for two or three years, Texas may and will recover from her present utter prostration. It is the stern law of necessity which requires it, and she must yield to it, or perish!

She cannot afford to raise another crop of "Heroes."

In the mean time, Texas must adopt some plan for the ultimate, just payment of her public debt, with the interest from the proceeds of her immense public domain; and she must declare to the world her fixed purpose to do this as soon as practicable.

But for the present she has to consider the question of "to be or not to be" alone! and exclusively!!

Respectfully submitted by

ANSON JONES.

AUSTIN, Dec. 22, 1841.

(V. Letters, p. 172.)

Resolutions drawn up by me on the subject of Mexico, and sent to our Minister at Washington City, to be presented in Congress of United States, 1842–'3, *(unofficial entirely.)*

Whereas, The Republic of Mexico, having in 1812 thrown off the authority of the mother country, Spain, and by a most sanguinary revolution achieved its independence, and in the year 1824 established a federal government and a constitution for the safety and welfare of its people:

And Whereas, Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in 1835, then constitutional President, did by force and violence subvert and destroy the established Constitution and Government of the country, and introduce Centralism in their place, and constitute himself sole despot and dictator, demanding the citizens to surrender up their private arms, and waging a war of extermination upon those who refused—first in Zacatecas, where all who opposed his will were indiscriminately slaughtered, and afterwards in Coahuila and Texas:

And Whereas, in the year 1836, he invaded Texas with a large army for the purpose of carrying his design into full effect, where, after committing a series of atrocious cruelties and murders, until then unknown in the history of the world, he was finally met, defeated, and captured at San Jacinto, and subsequently released and sent home by his humane and generous captors:

And Whereas, subsequently, by violence and crime he again ascended to power, and, sustained by bayonets, trampled upon the sacred institutions and liberties of his country, in opposition to the wishes of the Mexican nation, who were and still are opposed to his usurped despotism, though they have not arms to resist it:

And Whereas, this usurper of the rights of eight millions of people, governed by no principles and owning no obligations, human or divine, continues to disturb the peace of the continent without just cause, and to endanger, by his unwarrantable outrages, the quiet of Christendom:

And Whereas, by persevering in a course of conduct so opposed to the spirit of the present age, he can only be considered a monster whom it is the right, the duty, and the interest of civilized nations no longer to tolerate or endure:

Therefore, Be it resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the Government established in Mexico by Gen. Santa Anna, founded in violence and crime, and conducted in opposition to all international rules, in contempt of humanity, and in violation of the principles of the age, and being calculated in its consequences to disturb the peace of the American Continent, and the quiet of Christendom, ought no longer to be tolerated by civilized nations.

Be it further Resolved, That it be recommended to the President of the United States to recall our Minister, now resident at Mexico, and to discontinue all diplomatic intercourse with this scourge to humanity, this disgrace to civilization.

[*Endorsement.*—These Resolutions are very *ultra*, and it was expected that, if offered at all, they would be modified by the mover to suit the views of a majority of the United States Congress.—A. J.] V. vol. ii., p. 222.

NOTES, for a reply to Hon. A. J. Donelson's letter of 31st March, 1845, transmitting to me the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas—for Mr. Ebn. Allen These are to be regarded as a mere outline of an argument only in part on the subject.

Notes.—Mr. Donelson's Communication, 31st March, 1845.

1st. The matter has again to be acted on by Congress of the United States. The alternative adopted had not the sanction of the United States: in some respects it is the worst alternative. The Government of Texas has not the power to amend the Constitution, except in the manner pointed out therein. Texas (in the matter of Annexation) is passive, not active. She would equally advance the cause of "free Government" standing alone. She is in no danger from the "friends of a different system." Texas can sustain herself. * * * The Indian policy of the United States should be extended over Texas in the event of annexation. Ask Mr. Donelson for the "guarantees." * * * Will the United States insist on the boundary of the Rio Grande for Texas? Public debt of Mexico. Will the United States assume the ratable proportion of it, if Mexico should insist on it? * * * Will Mr. D. stipulate that Texas *shall absolutely* be *admitted* if she accept the proposition for annexation? * * * The President cannot accept or reject the proposition. He will act in conformity with the public will. He must act with prudence and caution. Very grave considerations are involved. * * * He will hasten to convoke an extra session of Congress. * * * If Texas is so "necessary to the welfare, safety, and prosperity of the United States," they should give an equivalent for the boon. * * * Texas may well fear that, if the United States are *close* when *wooing*, they will prove *niggardly* when *married*. Mr. D. thinks the terms are hard, but thinks they will be made more favorable hereafter. The President sees no hope of this. * * * * * * *

In Mr. Polk's Inaugural he expresses an apprehension that Texas may become a "dependency of some foreign nation." There is no danger of this. * * * *

Acceptance on the part of Texas involves a "Revolution" of a modified or particular kind. If matters are not prudently managed, this may prove disastrous to Texas; and if by any means annexation should fail on the part of the United States, our condition would be worse than before.

April 2d, 1845.

[*Endorsement.*—The excitement at the time prevented the contemplated and proper response being made by the State Department to Mr. Donelson.—A. J.]

LETTERS, ETC.,

TO AND FROM ANSON JONES.

MOSTLY OF A PUBLIC OR SEMI-OFFICIAL CHARACTER. FROM 1836 TO 18—, WITH MY ENDORSEMENTS AND NOTES AT THE TIME. (SEE FILES.)

No. 1. [*From Self to Dr. Ira Jones at Brazoria.*]

San Felipe, Head-Quarters,
March 29th, 1836.

Dear Cousin,—The army is on the retreat, and I purpose remaining with it at present. Our force at this time is ten or eleven hundred; recruits are daily arming, and I think we shall be able to meet the enemy in a few days. As it will be necessary for some persons to remain in the lower country, I wish you to continue at or near Brazoria as long as anybody stays there, or until you hear from me again.

Very truly yours, A. Jones.

P. S.—Please write by first opportunity.

No. 2. [*Same to the Same.*]

Saturday, March 19, 1836.

Dear Cousin,—I start for the seat of war this morning. I think of nothing in addition to the instructions I left with you, except to repeat the request that in case of any accident you will take charge of the negro woman Sally, now at Mr. Andrews', and see that a proper disposition is made of her. I place her under your control, and subject to your order. Do not fail to write me occasionally.

Very truly yours, Anson Jones.

P. S.—In case of the town being evacuated, I wish my trunk, writing-desk, and papers, sent to some place of safety.

[*Endorsed.*—Found among Dr. I. Jones' papers after his death.]

No. 3. [*Same to Same.*]

Camp near Cummins, March 30th, 1836.

Dear Cousin,—News has this morning arrived that the Mexicans have crossed the Colorado; their destination is not known. Should it become necessary to evacuate Brazoria, I wish you to make the best disposition possible of my property there, my writing-desk, papers, and trunk particularly, so that their ultimate safety may be insured. Dr. Parrott goes express to Brazoria, and will be able to advise you of the best course to be pursued. I requested Mr. Pleasant D. McNeel, who went down a day or two since, to consult you in regard to the negress Sally. Mr. Andrews must either give her up or give a receipt for $600, or $15 per month for her hire, on account of the Estate of John Graham. I depend upon you to attend to my interests below the same as I should do if there myself. Please write me by the first opportunity. Dr. P. will communicate all the news. Yours truly, A. Jones.

No. 4. [*Army Orders.*]

Camp on the Brazos, April 2d, 1836.

To Lt. Col. H. Millard,

Sir,—You will proceed forthwith to summon eleven commissioned officers, who, with yourself as President and Anson Jones as Judge Advocate, will compose a Court-Martial. You will try private Scales of Capt. A. Turner's Company (B) on the enclosed charges. You will make a record of your proceedings, and transmit a copy duly authenticated to the Adjutant-General.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

John A. Wharton, Adjt. General.

To Lieut. Col. Millard:

You will also try all other persons that may be brought before the Court-Martial, and account as above directed.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

John A. Wharton, Adjt. Gen.

[*Endorsed.*—Private Scales and private John Garner were tried and found *guilty* of mutiny, &c., and sentenced to be shot next day, (April 3d.) Scales was pardoned on account of supposed mental aberration; the other was marched to the place of execution, and the shooting party were at a "present," when a pardon was brought by Col. Wm. G. Cooke. It had a good effect: there was no more mutiny.]

[*From Dr. Alex. Ewing.*]

COLUMBIA, Oct. 28th, 1836.

DR. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I wish you to come to this place as soon as possible, and bring with you all the documents belonging to your department.

By order of the President, Gen. HOUSTON.

Yours respectfully,

A. EWING, Surgeon-Gen. Texas Army.

P. S.—I have some papers in my hands which belong to your department. There are many complaints entered against the department. I endeavored to rectify them with the Old Man; your presence is required here very much.

A. EWING, S. G. T. A.

[*Endorsed.*—I have been too much used to complaints from volunteers to be much troubled about them, and "the Old Man" had better get sober, and attend to affairs he knows something about.]

[*From Gen T. J. Rusk.*]

HOUSTON, 20th Oct., 1837.

DEAR BROTHER,—Your note of yesterday, requesting me to deliver a eulogy upon our brethren, Fannin, Travis, and Crockett, who have gloriously fallen in defence of our common country, has been received. I will cheerfully comply with that request on Sunday week, business of importance preventing me from doing so to-morrow.

I am truly yours, THOMAS J. RUSK.

HON. ANSON JONES, House of Representatives, Houston.

[*From Theodore Bennet.*]

BRAZORIA, Oct. 12th, 1837.

DEAR SIR,—I acknowledge, with pleasure, the receipt of your favor of the 2d inst., and have shown it to many of your friends. The subjects mentioned as being before the House are certainly of the utmost importance to the country, and will, I trust, be disposed of in such a manner as to redeem our national credit abroad, and restore order, union, and confidence at home. I notice with pride the appointment of one of our Representatives as Chairman of the Committee to repeal the Bank Charter; for as the stain of originating it rests on us, the honor of wiping it away should be ours. The propriety of reducing the number of civil and military officers must, I think, be acknowledged by all. * * * * * *

I remain, very respectfully, your friend,

THEODORE BENNET.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Wm. H. Wharton.*]

CHINA GROVE, Residence of Col. Hall, 9th Nov., 1837.

Messrs. J. W. BURTON and ANSON JONES,—Galveston Island is advertised to be sold, as you know, on the 15th inst., for one-third cash. Now if sold in this way it will bring little or nothing, for there is no cash in the country. Had the terms better not be altered to three or six months or six and twelve? In this way it will certainly bring five or ten times as much. * * * God bless you. Yours truly,

WM. H. WHARTON.

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

CITY OF HOUSTON, 12th June, 1838.

MY DEAR JONES,—Hoping it may not be counter to your wishes and interest, I have resolved to appoint you the agent from this Government, for the purpose of procuring a navy in the United States, conformably to the act of this Government, passed in 1837. There has no circumstance occurred which would render the acceptance of the situation unpleasant to you, so far as you will be concerned, or the administration. In the whole matter there is nothing connected with the politics of the day. God keep me clear of the heat of the natural as well as the political season.

When I see you, I will explain to you some things, harmless and at the same time amusing. You will doubtless have to be absent for some nine or twelve months. Some time will be necessary to arrange your private business; so, come as soon as you can, and in the mean time let me know if the situation will be agreeable to you. It will meet the approbation of all the members of the cabinet.

Very truly yours, as ever, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsed.*—By express, soliciting me to take the agency for the navy, changed after to minister.]

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

PARIS, Oct. 6th, 1838.

His Excellency Mr. JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Allow me to congratulate you upon your appointment to the distinguished station you hold, which I do most cordially, as a countryman, if not as a friend and acquaintance. How far I have a right to claim either of the latter, I am at a loss to know, as I have only been informed by our Government and through the newspapers that "Dr. Jones is appointed Minister to the United States," and inasmuch as I know two Dr. Jones' in Texas personally, and have heard of one other. But however that may be, allow me to congratulate you.

The last interview I held with Count Molé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave me more satisfaction than I had received by any previous. I had urged him about the middle of August to give me a decisive answer to the application which I made to his Government in June last, to recognize Texas, for the first time, and continued to talk to him on the subject, without urging a definite answer, until then, when he informed me he was preparing a report upon the affairs of Texas for the King and

Cabinet, which he would soon submit; that when that was disposed of, he would let me know the determination of his Government in that regard. I accordingly ceased to urge him to answer me until about ten days since, when I addressed him a note, urging to that effect. He replied by requesting an interview with me at the Foreign Office. When I met him I found him in a fine humor towards Texas, evidently more favorably disposed than I had previously found him. He then informed me that he had instructed the French Minister at Washington City to send one of his secretaries to Texas forthwith, to inquire into and report upon her situation, &c., &c.; and that he could not answer my application decisively until they received the report of that agent. I expressed my satisfaction at the course his Majesty's Government had determined to pursue, as Texas only wanted to be known in France to secure her recognition; that the only thing I lamented was the length of time it would take to carry out that determination of the Government. He said he had issued the instructions to the Minister more than a month since. He then asked me when I would be compelled to leave France. (I had mentioned in my last note that the time was near at hand when it would become my duty to go to another country.) I told him candidly that my instructions left it discretionary with myself, whether I would leave or remain; that my movements in that regard would be entirely regulated by circumstances; that I was only anxious to learn whether or not I might expect France or England to recognise during the coming winter; that if I concluded neither would take that step, I wished to leave for Texas before the winter set in. He then observed that he would be glad if I would consent to remain, at least for a short time; that his Government would, in all probability, wish to make a commercial arrangement with me; and that they would immediately consider of that matter. I replied that I would gladly remain, not only until that matter was disposed of, but that I would cheerfully remain during the winter if there was a probability of France recognizing Texas, in the event her agent made a favorable report. He did not reply to the latter part of my observation; and as I had determined to hold another conference with him expressly upon that point after he disposes of the commercial matter, I did not press the point, or put it as an interrogatory. I told him that it was my previous intention to make a proposition to enter into a commercial arrangement, such as I had made with England, in the event I found his Government disposed to delay recognition, and that I would soon do it formally in writing. I have done so, and hope soon to complete it. Upon the whole, things look more favorable than I have yet seen them, and I confidently expect France to recognize Texas as soon as the Government receive their agent's report on the situation of our country, if France and Mexico do not settle their quarrel previous to that time. The Secretary of State instructed me to say to the French and English Governments that he had *instructed you* to withdraw the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States. It will be better if I can say you *have* withdrawn it. Please inform me on the subject. Send your letters to our Consul at New York; he knows how to forward them. In great haste,

Yours with regard, &c.,

J. Pinckney Henderson.

[*From the Same.*]

Paris, Oct. 28th, 1838.

My dear Sir,—Some weeks since I had the honor to address you a letter, but at that time was not certain that it *was you* that I addressed. A few days since I had the pleasure of receiving your letter from New York which gave me the first knowledge of *the* "Dr. Jones" appointed Minister, &c., &c. I am happy to hear that it is yourself. I gave you in the letter alluded to all of the interesting news connected with my mission at that time. Since then nothing has transpired worthy of your attention. I have seen Count Molé only once since, but did not press the subject upon him, though I have been lately expecting an answer from him on the subject of the commercial arrangement. The Cabinet have been very much engaged of late in important domestic matters, and I suppose have not reached my communication. They have the reputation of being very dilatory upon all business connected with foreign governments. Gen. Cass and Lord Granville have related to me several extraordinary cases of their tardiness; and if I hear from the Count in four or five weeks I will be satisfied. I am disposed to believe he is disposed to detain me here, until they hear more of their position in Mexico, and receive the report of their agent whom they ordered from Washington to Texas, as I informed you in my first letter. And should things continue unfavorable in Mexico, and that agent make a favorable report, I am satisfied Texas will be recognised by France before March next. I am not very anxious on the subject of the commercial arrangement at present, and therefore shall allow this Government their own time to dispose of my proposition in that regard. I am anxious to hear whom the French Minister at Washington has sent to Texas. I hope you will keep me informed of his movements, of the time of his departure from Washington, his arrival in Texas, and above all, his return, that I may urge matters here as soon as his report reaches this Government.

When will the line between the United States and Texas be run and marked? What are your instructions upon the subject of the navigation of Red River? That is a very important matter to our citizens in that region. The exportation of their produce will, or can be more easily provided for than the *importation* of goods. They may bond their cotton, for instance, in the custom-house in New Orleans; but can you devise any means by which the Government of the United States would think their revenue laws could be made certain against smuggling? They will, no doubt, urge as a reason against any arrangement with Texas on that subject, that goods cannot be bonded for exportation and shipped up Red River into Texas, without placing it in the power of the merchant to land them on the United States side of that river, and thus avoid paying duty to either Government. And, indeed, I am not well enough acquainted with commercial matters to see how we can arrange the business so as to avoid paying a double duty, and secure at the same time the revenue of the United States from frauds. You will readily perceive that the United States alone has reason to fear such a state of things, as there is no danger of goods being smuggled into that part of Texas after having paid the duty in the United States, provided there is a means of getting goods in that quarter by paying the United States duty alone.

This applies only to foreign goods of course. It does seem to me that, according to the laws of nature, Texas has a right to the navigation of the waters into which Red River empties on to the sea. But the authorities are against us, and we must secure that right by treaty; and now is the proper time, whilst public feeling and sympathy in the United States are in our favor. They will soon (the South I mean) become jealous of our cotton and sugar fields. Please give me your views on the above subject.

Your friend and obedient servant,

J. Pinckney Henderson.

[*From the Same.*]

Paris, Nov. 12th, 1838.

My dear Sir,—I received with pleasure, a few days since, your letter of the 13th ultimo, informing me that you have, under instructions from the Government of Texas, withdrawn the application for her annexation to the United States. Being able now to inform this and the British Government of that fact upon official authority, it will remove one obstacle in the way of the recognition by those Governments. I fully informed you, a few days since, of the true state of affairs here. Since that time I have received from Count Molé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a communication announcing to me that the King had determined to accept the proposition which I submitted to his Government on the first ultimo to establish commercial arrangements between Texas and France, whereby the ports of the two countries should be opened to the vessels and goods of each other upon reciprocal terms. He communicated to me the *terms*, * * * which are, that "the vessels, seamen, and merchandise of each country shall be received into the ports of each other, and enjoy all of the privileges, advantages, and immunities which are now enjoyed, or which may hereafter be enjoyed, by the most favored nation; and that this arrangement shall continue until the matter is arranged in a more formal and definitive manner," (which latter clause evidently contemplates recognition.) The terms being as favorable as I could desire, I did not hesitate to accept of them without delay. All therefore that remained for me to do was to send in to this Government my adherence and sanction to the same. I did so, and the arrangement was accordingly consummated. This arrangement not amounting in *form* to a treaty, and consequently not requiring the sanction of the Senate, I was able, under the powers which I hold from our Government, to *complete* the arrangement, so that it can take *immediate* effect here and in Texas. * * * The Count is not as cautious in his communications to me upon this subject, and in wording that agreement, as was Lord Palmerston in the arrangement I made with England. Lord Palmerston was so cautious as always to remind me "that, until England or Mexico recognizes Texas, she will be considered as a part of Mexico, &c., &c.;" but in Molé's communications there are no such reservations. He speaks of Texas as a *nation* and her authorities as a *government*. * * *

Your friend and obedient servant,

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

[*From the Same.*]

PARIS, Dec. 5th, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * * In viewing the English and French shipping in the different ports of the respective countries, I have been struck with the fact of the very large number of negro and mulatto sailors employed, particularly by such ships as trade principally with the West Indies and the South American States and Mexico. Regarding, too, at the same time, the important fact that the whole of the slaves of the British West Indies have been liberated lately at our very door, I have been impressed with the importance of providing in the outset, in all treaties of commerce which Texas shall establish with other nations, *against* vessels entering her ports, manned in part or in whole by free negro or mulatto sailors. I regard it as a favorable circumstance that the first regular and *formal* treaty made by Texas with a foreign nation will probably be made by you with the United States, as I presume that government will have no great objection to make the necessary restrictions upon that subject, particularly as many of her States are vitally concerned in the policy, and *one*, at least, (South Carolina,) has passed a law with that view, which was defeated in its operation by reason of the great power vested in the President and Senate of the General Government in regard to making treaties with foreign States. It is the more important to attend to this point in the first commercial treaty which Texas shall make, as the terms of that treaty will govern all subsequent treaties in many respects. * * * * * * * * Please present my kind salutations to Mr. Catlett, and accept for yourself my warmest wishes for your happiness.

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

[*From Rev. William Y. Allen.*]

GALVESTON, Dec. 19th, 1838.

DEAR SIR,—I remember my promise and will now fulfil it. * * * Congress met on the 5th. Mr. Frazier, the late chaplain, died on the 9th inst.; while he was sick I performed his duties, and since his death have been appointed in his place. I came down on Friday to spend the Sabbath here, and am now detained by a rousing norther, and know not when I shall get back again. The inauguration on the 10th was quite a pageant. Sam. Houston made quite a racy speech; he stood up for his prerogative, objurgated the last Congress for not sufficiently respecting it, and entreated the present Congress to treat his successor better. You know, perhaps, that he and the present Congress have been in a *snarl* most of the present session. The old chief has a good many friends yet, I think. I fear Lamar's friends have made pledges for him greater and more numerous than he will be able to fulfil, with all the aid of Col. B—— and Gen. J——, and your predecessor, Gen. Memucan, to help him.

At the ball which wound up the *grand affair* 'tis said there was some excess of riot, and some shameful spreeing, towards the breaking of the day. One Hon. Representative, our friend from Jasper, had his nose pulled by a certain military dignitary. * * * Burnet's address on taking the chair as President of the Senate was very sensible. * * * Rusk, as you probably will have heard, was chosen Chief Justice on the 17th ballot. He had 29 votes—John A. Wharton 19. Judges Birdsall and

Franklin were also candidates. There seems to be considerable fears, perhaps not groundless, for the dignity and sanctity of the ermine in this case. * * * * * * *

Yours respectfully, **Wm. Y. Allen.**

Hon. Anson Jones, Washington City.

[*From Hon. R. A. Irwin, Secretary of State.*]

Houston, Nov. 28th, 1838.

Dear Sir,—For official information I refer you to my despatch of this day's date.

Mr. Catlett's resignation has been accepted with regret; we hoped he would continue connected with the legation.

Early in the session the President submitted the appointments which had been made during the recess of Congress to the Senate for confirmation. That honorable body refused either to reject or confirm them, postponing the subject till the third Monday of December next; upon which Col. Hockley, Secretary of War, Col. Wm. G. Cooke, Quartermaster-General, G. W. Poe, Stock Commissioner, and other nominees who happened to be present, resigned.

This extraordinary proceeding is, to say the least of it, an instance of marked disrespect to the President and nominees. The nominees are highly respectable gentlemen, and certainly deserved some consideration.

This Congress commenced by passing a resolution prohibiting the President from delivering his message in person, and has pursued towards him ever since the line of conduct dictated by the feelings and policy which prompted their first action. He has kept cool, and in return has treated them with dignified courtesy and * * *

Hastily, your friend, **R. A. Irwin.**

Hon. Anson Jones,
Minister of the Republic of Texas, Washington City.

[*From Hon. A. Brigham.*]

Austin, Nov. 28th, 1838.

My Dear Sir,—Your two highly esteemed favors of 8th September and 20th October have been received, and also the package forwarded by Mr. Porter. I will hand the pamphlets according to your request.

I presume you see all the Texas papers, and can learn more fully and correctly the proceedings of Congress than I can tell you, as I am not able to leave the office much while they are in session. There appears to be much discord between the President and both Houses of Congress, and not unfrequently between the Houses themselves, all originating in a resolution whereby a committee was to wait on the President and inform him that Congress had organized and were prepared to receive any *written* communication he might be pleased to make. The President heard the word "*written*" in high dudgeon, and sent in a very short letter—import not to be mistaken—accompanied by documents that might consume two days in reading,—saying, that if Congress had not "prescribed the mode," he had prepared himself to lay before them matters of great importance; but now he should defer it for the present, and lay before them the documents from his subordinates, which would contain the purport of his message, and at the same time evince that the trust committed to each of them had not been improperly discharged. The Senate did not confirm any of the appointments made by the President during the recess of Congress; as I have heard, deferred them till the new Administration comes in. Of course Colonels Hockley, Cooke, Thruston, and Poe, have sent in their resignations. What will be the result I am unable to say; but one thing is certain, if I am rightly informed, Lamar will "clear the kitchen" from the highest to the lowest,—consequently I am making every preparation to be in readiness. The President has been called upon, by a resolution from the lower House, to give his views on the financial system of the country. He has gone largely into the matter, as usual, and I hope will be treated with more courtesy than heretofore. * * * * * *

I have the honor to be, truly and most cordially,

Your friend and obedient servant,

A. BRIGHAM.

HON. ANSON JONES, Washington City.

[NOTE.—The disrespect had commenced on the part of Gen.

Houston, who had been in the habit of lecturing and abusing Congress, and refusing copies of his *messages*, if they might be so called. The third Congress, as he was well aware, intended to put a stop to this improper course; and he *wished* them to give him an excuse for not sending in a message at the conclusion of his term. The fact was, and the reason of his wish is found in the fact, that the situation of the country was so horribly bad that he dared not make an official exposé of the (then) present, nor recommend any measures for the future; and indeed could not without covering himself with censure, and condemning, in effect, the course of his administration for upwards of two years. Hence he quarrelled with the "honorable Congress," and they gave him the pretext for silence, which he so much desired.—A. JONES.]

[*From Self to Hon. R. G. Dunlap.*]

WASHINGTON, May 6th, 1839.

HON. R. G. DUNLAP, &c., &c.:

SIR, * * * * * Having more than two months since understood that a person was appointed to supersede me as Minister to this Government, and not having then received, as I expected, a *letter of recall* to be presented to the President of the United States on my taking leave of this Government, finally I wrote about seven weeks ago to the Secretary of State at home, requesting that if a letter had not been sent as above, that it might be immediately done. As none, however, has been forwarded me either through you or the ordinary conveyances, I presume it has been the intention of the Government to withhold it. This, independent of personal considerations, I very much regret, as a contrary course would have been in accordance with propriety and the usages of friendly nations, respectful to this Government, and is due to the character and dignity of Texas, in which I have ever felt the strongest possible interest.

I shall be happy to have an interview with you as requested, on subjects connected with my late mission to this Government, and will be at home to-day at 12 o'clock for this purpose, if it will suit your convenience to call at that hour. I remain, with great regard, your most obedient servant,

ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. A. T. Burnley.*]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 11th, 1838.

DEAR SIR,—Much to our *surprise*, regret, and mortification, at the very moment when we expected to close with Mr. Biddle for our loan, he has been compelled by the anti-Texas and anti-Slavery feelings of his board, to decline any thing to do with the Texas loan, on *any terms*, much to *his* astonishment and mortification. However *mad* you may be, say not a word about the *causes* which have unexpectedly produced our defeat. When I see you I will satisfy you they are the true causes of our discomfiture, and tell you all about it; but *our* policy requires that it should not be known that Mr. Biddle's board, for the first time, have controlled his wishes and intentions, especially that they should not be abused for it by us or our friends. We do not blame Biddle *at all*. He has yet the power and the inclination to do more for us than any man in the United States. I spent an hour with him last night at his house, and had a *very satisfactory* conversation about the future. He means that Texas shall get the money in some way if possible. We are doubting whether to start for England immediately, or to delay a while to produce some results here. Biddle strongly advises the delay, and thinks the results can be produced, and will aid mainly in producing them. We are also trying to buy and fit out *complete* in all respects, for a cruise of six months, a first-rate steamboat, with a Texas bond for $120,000. This is rather exceeding our powers, but the necessity of the case induces us to take the responsibility, and I believe we shall succeed. * * * Can't you come on and see us, and give us the benefit of your advice?

Ought you not to call on Uncle Sam to keep his Indians off Texas? the papers say they are going in there.

In haste, your friend,

A. T. BURNLEY.

DR. ANSON JONES, Washington City.

[*From Hon. J. P. Henderson.*]

PARIS, Dec. 28th, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since my last, nothing has transpired here upon Texan affairs calculated to enable me to judge of future events. I still await the report of the Agent who has been sent to Texas, as well as the issue of the French demand upon Mexico with interest. I hope in a few days to learn from you the name of the person sent to Texas by the French Minister at Washington. General Cass, the American Minister at this Court, called on me a few days since, and in the conversation which passed between us, said to me that he had just received a letter from Mr. Forsyth, which informed him that all difficulties would speedily be settled between the United States and Mexico—that they have entered into a treaty which had restored the best feelings between them; and that although the United States Government could not *directly offer* her mediation to *settle the difficulties between Texas and Mexico, yet he thought he was authorized to say that no further difficulties would take place between the two countries:* which I understand as meaning that the Mexican Government has assured the United States that she will not again molest Texas. This you will see is confidential.

Will not the Government of the United States consider that part of the treaty between herself and Mexico (I mean the treaty of 183–) as still binding upon her so far as it regards her Indians, who are daily making inroads upon Texas? Texas ought to insist upon her recalling all of her Indians who have intruded themselves into Texas without the consent expressly given either by Mexico previous to Oct., 1835, or subsequently by Texas. It might readily be made to appear which tribe has, and which tribe has not such a license. I have been told that *none* have. The Government of the United States cannot justly refuse to accede to such a proposition. I learn that they (the United States) disclaim the Caddo tribe? It matters not to Texas from whence they *originally* come; it is sufficient for both to know that they recently resided within the territory of the United States, and *claimed* land, which land the United States purchased, and that they came to Texas from that region.

They are perhaps the most troublesome of all the tribes. I instructed, or rather directed our Ministers at Washington, when I was Secretary of State, early in the year 1837, to insist upon the above point. In what manner that Government disposed of the application, did not appear when I left Texas, as her Ministers never reported upon the matter to the Cabinet or President.

The Chamber of Deputies have been in session for ten days. Many think the Ministry will be thrown into a minority, and be forced to resign. The combination against them is strong, but I think they will be sustained. Please present me kindly to Mr. Catlett.

Truly yours,

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. S. M. Williams.*]

BALTIMORE, March 11th, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * I have the pleasure to announce to you the safe arrival in Galveston harbor of the English barque Ambassador, and some pride in saying that this is the vessel which has sailed from Europe direct to Texas, and without doubt will be the first to convey a cargo from Texas to Great Britain, which I expect will form an item among the numerous crimes which I have committed, and the innumerable evils with which I have inflicted the country. It is probably well for a man to be notorious for something—and if not for good, why for evil. The Ambassador was towed into port on the 25th February, by the steam packet Columbia. Gen. Houston, and all the *big* men of Galveston, went out and escorted her in, and made quite a frolic of it. The captain was pleased to find that he had gotten among white men who spoke the English language. * * * If this country stumbles upon a contest with England, it will operate seriously for some time against the negotiation of our loan, for the capitalists of England have a vast amount locked up in State, and other securities of this country, which will be rendered unavailable during the existence of the contest. Mr. Dawson is of opinion that Mr. Biddle will not have it in his power to render any aid to Gen. Hamilton.

Please let me hear from you by the mail, and let me know what you have from home, and also your movements in prospective. Present me kindly to Austin, and accept assurances of my esteem. Truly and cordially yours,

S. M. WILLIAMS.

ANSON JONES, Esq.

P. S.—When in Philadelphia I shall adjust the affair of the bonds with Mr. Biddle, and will report to you the amount in which they are filled up.

[*From Hon. J. P. Henderson.*]

PARIS, June 20th, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your last letter a few weeks since, announcing your intention of departing for Texas. I do not know whether to understand from it, whether you considered yourself *reformed*, or whether you asked the Government to relieve you by appointing another. I wrote to the Secretary of State some time since, announcing my desire to be permitted to return to Texas this coming fall, and requested the President to appoint another in my stead who could relieve me by the 1st September, by which time I hope to be able to obtain answers from this and the British Government upon the subject of recognition. * * * I have seen and conversed several times with Mr. Pontois since his return from Washington. He told me that he had seen you frequently, and conversed with you on Texan affairs. I was glad to find him so favorably disposed towards Texas. He informed me he had had a conversation with the king since his arrival in Paris upon Texan affairs, and that he told his Majesty that France must recognize Texas without further delay. The king is anxious to recognize, provided Mr. Saligny's report will warrant that step; and from all that passed between the king and Mr. Pointois, I doubt not that France will recognize us as soon as that report is received, provided it is favorable. Mr. Pontois seems to think there is no doubt it will warrant immediate recognition.

I think from something which fell from him on one occasion that he has received Mr. Saligny's "first impressions" in Texas, and I suppose he judges from that what will be the character of the whole. As soon as this Government gives me a decisive answer, I will go to London and urge the British Government to the same point. Mr. Pontois told me that he is convinced that the strongest reason which operates upon the British Government, and mainly influences them to delay the recognition of Texas, is the question of slavery, to which I replied, that her delay, or the delay of any other Government for that reason, would not remedy the evil, (if they chose so to call it,) as Texas is in fact independent, and must continue to prosper, notwithstanding such unjust and useless delay, and that I could tell them once for all that Texas will never suffer a question to be discussed, in treating for recognition, which involves any part of her domestic policy. He rejoined that he could assure me that such was not the disposition of the French Government—that they only wished to be satisfied with regard to *our ability* to maintain our present position.

I am sorry to learn that Gen. Lamar is not as popular as he was in the commencement of his administration. I have not learned the cause, and therefore cannot decide whether he is unjustly assailed or not. I wish it was otherwise, as our Government at this time needs the assistance and support of its feeblest friends.

I hope soon to be able to inform you of better success here and in England than I have heretofore met with.

Truly yours, J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Brazoria, (Texas.)

[*From the Same.*]

PARIS, Sept. 27th, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—When I last wrote you a few weeks since, I had just obtained the consent of the French Government to treat with and recognize the independence of Texas. On the day before yesterday I completed the negotiation by signing a treaty with Marshal Soult, and on the same evening I was presented to the king as minister of Texas. The treaty is not precisely as favorable as I think Texas had a right to expect of France; but I hope, taking all things into consideration, that Texas will be well satisfied with it. I can assure you, my dear sir, that *the terms are the best which could be obtained* at present for Texas. I was compelled to reduce the duty on two or three French articles, but they are such as are not used to any great extent in Texas, and therefore her revenue cannot be materially affected by it, which was the greatest object I was compelled to look to. I shall go to England in a few days and urge that Government to recognize or refuse, and give their reasons for so doing. I scarcely hope they will comply with my main request, inasmuch as Mr. O'Connell has threatened them with his vengeance if they do recognize. That threat he made in a speech in Parliament a few days before it adjourned, and you know the present ministry of England dare not run counter to his wishes.

* * * * * I am pleased to hear you will be in the next Congress, as I have no doubt you will be able to remedy many defects which now exist in our laws. * * * Hoping to meet you in Texas, I must beg you until then to excuse me for not again addressing you, as I shall be much engaged. * * * I will leave here for the United States on the 1st November next, in the British Queen steamer.

I remain yours, very truly,

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Austin City.

[*Self to Hon. Christopher Hughes.*]

Copy of Letter and Memorandum handed to the Hon. C. Hughes, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to Sweden and Norway, on his leaving on the "Siddons" for Stockholm.

NEW YORK, April 24th, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—The good wishes which you have at different times expressed in behalf of Texas, and the promises of your kind offices in her behalf with your friends in Europe, are duly appreciated by me, and I shall take much pleasure in making them known to my Government. The recognition of her independence by England and France are now only necessary to give her that national character, to which I think her sacrifices and her successful struggles have so justly entitled her, and which a liberal and enlightened policy should accord to a young nation possessing all the elements of future greatness. The good sense of those who direct the councils of France and England must, sooner or later, convince them of the importance of Texas in a commercial point of view to both of those Governments, and I am satisfied that if they properly appreciated her present and prospective advantages and resources, no delay would occur in making that recognition.

You, my dear sir, have it in your power, in the course of your connection and friendly intercourse with many of the leading men in both of those countries, to give correct information in regard to these matters, and to disabuse Texas of many unfounded slanders, and consequent prejudices, which the press of this country unfortunately have given currency to. This I need not ask you to do, as you have already promised it in advance, and I only make these suggestions to recall the matter to your recollection on your arrival among your friends in Europe. Should your leisure serve, I should be happy to hear from you occasionally. Letters under cover to James Treat, Esq., of this city, will reach me in safety. With my best wishes for your happiness, I remain, with great regard,

Your friend, ANSON JONES.

TO CHRISTOPHER HUGHES, Esq.

Memorandum Enclosed.—Memorandum for Hon. C. Hughes, &c., April 24th, 1839; v. letter of this date. Texas has now sustained herself as a separate and independent nation, *de facto and de jure*, for more than *three*, and has been virtually separated from Mexico for more than *four* years. She can *never be resubjugated* to the power of Mexico, nor is it probable Mexico will ever make an actual effort for this purpose, notwithstanding her threats, which are understood to be made by her rulers for certain effects at home, and to gratify the pride and vanity of her people alone. The war may be protracted for years, but Texas can never be reunited to Mexico, nor would it be for the interests of either party for this to be effected. The people of the two countries are too dissimilar in every respect for them ever to harmonize under one government. It is much better, therefore, they should remain separate.

Were Mexico to drive the present population of Texas out of the country, (which is utterly impossible,) the country would be of no use to her, as it is not adapted to Mexican colonization, and would soon be occupied by savages from the United States, who would always be troublesome to Mexico, and might, sooner or later, overrun and subdue all her Northern States.

Texas contains upwards of two hundred millions of acres of good land, much of it equal to any in the world. She has at least one hundred millions of acres of *cotton* land, and is capable, when her resources are developed—as they will be within the next quarter of a century—of producing enough of that *great staple* for the supply and consumption of the world. She has more cotton lands than all the Southern States together.

She has, at least, fifty millions of natural pasture lands, well adapted to the raising of cattle, sheep, and horses, &c. * *

Beef and wool can be raised cheaper and easier than in any part of the United States, and these must, in a few years, become immense staple products of the country, second only in importance and value to her *cottons!*

The range of country skirting the Gulf of Mexico, and for one hundred miles in average breadth, is well adapted, in its soil and climate, to the growth and culture of the sugar cane. Texas will add the article of sugar to her staple productions, and export an immense amount of it within the next twenty-five years.

To say nothing, therefore, of the other natural resources of Texas, her mines, her mild and salubrious climate, &c., it cannot, I think, be denied by any one, that she will shortly become an object of interest to European nations, who must perceive, upon a little consideration of the matter, how vastly important and beneficial her progress is, and *may become*, to their great *commercial* and *manufacturing* interests. Particularly does this appear to me to be true as it regards Great Britain and France. I need not specify the other respects in which her progress may be useful to the communities of Europe. Yourself and their far-reaching statesmen will not fail to perceive them without such specification from me. A. J.

[*From Hon. C. Hughes.*]

LONDON, 10th June, 1839.

To ANSON JONES, Esq., Texan Minister U. S. A.:

MY DEAR SIR,—The enclosed will prove I have not neglected my promise. With your own Government you are at liberty to communicate the enveloped, and to inform them of my willing and friendly interposition in their affairs and behalf. But you will understand, and *literally*, that you are *not* to allow *any person* whatsoever, connected with *my* Government, to have any knowledge whatsoever on the subject. It might compromise me; for, a diplomate who steps out of the bounds of his own immediate care and trust, commits a great (and culpable, with pedants, and such there are) irregularity. I have not yet seen Gen. Henderson.

Truly yours, CHRISTOPHER HUGHES.

[Enclosed in the above.]

[*Extract of a Private Letter to Lord Palmerston.*]

G. Ryder Street, St. James, Monday, 10th June, 1839.

In confidence I enclose the memorandum of Mr. Jones, Texan Minister at Washington. I believe the views given in it are just and true. With very many of my countrymen, I believe it not improbable that the day may and *will* come, and not so remotely as it may seem, when, instead of being subdued by Mexico, Texas will conquer Mexico.

At all events, I venture to enclose Mr. Jones' memorandum, and to recommend it to your consideration, and to that of Lord Melbourne. The subject is really one of *great* and *growing* interest, and I don't see why *Johnathan* has not a right to nurse and dandle *John's* grandson. More *in the family way* I will not say.

Mr. Jones is an exceedingly gentlemanlike, modest, and estimable man, and commands the respect and esteem of every one in the United States. I made his acquaintance last winter at

Washington, and formed quite a favorable opinion of him. I should think he *may* be the man sent here when you *may* take the view of the Texas question in London, that has, you know, long since been taken of it at Washington.

A new "feature" has shown itself in this matter, and very lately, *id est*, several of our most prominent and able and valued citizens have lately become citizens of Texas, without ceasing to be citizens of the United States. They have in a degree espoused its cause and embarked its reputations in its concerns. I will merely mention Judge White, of Florida, and Gen. Hamilton, of South Carolina, and I assure you that there are few higher and more honored names and men in my country. However, I have perhaps said more in a case where I have *no right* to say any thing, than may be admissible, but not more than may be excusable, seeing the nature of the case, of my motives, and the kind indulgence with which you have long honored, your true and attached friend,

CHRISTOPHER HUGHES.

To Lord Viscount PALMERSTON.

[*Lord Palmerston to Christopher Hughes.*]

[PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.]

[COPY.] LONDON, Stanhope Street, 10th June, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—Thank you for your letter about Texas, which I have sent to Lord Melbourne. The subject to which it relates is important, but not without some difficulties.

I send you a note to Lord Granville, (Paris,) and another to Lord Wm. Russell, (Berlin.) I am sure they will be very glad to make your acquaintance.

Yours sincerely, PALMERSTON.

C. HUGHES, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

[PRIVATE]

LONDON, 10th June, 1839, (Midnight.)

To Dr. ANSON JONES, Texan Minister, &c., &c., &c.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you this morning, and by the same mail that will now take you this second letter of same date.

My first conveyed to you a copy of a letter I addressed to Lord Palmerston on the subject of Texas, agreeably to my promise to you (made at New York in April) to do what I could to serve your young and glorious adopted country. Within the hour I received the above answer from Lord Palmerston, and hasten to transmit to you the copy. It will show you the spirit and feeling of Lord Palmerston *quoad* the subject. From the "*some* difficulties" I augur well and hopefully on the interests and futurity of your country. They *must* be fostered and promoted by the *recognition* of *this ;* and I really believe that that recognition will be soon accorded to you; and moreover, I believe that if it were my lot to remain *here* a short time, I might be in some small degree useful and instrumental in accelerating and achieving this desirable consummation. As it is, I rather think what I *have* done will do your cause no harm.

You will see that I did not proceed and argue without my host! I generally know my ground, and what is clear, *I keep my promises.*

I shall like to hear that you have received these two letters; you will oblige me by acknowledging them. Put your letters under cover, addressed to my agent thus:—To Mr. John Miller, Bookseller, 26 Henrietta St., Covent-Garden, London.

I am truly yours, CHRISTOPHER HUGHES,
Chargé d'Affaires of United States of America, Stockholm.

[NOTE.—This was among the first steps taken by me in that course of policy which ultimately led to a settlement of our difficulties with Mexico, the recognition of our independence by that nation, and our annexation to the United States.]

[*From Hon. C. Hughes.*]

STOCKHOLM, 24th March, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—The English mail is just setting out, and this must be a short letter in answer to a long and very agreeable and welcome one from you, dated "Austin, 30th November, 1839," which I received to-day! How it can have been so long on the way I cannot understand, for we have New York dates by to-day's mail to 15th February, 1840; it cannot be any fault of your friend Treat!

You had received my letters dated London, June last, through Mr. Treat, and you very kindly acknowledge the interest I had shown in endeavoring to promote an "object of so much importance as the *recognition* by England of your adopted country;" and I am pleased, my dear sir, that *you* should be convinced of my having kept my promise made to you in the United States in April last, to do any thing in my limited power to advance this certainly "important object" in Europe; and I am equally pleased that Gen. Lamar and Gen. Houston should know that I had done this.

You go on to say that your recent accounts as regarded the recognition by England were favorable; and that these accounts came by Gen. Hamilton and your "successful negotiator or agent at Paris, Gen. Henderson." Now, my dear sir, I am very glad to hear this from you; for, since my departure from Paris on the 1st last August, I have had no direct news on the subject. But you do not say one word as to your accomplished recognition by the French Government in connection with the *share I took* in effecting that work; and from your silence as regards France, I am warranted in believing that nor you, nor the President, nor Gen. Houston, are accurately and fully informed of the details and history of that much wished for consummation of one of your great objects and interests in Europe, and for certainty *cannot* be fully informed of *my* part in the transaction, or you would not have thanked me for the comparative little I was enabled to do in England, and leave entirely unnoticed the very effective *much* I actually *did for you in* FRANCE. It is my wish, and I conceive it to be a very *fair* one, that especially *you* (for it was my acquaintance and conversations *with you* in the United States that interested me in your cause, and induced me to give you the promise I gave you at New York on embarking for Europe,) that *you* should be *fully* informed on this subject, and also that your President, and the gallant Gen. Houston, should understand the matter. I include also in this wish Gen. Hamilton, for whom I have a very high respect. * * * To effect this object, and by way of contributing *something* to the archives of your new and noble republic, (if it be thought worthy of record in the historical records of your infant country,) I have written to my brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Moore of Baltimore, to send addressed to your Secretary of State at Austin, Texas, my communication to my own Government which I sent from Paris end of July, 1839, giving a full narrative of the *share I took* in effecting the recognition of Texas by the French Government. You or your Secretary of State will receive these despatches from Col. Moore soon after you get this letter. Every note and letter which passed on the occasion is contained in that communication, and you *then* know and understand the whole history of your French success.

The fact is, it was my accidental presence at Paris and my personal standing with several of the most powerful and influential French diplomatists, (who happened to be at home, old colleagues of mine,) and my success *through them* in gaining the confidence of Marshal Soult. It was to *these* causes that we owed our success; and I conscientiously believe, (and why should I not *say* what I *believe?*) that if I had not taken up the subject *as* I did, and *when* I did, Texas would *still* be unrecognized *by France*. If I were to name the European to whom you are most indebted *for* the success, I should name the Marquis de Rumigny, now French ambassador at Madrid, with whom I have been on brotherly terms for twenty-four years,—the most able of French diplomatists, and the most cherished and confided in by the king. Proof,—he is *at Madrid*. Your Government would do only an act of justice and of gratitude if they were to write by your Secretary of State a letter of thanks to the Marquis; and if you have any Texan interests to advance in Spain, you will find a friend in *my friend* M. de Rumigny, (if he be at Madrid.)

I *know* my conduct was disliked and disapproved of at Washington, and *justly so*. A diplomate is wrong when he meddles with business *not* his own, and *out* of his instructions.

There is one obstacle to your success in England, and that is and you will find it so, insurmountable, [meaning for the present,] it is O'Connell. I shall be glad to hear from you. Write via London, (as before.)

Yours, CHRISTOPHER HUGHES.

HON. ANSON JONES, Senator, Austin, Texas.

[*Endorsed*—NOTE.—General Henderson, in his letter to me of June 20th, 1839, (v. p. 146,) speaks of the efficient aid he received from Mr. Pontois through my instrumentality. Mr. Hughes arrived in Paris about the same time; and by their joint aid the recognition was accomplished, for up to this period Gen. Henderson had done nothing by his two years' residence abroad. This aid of Mr. Pontois and Mr. Hughes was procured mainly by my influence with them while at Washington in the winter of 1838-'39.—V. p. 159.]

[*From Gen. James Hamilton.*]

LONDON, Nov. 6th. 1840.

MY DEAR SIR, * * * * I have only a moment to inform you that in point of fact I have procured the recognition of England, having agreed with Lord Palmerston on the preliminaries of a treaty last night, which I have no doubt will pass the Cabinet Council to-morrow. I have written the President informing him of this gratifying fact.

With esteem, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

J. HAMILTON.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, Texas.

[*From Col. James Love.*]

NEW ORLEANS, 30th November, 1840.

DR. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of placing you in possession of some news that may have a bearing on the action of Congress. The difficulties which have existed between the centralists and the northern provinces of Mexico have been adjusted. You will probably have heard of this, and the sacrifice and slaughter of our misguided citizens who were rash enough to put faith in a misguided Mexican.

The Government of Mexico is making preparations for invasion, and in order to effect that object are concentrating their means and forces. General Woll has just arrived here from the city of Mexico, and sails the first opportunity in an American vessel for Matamoras. He is to unite with Arista, and at once to place the forces in that quarter in a hostile attitude.

They have vessels now building at Baltimore which are to be delivered at Vera Cruz in the month of March,—there are three brigs and some schooners; their agent is now in England, and having constructed a steamship for their service, it is expected to be completed in March. All this intelligence I derive from a gentleman of high standing who is familiar with their affairs, and who believes they will make a movement upon us. We need not fear, and cannot doubt the result. And it should remind us, that whilst we feel very secure we may be on the point of danger. I enclose two letters arrived to-day from Vera Cruz and Yucatan; they are to the Secretary of State, and probably give some information of interest.

I am in receipt also of a letter from Mr. Burnley of the 1st of November from London. The treaty of peace and recognition is under discussion, and agreed upon with Lord Palmerston, and no doubt entertained of its being effected, and, I suppose, is done before now. That done, the prospect of the negotiation of the loan is much advanced, and the probability is the whole of it will be taken—a part of it, certainly. Give us but one million, with a little prudence, wise legislation, strict accountability, and we may flourish and be happy. God only knows how we can get along without it. * * * * The contemplated action of Congress on the tariff, taxes, treasury notes, and the recall of the commissioners, has greatly affected our credit, and has had a serious effect on emigration; the sooner the action of Congress is known the better, and I hope you will meet again in March or April. Mr. Burnley leaves London on the 7th of November for Texas, and you may look for him at Austin about the 20th December.

I do not expect to have the pleasure of seeing you this winter, and hope your labors may result in good to our common country. I write you now because my situation enables me to acquire information not accessible to all. Will you show this to my friends Smith and Pilsbury?

Very truly your friend, JAMES LOVE.

[*Self to Branch Tanner Archer.*]

CITY OF AUSTIN, December 9th, 1840.

To the Hon. B. T. ARCHER, Secretary of War:

SIR,—I received your extraordinary communication of the 7th inst. by the hands of Major-Gen. Felix Huston, commander-in-chief of the Texas militia.

I deny that the forms usually observed among gentlemen, "under the circumstances, rendered such a communication necessary." The time which elapsed between "the notification to you of a civil department of this Government as Secretary of War and the date of your communication, and the daily and usual intercourse between us as gentlemen during that time, in my opinion, (and that of others competent to judge,) rendered such a course entirely inadmissible. You complain of no *personal wrong* or *injury* which I have done you, nor ask of me any redress. I can therefore only regard your note as intended to make a gratuitous, wanton, and unprovoked attack upon me, and more in the character of a malignant assassin seeking life than that of an honorable gentleman demanding satisfaction for any grievance.

The charge in your note that I am a plunderer of public property is as false as it is contemptible—facts well known to yourself. You may perhaps be the defender of public property, but you will recollect it was not by my vote, and I sincerely regret that the defence of my country's interest has not fallen into better and abler hands. Your definition of the relation in which we stand is therefore incorrect. I will avail myself, however, of the light thrown upon the subject by your note, and define it truly.

You are the father of the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company;" *I* the constant and efficient opposer, and one of the destroyers of an institution which I conscientiously believed would otherwise have proven destructive to the interests and the liberties of Texas. *You* were last Monday week a nominee before the Senate for the office of Secretary of War. *I*, believing you incompetent and unfit for the office, and in the honest and faithful discharge of a high and responsible duty as Senator, was unwilling to "advise and consent" to your nomination. *You* were the friend and strenuous advocate of James Webb last Saturday, an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Chief Justice of the Republic of Texas: *I*, believing him less worthy than his opponent, used my voice and influence against your favorite, and contributed, as far as these went, to his defeat. *I*, the faithful and constant defender of the interests, the rights, and the liberties of my country, in the field, in the councils of the nation, and at a foreign court: *you*, the *organ* and BULLY of an infamous faction, which have devoted the country to ruin, and seek, assassin-like, to add to it the ruin of my reputation and the sacrifice of my life. (V. letter sent by B. Gillespie.)

ANSON JONES.

Extract from the National Vindicator of July 27th, 1844.

[THE "TEXAS RAILROAD, NAVIGATION, AND BANKING COMPANY."]

"The first Congress of the republic convened at Columbia in 1836,—gave to one company for speculation the town of Houston, to another the town of Galveston, and the balance of the country to the 'Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company.' This last was a mammoth scheme of speculation upon the country, which was detected and prevented by the intelligence and firmness of Gen. Houston and the Hon. Anson Jones. A communication, written and published by the latter gentleman in the Matagorda Bulletin, in August, 1836, [Franklin,] first awoke public attention to the evils threatened by this institution, and proved in the end a death-blow to its existence.

"The charter for this company was granted to 'Branch T. Arthur, James Collinsworth, and their present and future associates, successors, and assigns.' Among the 'associates' who originally formed this company, we believe the only ones now living and in the country are Messrs. Thomas F. McKinney, T. I. Green, A. C. Allen, and Mosely Baker. (V. note below, 2d.)

"We believe that neither of these gentlemen has been, since August, 1836, the political supporter of Dr. Jones. Some of them have become his bitter personal and political enemies and persecutors."

[NOTE 1.—Gen. Houston was rather late in "detecting" the evils of this mammoth scheme of speculation, and in his "efforts" for preventing them. These would have been in better time had he *vetoed* the law when presented to him, and refused to *sign* it. He acted with some "firmness," however, when "Franklin," in August, 1837, exposed these evils, and aroused the public indignation against their authors, and thus adroitly sheltered himself from the storm which his "associates" encountered.—A. J.]

[NOTE 2.—March, 1855, Gen. Thomas I. Green, in his printed reply to Gen. Sam. Houston's speech in the Senate of the United States on the subject of the "History of the Mier Expedition," states at pp. 57 *et sequent*, that Gen. J. P. Henderson and Gen. S. Houston, with others, held shares in the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company," amounting to one-sixteenth each, some of which shares had been sold at $20,000; that Gen. Houston was induced, as President of Texas, to approve and sign the act of incorporation in consequence of this ownership of a share, and at a late period offered the share to Hon. B. T. Archer for $4,000, which offer Archer declined, &c., &c.—A. J.]

[*From Col. J. N. Moreland and Others.*]

HOUSTON, 7th August, 1841.

Doctor ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Your esteemed favor of 31st ult., for Mr. Johnson, is duly at hand, and contents noted with particular attention.

We are sorry to say we do not coincide in opinion with you in regard to withdrawing your name from the present canvass for the Vice-Presidential election, and much less relative to our coming to an honorable and just compromise with the friends of the other two candidates, (Gen. Edward Burleson and Gen. Memucan Hunt;) such amalgamation is equal to that of oil and vinegar.

After the receipt of your said communication, we met and interchanged our opinions on the subject mentioned therein, and we find no reasonable excuse for your positions assumed in your said letter; and much less for that part relating to pecuniary means; for "where there's a *will* there's a *way*." Your doctrine of not making an electioneering tour through the country is not *tenable;* at least at *present* in Texas. * * * The position Texas now occupies is that of a people, free, unshackled, and untrammelled, by the influence of any clans; but it is nevertheless *absolutely* necessary for a candidate to make a tour, especially in the populated and commercial points, inasmuch as the population is a transient one; and much as you may be known in your own and other countries, yet the present population of this city, in its great majority, does not know you (personally.)

The result of the interchange of our opinion is (to request) that you make some suitable arrangements at home, both in a pecuniary and domestic point of view, to leave your peaceful fireside, and to come without delay to this place, where, after a few days' stay, a personal interview with your friends and interchange of opinion, will dictate the course necessary to be pursued to carry out our point, "*a tout prix.*" The press—personal services, industry and labor, and pecuniary means— * * all will be necessary to be called into requisition. You have some very warm friends here, some not so very, and some who do not know you at all, *personally*, but by reputation. Your presence will unite all, and a united, strong pull, will carry the point without fail. You *must* arise from your lethargy— * * there are many who are of opinion that you care not for the office, because you will not say or do any thing to insure your election. * * * In regard to pecuniary means, we, in common with you, are afflicted with the same disease, (poverty.) Yet, if we can do any thing for you on your arrival here by way of "anticipation," we will cheerfully do so, even if it should be with some sacrifice. Some arrangement may be made with the Houstonian to put your name at the head of his columns; * * * and although we deprecate, in common with you, "*Talia augilia* and *defensores istos,*" yet the *time* and circumstances require it. * * * *

We are very truly yours,
Thos. G. Western, J. N. Moreland,
F. R. Lubbock, George Fisher, and
A. Ewing.

[*Endorsed.*—I have received probably a hundred or more letters similar to this, urging me to make an electioneering tour through Texas. The sacrifice is too great. I do not wish the office; I have not the means to spare; and if I had, I am opposed "*toto cœlo*" to such a course. Propriety, therefore, requires me to decline.]

[*From James Burke.*]

Extracts from his Letters of June 6th, and August 10th and 14th, 1841, from Montgomery and City of Houston.

June 6th.

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—I have seen with much pleasure your name announced for the Vice-Presidency, and I can sincerely say you have my decided preference before any other candidate before the people. * * * Now I am a friend of Gen. Burleson, and entertain towards him the kindest feelings, but really I should dislike to see him in the Vice-President's chair, because of his great want of qualifications. You have friends in the East and throughout the country who highly appreciate your *talents* and *moral worth*, and who will support you; but you are not sufficiently known among the *common people*, for the simple reason that you have never *fought* a *battle!* i. e., you are not distinguished as a military chieftain, * * * Would it not be well for you to travel through the eastern counties, and mingle freely with the people? * * * The present condition of the United States teaches us the importance of making a wise choice in relation to the Vice-Presidency; and particularly, as owing to the *habits* of the individual (Gen. Houston) who will, in all probability, be elected President, it is quite probable he will not survive during the term.

I assure you, that although a humble—very humble—citizen of the republic, I feel a deep interest in the welfare of our rising country, and am solicitous to have our offices filled with our *ablest* and *best* men.

I shall probably continue my peregrinations through the republic during the present summer. It will give me much pleasure to advance your political views. * * *

August 10th.

Some time since I wrote you two communications to Austin, since which I have found your residence is Columbia. I have since that travelled considerably between Trinity and Colorado, and through the counties bordering on those rivers, and it gives me pleasure to inform you, that throughout that section of country, your prospects are good. * * * The greatest obstacle in your way is your want of acquaintance with the people. * * * I think it *all-important* that we have an able *Vice*-President. I think you should yet address a circular setting forth your views upon political subjects to the people. * * * * * *

August 14th.

All that is wanting for your success, is that you should become known to the *mass* of the people; for although all the *reading* part of our people have all heard of you through the papers, yet it is a truth deeply to be regretted, that a large majority of our fellow-citizens do not belong to that class. I would again recommend, and would even venture to *urge*, that you issue a *circular*, and have it published in *all* the papers of the republic, setting forth your political views, and the leading measures you would advocate. * * *

Yours, respectfully, JAMES BURKE.

[*Endorsement.*—This is but the echo of opinions which have come up to me from all parts of the country, and from men of all parties.—A. J.]

[*From W. H. H. Johnston, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, 7th August, 1841.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—With this will be handed you a letter from some of your friends in this place, and the expression of my sentiments would be a repetition of nearly the same words. I was present with the persons in consultation, and can say I never saw persons more zealous in any cause than they appeared to be in yours. * * * I am authorized to say to you for Col. Fisher, that any thing he can do towards forwarding your election in a pecuniary point of view, will be done with pleasure; (and you know he is not slow.) I advise you to come over by all means, and see them; I am confident you will not regret it. Since I arrived here, I have seen persons from Montgomery, Jefferson, and Jasper, who have given me great encouragement in regard to your popularity in those counties. You have *warm* friends, and it only requires a slight exertion on your part in the *East* to ensure your election.

I could say much to encourage you, but it is late in the evening, and the boy is waiting to start, and I have a letter to write to Mr. Cloud, and some business to attend to. With the confident hope that you will visit this place *immediately*, I will bid you adieu. Wishing you health and prosperity,

Truly yours,
WM. HENRY H. JOHNSTON.

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, June 15th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * I must advise you without delay to visit the *East*. My good friend Hunt has been here, and, I can assure you, has made many friends and *voters* for himself. You know sufficiently well the effect the presence of a candidate has on the *sovereigns;* therefore you should come to the East if you wish to have an equal chance; moreover, a majority of the active politicians in this quarter have been busily engaged heretofore in anticipation of this event in giving currency to the report that you have in all cases, since our existence as a nation, shown yourself to be opposed to the interest of the East, and disposed to excite sectional feelings between the *west* and *centre* against the *east*. I have endeavored on all occasions, more especially last summer and fall, when the public mind was being prepared to nominate candidates for Vice-President, to resist that impression, but have not been successful, chiefly because our own people, I think, entertain themselves something of that disposition, and therefore are more ready to fix it upon others. Moreover, I have been met by those who could say to me that I have not had the same opportunity to know your disposition in that regard, as they who have been constantly in the country with you. I am satisfied that you have not exhibited *more* of sectional feeling than others who accuse you—perhaps you have much less; but still the belief is prevalent here, and unless you come and see the people, and talk with them on general matters, they will continue to believe so, and you will be badly beaten in this quarter. I wish to see you, and say many things verbally which I cannot write.

Yours, very truly, HENDERSON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Senator, Austin.

[NOTE.—Gen. Henderson is correct. I was never opposed to the interests or welfare of the *east* any more than of the *middle* or *west*. I was never sectional in my feelings or course. My object was, and is, and ever will be, to promote the best interests and the highest good of all—*all* sections of Texas. My position as a citizen of middle Texas, enables me to be *perfectly* impartial as between the east and the west, and my disposition and my wishes accord with my local position. The cry about my opposing the East arose in 1839–'40, when I resisted a division of the Supreme Court. I did this because I knew the proposed division was entirely *unconstitutional*, and I deemed it my sworn duty to oppose an infraction of the Constitution. It was a favorite measure in the East, and my opposition defeated the bill in the Congress of 1839, and in that of 1840, or at least its defeat was attributed to my opposition. But my only object was to protect and defend the Constitution. This is the only instance, as I know of, in which I was accused of being opposed to the East. It was the opinion of all our ablest jurists, that the division of the Supreme Court, as proposed, was unconstitutional, and the opinions of several were given to that effect in writing, and not a single opinion, as I know of, was given to the contrary. Gen. Rusk declined giving an opinion when asked. After I left Congress, and in 1841–'2, the bill was passed, and signed by Gen. Houston. To show that I was right all the time, I refer to the decision of the Supreme Court of Texas. That body unanimously (I believe) decided the law to be unconstitutional, and it became a dead letter, and the judgment was acquiesced in everywhere. It was for doing simply my duty, and regarding my oath of office as a Senator, that I was ostracized by certain men in the East.—A. J.]

[*From G. K. Teulon, Esq.*]

AUSTIN, 26th May, 1841.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * I have waited long and anxiously to hear from you, especially after having heard it reported that on your way down, at O. J.'s, at San Felipe, after conversing with him, you decided on not running. This, in a measure, *nonplussed* me. I knew not what to do, whether run you to mast-head or not. Governor Smith's letter, however, to the Houston Committee, decided the point, and I immediately gave your banner to the breeze, as you will see per to-day's paper. * * * Do bestir yourself, visit the East, and at least show yourself; tell them in the West that "Richard's himself again." Buckle on your armor, and take the field. * * * Believe me to be yours, very truly and sincerely,

GEORGE K. TEULON.

[*From the Same.*]

AUSTIN, Oct. 7th, 1841.

DR. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I cannot permit the present opportunity to pass without dropping you a line. Houston is elected by about —— majority, and Burleson by about 1,000. * * * I have been requested by several of the old General's friends in and about these parts, to ask of you, as a particular favor to them, and as a duty you owe your country, that you will use your personal and political influence with the General to have *sober*, *honest*, and *practical* men in his cabinet. (I wish *you* may be there.) Most of the well-wishers of Houston are of the opinion that he will appoint H—— to the War Department. Now he is, as you know, altogether antiquated and visionary in his notions. He is, I believe, attached to H——; but that is not enough; the country expects something more—it looks for an economical cabinet—for the appointment of men of energy, of business habits—men who will curtail every possible expense in their department. Now you have as much, if not more influence over him than any other man; as such, I conjure you to use it, not to oppose Hockley or any other person, but to persuade Houston to two things: 1st. Against the exclusive appointment of Eastern men, as this would make the West jealous; and 2d. To, as I before stated, the appointment of steady, energetic men. Let him do this, and his cabinet will possess the confidence of the whole people, and he will become more popular than ever. * * * All Houston's friends here have been, and are straining every nerve to effect a reconciliation between the two generals, (Houston and Lamar.) No obstacles will be thrown in the way by Lamar, and I wish I could gain your valuable assistance with the others. * * *

Believe me to be yours, very truly,

GEORGE K. TEULON.

[*Endorsement.*—A reconciliation between the two generals is impossible. The other requests I will try to comply with.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

CITY OF HOUSTON, 24th Nov., 1841.

DEAR JONES,—When I came here, I was about to send over for you, if you could come, so as to have a personal interview with you. I then heard you would be, as you then were, at Austin. Now all this preface is, to ask you if you will be so good as to accept the station of Secretary of State. I hope you will find it agreeable. Should you do so, I will assure you that you will find worthy associates in the cabinet. Though my plan, since I first thought of whom I wished to compose the cabinet, has undergone a slight change, yet you were always embraced in the plan. Don't say you are "poor." I am—all are so! The officers shall have salaries, and in good money. It can be done—and shall be done!!!

I will try and be in Austin by the 6th or 7th proximo. Be pleased to salute our friends, and when we meet I will amuse you, by laying open a world of wonders, *some of them at least amusing.* Thy friend, truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

Doctor ANSON JONES, Austin.

[*Endorsement.*—The pledges contained in this letter were subsequently violated.

Hon. K. L. Anderson urges me personally to accept, and promised in that event to take the Treasury Department. His persuasions, more than any other man's, induced me to accept; but at the close of the session of Congress, Gen. Houston gave the office to another, and it soon became vacant.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, AUSTIN, Dec. 14th, 1841.

The President requests the Hon. Anson Jones, at his earliest convenience, to take charge of the Department of State of the Republic of Texas, and to proceed to the organization and discharge of the duties thereof, the business of the Department requiring early attention.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant, SAM. HOUSTON.

[*From Ammon Underwood, Esq.*]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 20th, 1841.

Doct. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I learn, with much regret, that there is a probability of your accepting an office in the cabinet. I can only say that you must be governed in so doing by feelings of PATRIOTISM, not of INTEREST. A wide field is open for your professional skill here, in the rich county of Brazoria, which your reputation would turn to the best account. I do assure you I am also somewhat selfish in wishing you to make your permanent residence among us. * * * Please write me and inform me relative to your future intentions, to taking office, &c.

I remain your friend, &c., A. UNDERWOOD.

[*Endorsement.*—Of course $1,500 in *Texas money* could not be much inducement for a man to leave a lucrative practice. The salary of Secretary of State, when reduced to par funds, would not more than pay a negro's hire.]

[*From A. C. Hyde, Esq.*]

City of Austin, May 27th, 1841.

Doct. Jones:

Dear Sir,— * * * Every thing here is alive with the Santa Fé expedition, which will probably start about the 10th, and cost the Government about half a million. Things are getting on worse than ever in the departments, they paying no attention to any of the acts of Congress. It is an awful state of things that our Government should be in the hands of such men. They have sent to New Orleans for another half million of the notes, which are to be given out before the next Congress meets, in addition to what may be collected, &c., &c. * * *

Yours, &c., A. C. Hyde.

[*Endorsement.*—The Santa Fé expedition was not only unauthorized by Congress, but, in effect, positively inhibited. I voted against it on all occasions, and the project received but few votes. The appropriations for its expenses were made without the authority of law, and by the despotic exercise of executive power, which no *monarch* would have dared venture upon in these times. This Administration will be described by the poet in two lines, as "a chase of silly hopes and fears, begun in folly, closed in tears."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

Legation of Texas, June 17th, 1842.

Dr. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—On the 14th of May I addressed a note to the Department of State upon the subject of a draft for $1,200, drawn by me upon James Erwin, Esq., of New Orleans, and which was due on the 9th instant, and requesting that funds would be placed there to meet it. No reply has been made to my letter. You will confer a great favor if you will let me know the determination of the Government in regard to my requests. I have money enough to keep me, with economy, about five weeks; after that, should I receive no money, and my draft remain unpaid, the Texas Legation must "go by the board," for in debt I never will plunge. Please take this matter in consideration, and let me know speedily if any money is to be advanced, and if so, how and when. On the 1st of July I trust to hear from you. You must think me importunate; but having been here yourself, and knowing the expenses of living, and the necessity of a genteel appearance, you can appreciate my feelings.

President Houston, I perceive, has issued his proclamation convening Congress on the 27th inst. War or no war, I suppose, is the question. We can get men, but no money, for invasion. Our friends think the measure impolitic. The excitement is doing us great injury here. Men with property will not now emigrate to Texas. They know Mexico to be utterly powerless, and dread the result of the excitement. They think us partaking too much the revolutionary character of the Mexicans. The excitement of war against Mexico, and the late movements, and the dissensions between the Executive and the people, have completely destroyed all hopes or expectations or probabilities on one point, which I was instructed to press and watch. Texas will now have to stand alone. * * *

Please write me soon, and believe me ever yours,

JAMES REILLY.

[*Endorsed.*—God knows I have done all that was proper in opposing the President's war movements, his call of Congress, and his eternal dissensions with Congress and the people.

I have paid Major Reilly every dollar I could, but I cannot coin money, and Texas has no credit.—A. J.]

[*From the President.*]

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
CITY OF AUSTIN, Feb. 5th, 1842.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, Sec'y of State:

SIR,—You have leave to absent yourself from Austin until such time as you can arrange your private affairs, so as to give attention to the duties of your office.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

SAM. HOUSTON.

[*Endorsed.*—1845. "The Hegira" from the city of Austin.

Gen. Houston has never been back since the within was signed.—A. J.]

[*From Joseph Waples, Esq., Chief Clerk, State Department.*]

AUSTIN, 13th Feb., 1842.

SIR,—I avail (myself) of the opportunity by the express to write a line, though unable to give you much news. All business in the department has been suspended for the week past, except placing the archives in security, which was done by burying them under the Post-office Bureau, but from the present prospect we shall in a day or two have them taken up and refixed in their proper places in the department, or on the road to the lower country, the latter of which I think the most advisable. We only buried the records and uncopied letters and papers, thinking that if the place was taken, they (the Mexicans) would suppose by finding so many papers and documents in their arranged situation in the various offices, that they had got all the *archives* of the Government, and would not likely look for any thing hidden. We are every moment looking for an express from the President, or himself in person. I presume Col. Hockley has given all the war news. Gen. Burleson is about to start for the West to join the troops from the lower counties, in Bexar, determined, as the ball is in motion, to keep it rolling to some purpose. Hall (clerk in the department) is attached to a company here, which will remain in this place. Mr. Miller was this morning elected captain of it in the place of Tom Green resigned.

Yours with respect, JOSEPH WAPLES.

HON. ANSON JONES, Galveston.

[*From the Same.*]

AT MR. JONES', Saturday, April 9th, 1842.

HON. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I anticipated your instructions to repair to Houston, which I received yesterday fifteen miles from here. I left Austin last Tuesday, expecting to arrive at Houston to-day; but finding the roads very bad and heavy, has retarded my progress somewhat. I have the "GREAT SEAL" and the "SEAL OF THE DE-

PARTMENT" with me in my saddle-bags. I left Mr. Hall in charge of the office, with every thing securely boxed up. On my arrival at Houston, I will report myself to the President for duty. I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant, Jos. Waples.

[*Endorsed.*—The Great Seal and the Seal of the Department commenced a series of peregrinations, which lasted during the balance of Gen. Houston's term. Nov. 1845.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

Galveston, 11th March, 1842.

Dear Jones,—The moment the New York sails I will be off for Houston. I hope to see you there. I pray of you leave me (the) news, if you leave before my arrival. You will hear that I am busy. God bless you.

Thine ever, Houston.

Hon. Anson Jones, City of Houston.

[*From the Same.*]

Buffalo Bayou, Tuesday, March 14th, 1842.

Dear Jones,—If any news arrives about the enemy, no matter what *lies*, I wish no order given for the troops to turn out, until I can act on the facts.

Every report will be sent in to excite the public mind. *Heroes must be made to the west*, and there are so many *pretenders* that the United States cannot furnish supplies of glory.

Your friend, Sam. Houston.

Hon. Anson Jones, City of Houston.

(V. Doc., p. 125.)

[*From Gen. Alex. Somerville.*]

San Antonio, 25th March, 1842.

To the Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 12th reached me at this place on yesterday evening.

To this date no positive intelligence has reached us of the approach of an enemy. I do not believe he intends to come this season. Gen. Houston wrote to me from Houston informing me that Mr. Van Ness had arrived from Mexico, and that Santa Anna was making every exertion in his power to invade us. I have a better opinion of his judgment, and think he is too smart for that. If he comes, he will meet with a reception he little thinks of. Arista will find that we are neither to be frightened nor conquered by paper bullets.

I arrived here on the 17th, to take command of the forces in the field, in accordance with the order of the President. The men and officers refused to obey, claiming the right as volunteers to elect their own officers, which they did, and Burleson was elected without opposition. I have no doubt political intrigue has been at work, with the view to block out the next President. It is a rough concern, and no glory that can be won in the field will ever polish it. I think there is a move for the Vice-Presidency also. The hobby on which they ride is, invasion of Mexico, to give peace and happiness to poor suffering Texas, and thereby achieve immortal glory for themselves.

Sincerely your friend, A. Somerville.

THE FRENCH DIFFICULTIES.

[*From the Count de Saligny.*]

New Orleans, 21st Nov., 1841.

Dear Sir,—I have been very unwell the whole summer, which alone prevented me from writing you, as I was willing to do. I am much better now, and will soon have the pleasure to see you, as I am getting ready to return to Texas.

The formal and official information I have from home do not agree at all with the declarations contained in Gen. Lamar's message in relation to the controversy between your Government and myself. In a note received on the 4th of July from Mr. McIntosh, complaining of me, and asking for my recall, a reply was formally made on the 18th of August. In that reply my Government most energetically vindicated me from the various charges urged against me. Each and all of my acts are emphatically and unreservedly approved; the conduct of your

Government from the beginning to the last is denounced as a flagrant and odious violation of all international rules; the course of the Secretary of the Treasury characterized as a total want of self-respect and decency, and highly offensive to France; the tone of the Secretary of State in his communications to me pronounced *ungentlemanly*, &c., &c., &c. That reply, which is very severe as you may judge, but not more so than deserved, terminates by the declaration, that the Government of the King not only refuse to recall their Minister, but that, violently insulted in the person of their representative, they intend to pursue, by all the means of which they can dispose, the just reparations due them. * * So the matter stands. * * * As regards myself, I am now, as I always have been, a true and faithful friend of your Republic, and nothing will be left undone by me consistent with my duties to my country, to restore between the two Governments the most cordial and harmonious feelings. * * * I hope to be able to accomplish that happy result, and to destroy all traces of a quarrel so much to be deplored. * * * * * * *

I remain, my dear sir, truly yours,

A. de Saligny.

[*From the Same.*]

New Orleans, Dec. 6th, 1841.

My dear Sir,—Your letter of the 1st inst. was handed to me yesterday. Having no doubt whatever, as you say, of my friendly feelings towards Texas, you must be convinced at the same time, that my Government's views are equally favorable and as conciliating as my own. But while the Government of the King have no disposition to require any thing from the Texan Government inconsistent with the honor of your country, it is not to be expected they will consider themselves satisfied with what should be looked upon as a nugatory reparation, or rather no reparation at all. I fully understand your remarks about the judicial forms prescribed by your laws, for the prosecution of any offence, of whatever character, within the territory of your Republic; but in the mean time I beg leave to submit to your judgment some few reflections on that subject. Had the Government of Texas, as soon as they heard of an insult having been offered to France in the person of her Minister, come out, as it was their duty, for the prosecution of the offender, and exercised to the utmost their authority for his punishment, and the vindication of the laws of nations as well as those of the Republic, then they would have been liable to no reproach; and even if the offender, owing to the peculiar regulations prescribed by your code, had escaped unpunished, in spite of all the exertions of the Administration, it might be that my Government would not have insisted on a further satisfaction, which it would not have been in the power of the Executive to afford, and would have contented themselves with a public condemnation, on the part of the Executive, of the conduct of the offender, and requested the Cabinet at Austin to have your laws so modified, if necessary, as to secure for the future the respect and protection due foreign Ministers, and maintain inviolate the sacred principles of the law of nations. Do I need to tell you such has not been the course pursued by your Government? Not only they have suffered the representative of France to be daily and publicly insulted, slandered, and traduced; not only they have paid no attention to his amicable representations, but when that Minister was, although reluctantly, forced into the necessity to apply to them officially for redress and protection, they have used all their authority to prevent the fair trial of the offender; they have, in the official paper, attempted to mislead public opinion; they have done every thing to influence and circumvent the law officers; and after these law officers had nobly manifested their resolution to enforce the supremacy of law, one member of the Cabinet was allowed to forget his duties so far as to become the bail of the guilty, and the endorser of his insults against France. And, as if all that was not enough, when the same man, finding himself sustained and encouraged by the Government, publicly insulted the *person* of the representative of France, and that representative applied for reparation of that other act of violence, he got nothing from the Secretary of State but a most slanderous and insulting note, which the Government of the King has shown extreme moderation in *officially* denouncing as *ungentlemanly*. Again, since the French Minister was obliged to leave a country where not only the honor of his own nation, not only his personal dignity, but even his life were in danger, has not the official print of the Government (the Texas Centinel) constantly and publicly assailed his reputation, traduced him in the most opprobrious language, charged him with every sort of crime and felony, and done every thing to bring him into public contempt? And what has been in that instance the conduct of your Administration? What measures have they taken to stay and repress these odious violations of international law, the punishment of which had been amply provided for by a law adopted by the last session of Congress?

It is most painful to me, I assure you, my dear Sir, to recur to such recollections. I know they have always been deeply regretted and loudly execrated by yourself and every honest man in the Republic. But they have, nevertheless, received the sanction of your Administration, and thus imposed upon my Government the imperious duty of insisting on the punishment thereof. Convinced as they are that nothing except the undue, illegal, and criminal interference of the Administration could have protected the perpetrator of the offences complained of, and secured his impunity; they are absolutely bound to require that he should ultimately be punished. * * *

I understand from one of your high public officers that the intention of your new President is, immediately after the inauguration, to have an official note addressed to me by the Secretary of State, condemnatory of the course of the preceding Administration, conveying expressions of strong sympathy towards France, and of respect to her Minister, as well as the assurances of the desire of the Government to afford a prompt and full reparation, and inviting me to return to my post. It is very desirable that such a step should be taken by the Administration, and upon their own impulse. I think it would greatly tend to soothe the difficulties. Were I certain to find such an official note at Galveston on my arrival there, I would very soon return to Texas, *without waiting for further orders from the Government of the King, whose indignation must have been increased, and conciliatory dispositions lessened by the receipt of several numbers of the Texas Centinel, which have been sent to Paris some time ago.* * * * * *

This letter I write very hastily, and I have not even time to read it over. Besides, you must recollect that I am not writing in my own language. That will do, I hope, for an apology.

Believe me, dear sir, with great esteem and respect, yours &c.,

A. DE SALIGNY.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter and the one of the 21st November were written to Col. Love, and by him sent to me as requested by the writer. They show the complicated and unfriendly condition of the relations between Texas and France. This vexed and irritating business is bequeathed to me by the Administration of Gen. Lamar,—indeed, a few such troubles constitute about all they had left to bequeath.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. James Hamilton.*]

[PRIVATE.]

NEW ORLEANS, March 2d, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I think Texas has quite enough on her hands without keeping open any longer, as a source of irritation, the difficulties with Saligny, as a sincere well-wisher to the country, I would suggest your immediate attention to the subject. I am satisfied that a transmission of a copy of your despatch to McIntosh will answer every purpose, which, as it has gone forward, I do not think you ought to hesitate to afford.

As my sincere good wishes are due you and the country, pray excuse the liberty I take in making this suggestion.

I remain, my dear sir, with sincere esteem,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

J. HAMILTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Col. Reilly was, in January, directed to show the Count de Saligny the despatch to Mr. McIntosh, and to give him a copy if insisted upon. I did not think it proper to make a direct *official* communication of the kind required by the Count, as I deemed it most expedient to treat on the matter with *his* Government, with whom I adjusted the same without *condemning my own Government.*—A. J.]

[*From Count de Saligny.*]

[NON-OFFICIELLE.]

GALVESTON, le 28 Juin, 1842.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,—J'ai été et j'ai envoyé plusieur fois à la douane pour réclamer les objets appartenant à MM. Dubuch frères, et dont vous m'avez dit avoir ordonné qu'on me fit restitution. M. Borden prétend que vous ne lui aves donné aucuns ordres à cet effet ; et de plus l'autorité judiciaire a m'a-t-on dit, que, ordres ou non, elle s'opposerait à la restitution des dits objets avant la decision des Tribunaux competents sur l'affaire de la Goelette Mary Elizabeth. Il m'importe d'être definitivement fixé à cet egard ; si les objets reclamés par MM. Dubuch et dont la saisie ne saurait être regardé comme légale, en ce qui concerne ces messieurs n'etaient pas rendus à leurs propriétaires, je me verrais dans la nécessité de vous adresser une reclamation officielle à ce sujet ; à que je voudrais éviter dans l'intérêt de nos deux gouvernments.

Veuillez donc, mon cher Monsieur, couler à fond au plutôt cette affaire qui est peu importante, au moins comme affaire d'argent, et qui n'en serait que plus désagréable à traiter officiellement.

Je vous prie de recevoir, mon cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments tres affectueux et tres distingués.

A. DE SALIGNY.

A l'Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

TEXAS LEGATION, WASHINGTON, March 25th, 1842.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State:

DEAR SIR,—Accompanying this you will receive an official letter. * * * I would rather die than to remain here. * * * You can see from my official letter that nothing can be done here in the way of any negotiation for Texas. * * *

Yours truly, JAMES REILLY.

[*From J. Waples, Esq.*]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, HOUSTON, 19th July, 1842.

DEAR SIR, * * * * It is desirable you should be here. Letters have been received from Major Reilly and Judge Eve, [American Minister,] which require attention. Mr. Reilly has sent in his resignation, to take effect from the 1st of August. * * * The President is much harassed and perplexed. If I could be permitted to advise or have any influence with you, I would very much desire you would not resign, at all events, without visiting this place, for I know your presence here would have a desirable influence at this time. I am about half sick.

Very respectfully yours, JOSEPH WAPLES.

Doct. ANSON JONES.
(Per Express.)

[NOTE.—When this was written I was on my way to Houston, and lying dangerously ill at Col. Austin's on the Brazos. —A. J.]

[*From Gen. E. Morehouse.*]

HOUSTON, 2d December, 1842.

DEAR DOCTOR,—I wrote you by the last mail, which you may not have received, as fears are entertained of the loss of the mail.

On my leaving Washington I hurried to Galveston, where I found the good people in a great excitement, anticipating the appearance of the Mexican fleet.

There had been up to my arrival a determined opposition towards the Government through Col. Hockley. All parties appeared satisfied on my explanation of the views of Gen. H—— in sending Col. H——, was for a specific purpose. I remained on the island some two weeks, and returned to this place. I am compelled to return to the island by the first boat, as Col. H—— writes requesting my return. He says he is deep in h—l; I am at least on its confines. Keep *the old dragon* in spirits; he is on the top, and must and will remain there. D—n all opposition. *He is now and then wrong*, BUT ALWAYS RIGHT. * * * * * * Hard times stares one full in the face. I wish your Government would send me a few dollars; I scarcely know how I can get along. * * * *

Yours with high regard, &c., E. MOREHOUSE.

HON. ANSON JONES.

P. S.—I beg you, in the name of God, that you will immediately write on receipt of this.

[*Endorsement.*—This is a fair specimen of the condition of things and of the times.—A. J.]

[*From George K. Teulon, Esq.*]

[PRIVATE AND STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.]

CITY OF AUSTIN, 9th December, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—I shall be unable to leave here before the 1st January, as I feel myself under obligations to assist the Major in finishing packing up. I have to-day made partial arrangements with Thompson to haul my books down.

I have headed this confidential, as I wish to give you a friendly piece of advice, but do not wish my name to be known in any way in the matter. [Should Congress pass a law ordering the President to remove the archives, *he* or *you* had better at once, on the passage of the law, despatch up a body of men in whom reliance can be placed to protect the removal, for fear that by any accident they might be destroyed, there being a few men whom the course pursued by Houston has rendered desperate, and such a thing might occur as a bonfire, which would ruin the whole republic. Should such occur, it will be in defiance of all the respectable portion of the community, but you well know that one or two desperate men can achieve much harm, and it is well always to guard against surprise. If any men do come up for the purpose, their destination should be kept secret, and they should come up on the outside of the line of settlements. I have shown this to the Major, and he informs me that he has ascertained that a majority of the citizens are determined to sustain the authorities in the removal, provided they act under an act of Congress.]

The Major is hard put to it here; he depends altogether upon the payment of his accounts due by the Government to enable him to move from here. What he will do, or where he will go, he cannot at present say—it is rather with him where he *can* go * * * to allow his accounts to be paid, so that he can pay others and place his property in a place of safety. * * * Yours ever faithfully, GEORGE K. TEULON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Washington, Texas.

[*From Major Samuel Whiting.*]

AUSTIN, December 10th, 1842.

DEAR DOCTOR,—'Tis a long time indeed since I have had the pleasure of seeing you. Poor me, I have gone through troubles enough since you left here to have put an end to almost any other mortal man living, independent of being closely housed by sickness for nearly all the time in the last nine months. I have nearly had my life teased and fretted out by duns of printers for work done for last year's Congress, and for which our worthy President will not suffer me paid, although Congress had appropriated the means to pay me. Another trouble now stares me in the face—have lost all hopes of the seat of Government remaining here, and I must away, but where to go God only knows. I have some $7,000 of stock, printing materials, &c., and they are safe here no longer, and me without a dollar to remove them. My last hope is to get my accounts that are approved audited, and I may be able, at a sacrifice, to pay transportation with them, as it appears I cannot get my pay. May I entreat you as a brother and friend, to aid me in this last effort. My account for printing laws and journals of Senate I will bring down with me on receipt of a letter from you. Mr. Shaw, Comptroller, has some accounts approved for different departments, work that I have requested him to have audited. Will you be so kind as to assist him, should he find any difficulty in doing so from orders of His Majesty. The transportation of my establishment of printing apparatus will be not less than $600, should I come down to Washington. * * * I am now in as tight a place as I wish ever to be, and require your friendly aid to extricate me. Pray put your shoulder to the wheel and help me out of this suck.

Ever truly yours, S. WHITING.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[NOTE.—Major Whiting's buildings and other property at Austin cost at least $20,000, nearly all of which he lost in consequence of Gen. Houston's course on the Seat of Government question. He had been a warm and efficient friend and supporter of Gen. Houston; and although residing in the west and among those who opposed Houston's election, he, at a great sacrifice, supported him and aided materially in his election. But because Major Whiting complained of being ruined, as he was by the man he had so long, so warmly, and so efficiently served, Gen. Houston immediately became his bitter enemy, and persecuted him with the most relentless severity and malice.—A. J.]

[*Endorsement.*—I have been opposed to Gen. Houston's whole "*Archive war*," and his other petty wars; and, indeed, to *all* wars. This is a fair specimen (and Mr. Teulon's) of the thousand and one letters of a similar kind I have received within the year, and a fair sample of the times in 1842.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

103 JERMYN STREET, LONDON, June 8th, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is now a month since I arrived in London, and the ratifications of the treaties are not yet exchanged. I am, however, authorized confidently to anticipate that the exchange will be made in a few days. The circumstances of this delay have been fully related in my official despatches. The Earl of Aberdeen was disposed, at first, to make an immediate exchange of the ratifications, *apparently;* and although he may have found weighty reasons subsequently for his delay, I cannot but regard his course towards Texas in this matter as rather *ungracious.*

The sympathies of England are decidedly in favor of Mexico and adverse to Texas. English sympathy, you know, is apt to accompany the interests of English commerce. The numerous population of Mexico, destitute of manufactures, furnishes a better market for the manufactured goods of England, than Texas will for some time to come. This leads to a subject that has commanded my most careful attention and inquiry. From sources that I can fully rely on, I learn, that if any assistance has been furnished by the English Government or English capitalists to Mexico within any time comparatively recent, it is utterly unknown and disbelieved by the brokers on 'Change. The Mexican steamers building here, are to be paid for in Mexico, or in funds to come from Mexico. * * * The war steamers building for Mexico have occupied my most watchful solicitude. Besides mentioning them in my general despatches, I have made this the subject of a separate communication, forwarded on the 6th inst. Let me beseech you, *most earnestly*, to give your care to these steamers. They *must not be permitted* to *reach* the *harbor of Vera Cruz. Capture them.* Will not the Tavala be necessary for this purpose? They will be able to slip into harbor in defiance of pursuit from any *sail* vessel. They will soon be upon our coast. There is no mistake about their officering or destination. The English Government will interpose no serious obstacle to their arming and equipping here. I deem it best for me to remain some time longer here, and watch Mexican operations, though it is horribly expensive.

The blockade has produced much excitement here, especially among the merchants. Heretofore they were satisfied in reviling Texas in terms of blind denunciation. Now the underwriters inquire into the real condition of our country, and our ability to maintain the blockade. Mexican stocks, which had been regularly rising, are, since the publication of the proclamation of the blockade, going down. A protest against recognizing the blockade has been presented to Lord Aberdeen. He has not yet answered it. I am certainly informed that the old Earl is sadly bothered. Maintain the blockade in full efficiency by all means. The interests of foreign commerce will compel these powers to say peremptorily to Santa Anna, that he must no longer pursue a line of conduct which justifies Texas in keeping up this "infernal" afflictive blockade. *But look out for the steamers of war.* I furnished Mr. Kennedy, who is a truly warm friend of Texas, with a list of our maritime force; he communicated it to the Morning Chronicle in an article over the signature of "Pax" with good effect.

Mr. Wm. Kennedy has recently been tendered the appointment of Consul at Galveston for England. The Consul-General, Captain Elliot, I have informed you, is on his way to Texas. Mr. Kennedy's appointment as Consul will leave the Consul-Generalship in England vacant.

So soon as the exchange of ratifications shall place me on a proper footing with other ministers, I shall endeavor to learn the disposition of other powers to establish friendly relations with Texas. I shall, however, allude to this subject only in very general terms, unless invited, for I anticipate finding much more favorable sentiments towards Texas in the diplomatic circle at Paris than here. As it regards Spain, much cannot be looked for from the good offices of Lord Aberdeen at present with Espartero. Individually, Lord A. is, I believe, well disposed; but the merchants engaged in Mexican commerce, the Mexican bond-holders, and anti-slavery men, are a nest of hornets, which no discreet person would willingly rouse. Mrs. Vander Wager, the lady of the Belgian Minister, is the daughter of Mr. Bates, the head partner of the house of Barings, which firm is largely interested in Mexican bonds, and hostile to Texas. With the French Ambassador I am very well. Mr. Everett is affable, &c.; but the cause of Texas receives no countenance from the American Minister. He is supposed to be sore from the opposition made to him by the Southern Senators for his alleged opinions on slavery.

I fear you will regard this as but a sad picture of our position here—it is such. I am getting a good footing in society, and labor incessantly to remove the false impressions with which Mexican bond-holders and abolitionists interested in *British colonial land speculations*, have abused the public mind in England.

But Texas must work out. Industry, economy, and a rigid observance of public faith, will redeem us.

My most respectful regards to Gen. H. and lady, and to Mrs. J. Remember me to Col. Hockley, Mr. Miller, &c.

Yours, very truly,

ASHBEL SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES, City of Houston, Texas.

[*From Gen. Houston.*]

City of Houston, 2d Aug., 1842.

My dear Sir,—That you were unwell I knew, but until Mr. Johnson informed me yesterday, I was not apprised of your extreme illness. I was glad to hear you were "able to shave"—these shaving times.

You no doubt have all the particulars of Congress. "It got through," as some of the members said, while others, in my opinion, thought that they had only got their "foot into it." They are gone, and no war, nolens volens, but as much as can be had of the willing kind. I do sincerely hope that it may and will go on. It is the only kind of war that the country can sustain. Had I sanctioned the war bill, I could not have commanded any means within twelve months, and the ardor of our people while it is restrained, is most impetuous. I would have been in a state of constant vexation, and threats of revolution would have been constant. As things now stand, there can be no censure upon the Executive. All that has been desired is embraced in the project; and for my country's sake, and for the credit of those who have been so anxious, I sincerely hope there will be volunteers enough to answer the design of a visit to the Rio Grande. We will see! [V. *Mier Expedition.*—A. J.]

This moment I have learned that our Santa Fé prisoners have been released, and will soon return to Texas. At this I am much rejoiced for various reasons. First, because the sufferings of our countrymen are ended, and they are again free. We have one cause less of irritation, and so much the less food for demagogues and agitators. When the matter is understood of their release, it may give us a squint into the affairs of Mexico which we have not before enjoyed.

In the expectation of seeing you here, I did not send you letters from Major Reilly, touching our affairs with Mexico. The main point was, that Mr. Webster had written to Gen. Thompson a pretty strong letter, and in substance that Mexico ought to make peace with Texas—that those powers which had recognized Texas would rather expect to see such a result; and among other things, the Major sent his resignation, which I, of course, accepted. The Major thinks his case a hard one. His mind appears to have fallen into a queer snarl about money matters; he cannot understand them, with all that we have done. In his place I have sent Mr. Van Zandt to Washington. He will be prudent, and will not "jump" high enough to endanger his safety. Don't you attempt to come, until you can do so without danger of a relapse. Since Congress rose, all things appear to wear smoothly, and I hope we will get on, after a fashion. The chances now are rather in our favor. Though, as Fullenvyder said, it "will be a d—d dight squeeze" if we get on tolerably well for some time to come!

Mrs. Houston has been quite ill, and is not yet able to sit up. I am just as busy as usual. I pray you to commend me with best wishes to Madam, and kiss for me your auburn-pated urchin. I have the "Diplomatist" on my back, so you may imagine how much time I have for my friends. Poor Hunt, I am half angry with him; but he is so amiable a simpleton, that I really pity and forgive him. If ——— he would only let me alone. He writes all but what duty compels me to write. Now I will close *that*. When you can in safety come, I will be very happy to see you.

Truly thy friend, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Brazos, Texas.

[*Endorsed.*—There is much mystery and double-meaning in this letter, else the President does not know how to express himself. Van Zandt is well enough—*very* well.—A. J.]

[NOTE IN 1844.—In this letter are seen the germs of the "Somerville Campaign," out of which, naturally enough, grew the equally unwise "Mier Expedition." I constantly opposed these war movements of the President, though I was obliged to *seem*, publicly, to yield, as on some other occasions. I recommended him early in the session to urge a heavy "war tax" for the purpose of rendering offensive movements unpopular, (which I knew the war tax would do,) but he would not adopt my suggestions. I took, and *maintained* the ground, that nothing since the days of the Crusades was more absurd than offensive war with Mexico. The President adopted this view of mine, and expressed it, at my special instance, to the Committee of Galveston, early in the spring, but abandoned it soon after. If he had continued to stand firmly on this ground, the Somerville Campaign and the Mier Expedition would never have been made. And of all kinds of war, this "willing war," or offensive war, by volunteers of Gen. Houston, is and has generally been the very worst kind for Texas, and has cost us many *good* lives, and millions of *bad* money, besides having enheartened Mexico by destroying the *prestige* of Texan prowess. * * * But Gen. H. had to *attempt* to carry out his *brags* in his letter written to Santa Anna from Galveston, this year, (1842;) so he inflicted these disastrous expeditions upon the country. I wash my hands of them, entirely and altogether.—A. J.]

[P. S.—End of the Santa Fé, and beginning of the Mier Expeditions.]

[*From W. D. Miller, Private Secretary of the President.*]

HOUSTON, 12th April, 1842.

DEAR DOCTOR,—I enclose you herewith all the despatches and other communications received since your departure to your address. You will perceive that Major Reilly is (or was) exceedingly anxious to return, to participate in the warlike operations of his government and country.

We have had no news of interest from the West. Gen. Somerville, we understand, will return. A corps of observation will be kept up on the frontier. The President will, in a few days, issue his proclamation and instructions for the formation and equipment of companies in the several counties, to be in readiness to unite in the first general movement against Mexico.

I have not time to say more. Mr. Mason is waiting. No particular news from United States by last boat.

With the highest regard, I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) W. D. MILLER.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

[*Endorsed.*—The President must certainly be running "mad."—A. J.]

[*From P. Edmunds.*]

NEW ORLEANS, April 12th, 1842.

DEAR DOCTOR,—Not knowing whether you were in peace or war, I have not written you since my arrival here. Our information from Texas has been such, that I could not tell whether you were west of the Rio Grande, or east of the Sabine. All has been doubt and uncertainty. I believe, however, matters are more settled at present. I have written you officially by this mail, and therefore this letter is private.

I have just returned from Natchez. I saw many of our old friends there who are with us, heart and soul. I went there on private business, but was compelled to take part publicly in Texas matters. Some people in Galveston have written to Natchez, that the people of Texas and the General were at open rupture in regard to the war. I do not know who has done this, except a Mr. Alsbury, whose inflammatory and prejudicial letter to Gen. Quitman I saw. He abused the General (Houston) much, and said the people had *driven* him into the war. He also said, "Houston was parading the streets of Galveston like a mad man, raving and swearing against all who advocated war." You may imagine my contempt for such a wilful lie. I spoke of it freely to Gen. Quitman and others, and took especial pains to make some corrections about this and the Hamilton matter. I send you a Natchez paper, containing an account of my course, and the proceedings of the meeting. I flatter myself my presence there was productive of good; as an evidence of which, about sixty men are now here from that place, under Capt. Hickey, destined for Texas, when Col. Washington orders them to move.

I have written Gen. Houston frankly and freely, and have no doubt he appreciates my good intentions. I may sometimes err in defending him; but if I do, the error affects me, and not him. I know I am enthusiastic for a friend when I hear him traduced behind his back. I say damn a man who ain't of the same feelings.

Love writes me on the 28th March, in which he says the President has declared he will remove you. Of course I don't believe this; but still I know I have many enemies who would gladly contribute to such a state of things. I want you to write me, and tell me if the General thinks another could be of more service to himself and the country here than I am; and if so, just intimate the fact to me, and I will resign. My object is to be a candidate for Congress in September. I want to punish some of my perfidious enemies. But if he dismisses me, my prospects will be ruined.

The office is one of great trouble, and has only yielded me eight dollars since I have been in it.

Your friend, (Signed) P. Edmunds.

Dr. Anson Jones, Secretary of State.

[*From Geo. K. Teulon.*]

London, 25th June, 1842.

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir and Friend,—This leaves me still in London's smoky town, instead of enjoying the fresh, pure air; for this, however, I can assure you, I am not to blame; and if I still stay here, it is because "my poverty, and not my will, consents." The government here have purposely been humbugging the pair of us, until they have eased me of all my money and patience, so that sundry small presents laid in for some of my friends have disappeared to stay the cravings of an outraged belly, or, in plain English, have been sold to pay board expenses. Dr. S. is, or says he is, as badly off. My only dependence for passage out is by drafts on Galveston.

I have no faith in the ministry; they are evidently biased in favor of the yellow bellies, and have, to say the least, connived at the building and fitting out of two war steamers, to be employed against Texas. It is a pity Vera Cruz is not in possession of the Texans; once take that place, and the war will soon be ended.

We are teetotally ignorant of all movements in Texas, and I suppose the first information I shall get, will be an arrival. I shall start as soon as I can, and hope to be with you in a little while after this comes to hand.

On Masonic subjects I have much to say when we meet, until when I will merely remark, that I have obtained the recognition of the Grand Lodge of England, and entered into an arrangement for an interchange of delegates. The G. L. of E. holds no communication with any of the Grand Lodges of the United States.

I bring out with me several varieties of wheat to distribute among the farmers, as also fruit-seeds of many kinds. * * *

Your sincere friend,

(Signed) GEORGE K. TEULON.

[*From Gen. M. B. Lamar.*]

GALVESTON, 25th February, 1842.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I addressed a letter on the 23d inst. to a friend of mine in Austin, requesting him to inquire of you whether you were the author of a certain communication signed A., which appeared in the *Weekly Texian* of the 26th ult., or whether you had any agency in advising, or any connection whatever with said publication previous to its appearance. Having understood, since writing said letter, that you will shortly be in this city, (Galveston,) I deem it my duty to make the same inquiry of you here; and for this purpose have left this note in the hands of a friend to be presented to you upon your arrival, to which I must demand a prompt reply, and an unequivocal answer to the above question.

Yours, &c., MIRABEAU B. LAMAR.

[*Endorsed.*—Hunt challenged him, but R. R. Brown, his friend and second, told me he was not anxious to fight much. So the matter of A. was settled with only a little gasconading.—A. J.]—*Sent by Gen. A. S. Johnson.*

[*From Self to M. B. Lamar.*]

GALVESTON, Feb. 27th, 1842.

Gen. MIRABEAU B. LAMAR:

SIR,—I have this moment received your note of the 25th inst. in relation to the authorship of a certain anonymous article signed A., which appeared in the *Weekly Texian* of the 26th ult.

In reply, I have the honor to refer you for any or all the information you require on this subject to Gen. Hunt.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ANSON JONES.

[NOTE.—Endorsed on copy of above. Gen. Lamar had no right to make the request of me he did, and I should have been justified in giving it a flat refusal; but I had promised Gen. Hunt, in the event of inquiry for the authorship of "*A.*" being made of me, that I would refer the inquirer to him (Gen. H.)—A. J.]—*Sent by Thos. F. McKinney.*

[*From C. F. Duer.*]

HOLLAND LODGE, NO. 1, CITY OF HOUSTON,
19th May, A. L., 5842.

At a regular meeting of Holland Lodge, No. 1, held at the Lodge room, in the City of Houston, on the 13th April, A. L., 5842:

"A communication was received from brother Anson Jones, requesting permission to demit. On motion, duly seconded, Brother Anson Jones' communication was received, and permission granted him to demit from this Lodge."

C. F. DUER, Secretary.

[*From Col. G. W. Hockley.*]

AUSTIN, 9th March, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter from you, dated at Galveston, 2d February. I presume it was written the 2d March, as the Houston post-mark is of the 3d.

The situation in which we are placed will be a sufficient apology for a brief reply.

Gen. Harrison says that if Mr. Ransom, or any one else, gave a name as the author of the communication signed *A.* in the *Weekly Texian* of the 26th January, it was without authority from him; that he never mentioned the name of the person given to him as the author; that if Gen. Lamar wishes the name of the author, he will give it, being authorized to do so; and adds, *that it is not Doctor Anson Jones.*

In great haste, yours very truly,

GEORGE W. HOCKLEY.

[*Self to Joseph Waples, Esq., Chief Clerk, State Department.*]

AT OLIVER JONES', April 13th, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here yesterday, and received the letter you wrote me at this place on your way down. I had purposed leaving here to-morrow morning with my family for Columbia, but being quite indisposed myself to-day, I expect my departure will be delayed a day or two.

I do not contemplate visiting Houston until my presence there may become necessary; in the mean time I wish you to act. If any thing of particular moment occurs please let me know. I wish you to write me fully every week, and send me every thing which is printed, either by the way of Richmond or Galveston: the mail by the latter place continues to be carried regularly. Present my best respects to the President, also to Mr. Miller, and believe me

Very truly yours, ANSON JONES.

To J. WAPLES, Esq.

[*From Joseph Waples, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, 3d July, 1842.

DEAR DOCTOR,—The President arrived here yesterday evening from Galveston, where he went a few days since, expecting to meet his lady, who, upon the arrival of the New York, he learned was very unwell in Alabama.

The President is himself quite unwell to-day, complaining of the fatigues of business, together with an attack of diarrhœa, &c.: he speaks of going to Black's for a few days to recuperate. He desired me to request you to repair to this place as early as practicable, as business of importance requires your presence. What that business is he did not communicate. I presume he wishes your counsel in the cabinet.

I sent you by Mr. Burns the message. You will see by the Star what Congress has been doing. The Senate has not sat in chambers only to organize, and then repaired to Mr. Jack's room, where he is sick; but to-morrow I suppose they will sit, as Mr. Muse has arrived, and a quorum is in town. The archive question was discussed yesterday in the House; and the bill to require the President and Cabinet to return to Austin, laid before a special committee appointed on that portion of the message relating to the archives. The Military Committee will report to-morrow on the war subject. The majority, 5 to 4, will be in favor of prosecuting a war. Congress is divided on that subject.

Mr. Hall has arrived and is desirous of seeing you: he presents his respects. I send you also some private letters received here. All well. My respects to madam and to Dr. Copes, should you see him.

Yours respectfully, JOSEPH WAPLES.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsed.*—The called session of Congress in July, 1842, was unnecessary, and I steadily opposed it. It resulted in nothing except a quarrel, in which neither party gained, and the country lost.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Houston.*]

CITY OF HOUSTON, July 19th, 1842.

To Dr. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I have been much embarrassed in consequence of your absence during the session of Congress now near its adjournment. Many subjects with which you have had connection have been brought upon the tapis, and your presence would have relieved me from reflections which have been ventured against me. At one time I have heard that you were ill, at another that you were not. Is it in your power to make me a visit? Your doing so would afford me much gratification. Do so if you can, and if not, please apprise me what I am to expect or calculate upon. Please present me, with my compliments, to your lady.

Truly your friend, SAM. HOUSTON.

[*Endorsed.*—To come to Houston. I deemed the called session useless and pernicious. The President convened it contrary to my advices and for the purpose of making capital for himself. The result has been, as I expected, a mere quarrel between him and Congress about the seat of Government, and the "war policy," by which the country has been injured and disgraced. As the President "has made his bed, so he must lie." I will have nothing to do with such petty squabbles.—A. J.]

[*Note.*—I started for Houston on receipt of this letter, but was taken sick at Col. Austin's on the way. (V. Gen. Houston's letter, Aug. 2d, 1842.

[*From Col. George Fisher.*]

TEXAS SLOOP-OF-WAR HOUSTON,
OFF CAMPECHE, 25th April, 1842.

DR. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—It was not until the other day that I have seen your appointment to the State Department, although I expected it would take place. I am happy to have the pleasure now to congratulate, to our common country, this circumstance, and I hope that you will be in a situation more effectually to serve Texas in your present station, as the right-hand man to the old chieftain in directing the helm of the State, than you would have been, provided our efforts to place you in the second magistracy would have enabled you to do.

I have from time to time, since my sojourn in this country, directed Yucatan papers, *with a key*, (in my own manuscript,) to the State Department, for the information of the Government of Texas, of passing events in this country, whose relations with Mexico, in a political and commercial point of view, are about in the same situation as those of Texas, and which, both countries uniting their energies at the present auspicious moment, could coerce Mexico to come into measures to insure the peace and happiness of their citizens. For particulars I respectfully refer to Com. Moore, who is "*au fait*" with all the passing events of this country, as well as Mexico, and whose information to the Executive will no doubt be of great service in the taking of suitable measures for conducting the operations of the war, now to be waged by land and by sea against our invading foe.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Thomas R. Lubbock, one of the Santa Fé prisoners, now aboard of this ship, and I discover he has acquired a considerable knowledge of the geography and statistics of Mexico, as also of the actual effective force of our enemy, throughout the interior, whose communications to the War Department, no doubt, will have their proper effect, as regards the measures to be observed in directing the operations of war by our land forces.

I am happy to see that the enthusiasm prevailing in all parts of the United States in favor of Texas, at this moment, will have a very favorable tendency of prosecuting an offensive war against Mexico, in the midst of an exhausted public treasury; also that our people, far from desponding, are anxious for a fight to secure our independence. For particulars of my sojourn here, I respectfully refer to our worthy friend, Com. Moore.

I am yours truly, GEORGE FISHER.

[*From the Same.*]

DR. ANSON JONES: CAMPECHE, 3d May, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have addressed you a few lines, per Com. Moore, which I hope will have reached you safe before this. The Commodore sailed from here on the morning of the 28th inst. [? ult.] with the whole squadron, viz.: Austin, Wharton, San Bernard, and San Antonio. The day previous the Yucatan squadron sailed to the westward. On the arrival of our squadron at Sisal, there was the Spanish frigate Isabell, two days from Havana. She left there on the 25th ult. for this port, where we found her on the 26th. She again left here on the same day for the westward. Some pretend to say that inasmuch as Spain has not recognized our independence and our flag, she will protect her commerce, and force the blockade. Whatever the object of her visit may be into this gulf, it would be well enough for our Government to commence negotiations with Spain for our recognition, and as a measure of precaution and momentary, an agent ought to be despatched immediately to Havana to arrange this matter, as well as our direct commerce with Cuba. I doubt not that, under the present circumstances, Spain would be willing to enter into negotiations with our Government, and make, *at least*, a treaty of commerce, if not an alliance, against Mexico, when her West India possessions are menaced by the Mexican abolitionists, as well as by England. That Spain has more advantages to expect by our recognition than to lose by the Mexican abolitionism, must be very clear to her; therefore, I say I believe she will grant our request, and we will avoid thereby all collision with her naval forces in the Gulf during the blockade, which I believe will be a long one, unless the United States will take it off our hands. To-morrow I am going to Merida, where I shall expect your kind favors or orders, which you know will be cheerfully complied with by,

Yours truly, GEORGE FISHER.

[*From Gen. Houston.*]

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
CITY OF HOUSTON, Sept. 19, 1842.

To Dr. ANSON JONES, Sec'y of State, &c.:

DEAR SIR,—During your absence, business has greatly accumulated in the Department of State. There is much of high importance that should be attended to immediately. Not a single member of my Cabinet is present, and events are thickening and pressing upon me.

I regret that you have not been with me since your health was sufficiently restored. Gen. Terrell, before his departure for home, occasioned by the extreme indisposition of his family, gave some attention to the business of the department, and communicated to our Ministers abroad what was at the time of the most urgent necessity. The assistance of my Cabinet will be for the future not only desirable, but indispensable to the administration of public business.

My health is so bad that I have to employ an amanuensis.

Truly your friend, SAM. HOUSTON.

[*Endorsed.*—Requests me to come to Houston. I have done every thing necessary in the Department of State, though a good deal absent from Houston during the summer. The claims of my family I cannot wholly pretermit. General Houston promised when I took the office I should be paid in par funds.

This has not been done, and I *have been obliged* to do something for a support aside from office.—A. J.]

NOTE.—On the receipt of the above letter I started for Houston. On the way I learned the President, in a pet at that place, had packed up and gone to Washington on the Brazos, whither I followed him shortly afterwards, and was not again absent from the seat of Government except on public business during my three years' secretaryship. The President and all the other members of the Cabinet were frequently absent, and I have been consequently for months left to administer the Government "solitary and alone," (1845.)

[*From Stewart Newell, Esq.*]

CITY HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS, June 28th, 1842.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Excuse my addressing you a short letter at this time to ask how you are, and have enjoyed your health—to congratulate you on your appointment to the very responsible and important office as Secretary of State, and feel well assured Texas will not lose by such an appointment advantages at home or abroad.

I have addressed a long and tedious letter to Gen. Houston in relation to my observations in Mexico, and this will be my excuse for a short one at this time to you, and I hope in two or three weeks to have my business settled here, to permit me to return to Texas.

My letter to the President, although perhaps it may not be deemed important, yet it would be quite enough to cost me much risk if I should go to Mexico again; and as I may have to go on private money matters, I have requested the President not to mention my name in any way connected with it; as a matter of course yourself and Col. Hockley will know it, but I had reference to officers or to citizens, and particularly to McKinney or Williams, or any private citizen, my reasons for which I will give at another time, and the President and yourself will approve them. * * * * *

In haste, your obedient servant,

STEWART NEWELL.

[*From the Same.*]

NEW ORLEANS, July 8th, 1842.

Dr. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Per Com. Moore, on last New York, I addressed a letter to Gen. Houston and a short one to you,—the length of the one to the President prevented me within my time to say more to you, and I trust the variety and particulars detailed in my letter addressed to Gen. Houston, and my intention to benefit our common adopted country, will be deemed sufficient excuse for trespassing upon the time of yourself and Gen. Houston in perusing said letter, and trust *some* of the information contained in it may be of service.

My visit to Mexico was to obtain payment of my claims of a large amount against the Federalist, and being delayed, as is usual in that country, I sought every opportunity of obtaining information that might be serviceable on my return; and I assure you my surprise was great at finding out that direct communications were kept up between Arista and certain men in Texas who profess friendship for Texas; and when I have mentioned it here, I was told that the same men gave information to Texas of the Mexican movements, and that if I should name my impressions, or *what I* consider as proofs of their treachery, it would not be available, so confidently are they believed to be true to Texas; this being the case renders it useless for me to detail the circumstances that led me to conclusions of their guilt, and the names of the persons; but when I see you we will speak upon the subject. * * * * *

I remain, sincerely, your friend, &c.,

STEWART NEWELL.

[*From Capt. Wm. N. Bronaugh.*

HOUSTON, December 3d, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—Some short time before the President left here I submitted to him my plan and application for the privilege of peopling a district of country running from the west fork of Trinity to the Brazos River, including Noland's fork of the Brazos. He deferred confirming the same to you and myself until he had an interview with you upon the subject, and led me to hope that he would do so, as soon as a consultation could be had. Now I embrace the present occasion to write you upon the subject, requesting that you will see the President upon the matter, examine the proposition which I made him in our behalf, and urge the conclusion of it, if possible. It will not be in our power to do much in effectuating our plans at present, but it costs us nothing to be prepared to take advantage of the times that are to come. If we get the privilege of colonizing, get as much time as possible. You are at Washington, and enabled by your situation to arrange things satisfactorily. A fortune will be the result, if you look out. Write to me soon.

Your friend, WM. N. BRONAUGH.

DR. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsed.*—I advised the President *not* to grant the within, and he did not.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. E. Morehouse.*]

GALVESTON, 28th December, 1842.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I have finally come to the conclusion that you have either retired to the *high timber*, or going through with a deputation on Rip Van Winkle. I am here without the pale of domestic news, save now and then a newspaper, and was in hopes you would have been so kind as to drop me a line from the seat of Government.

There is but little moving in this city. All are anxiously waiting to hear from the city of laws. The former over-heated politicians of this section have cooled off *most prodigiously*. It is but seldom they are enabled to utter over a monosyllable in opposition to the Executive, in place of their previous long sermons. It may be caused by hard times, or they may only be resting their wearied lungs.

From all accounts your *pleasant* and *agreeable* Washington has not been permitted to rest in peace and quietness. But on the contrary there must have been more or less *unnecessary* excitement. This place, called Galveston, is one of the most dull and dreary places on the face of the earth. The citizens have assumed the right to obey or disobey an order from the Government as best may suit their particular fancy. They refuse to be obedient to Col. Hockley, in accordance with his instructions from the War Department. They advance grounds that Col. Hockley's appointment is illegal, consequently they assume the right of disobeying any order which emanates from him. I have endeavored to settle the difficulty, as it places our friend in an unpleasant position. But I am fearful that all that can be done here will not effect the desirable object. I have ordered a court-martial to try the *head*. God only knows what the result may be.

The new French Minister is here. I should judge from his manly, good, and cheerful expressions, that he is one of the right stuff. I am desirous of visiting Washington before the session of Congress closes, (if permission can be had.) Be pleased to present my kind regards to Gen. H—— and lady—my sincere respects to your family.

With high respect I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. MOREHOUSE.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington.

Take, I beg, one moment of your time, and waste it in writing me.

[*From Wm. Kennedy, Esq., author of History of Texas.*]

RICHMOND ON THE BRAZOS, Feb. 24th, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—Self and party have just arrived here after a journey distinguished by no particular adventure.

Mr. Castro expresses an anxious desire that you should redeem your pledge to meet us at Houston, where we hope to be to-morrow afternoon. I need not say that my wishes fully coincide with his, not more on public than on personal grounds. If you can conveniently manage it, steal a day from your present circle and let me have the solace of exchanging with you a *viva voce* adieu. Our stay in Houston must necessarily be very short.

Believe me, my dear sir, with sincere esteem yours,

WILLIAM KENNEDY.

HON. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., at O. Jones's.

[*From Hon. William Henry Daingerfield.*]

New Orleans, April 1st, 1842.

Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State:

Sir,—Your official communication of the 26th March, 1842, requesting the publication of the authenticated order of blockade of Mexican ports contained therein, has been received, and a request made by me of P. Edwards, Esq., the consul of this port, to have the same published under the authority of his official seal: this will be done to-morrow, though the blockade has been published unofficially for several days in this city. I have also requested the consul, by notice sent him to-day, to certify officially to the Department of State the time and manner of the publication. I have been thus particular, because as these matters of blockade are frequently very delicate and ticklish questions, it is as well that every form and ceremony should be observed. *This must and will be the official notice.* I rejoice at the measure. It has done much to elevate the character and credit of the country, but it must be *most prudently* carried out.

I have the honor to be yours,

William Henry Daingerfield.

[*From the Same.*]

New Orleans, April 15th, 1842.

My dear Sir,—Your kind letter of the 31st March has remained up to this time unanswered, because I have been most actively engaged in carrying out the orders of the Secretary of War, which direct me to co-operate with Col. H. Washington in his intended descent upon the Mexican coast. Under any other state of circumstances in the United States this expedition would meet great aid and assistance. There is no lack of spirit and enterprise on the part of the citizens of this country, nor is their enthusiasm in our behalf in the least degree dormant. But, sir, you can form no idea of the extreme depression and hopeless pecuniary embarrassment of the citizens of this country. Their condition is in every way much worse than that of Texas. The papers, I see, state that large contributions have been made in this country for our aid,—such is far from being the fact. In this city little, very little has been done. I attribute this to the fact that we have many suffering friends here who have been severely injured by their purchases of Texan funds. Their losses have of course been greatly magnified by themselves and their friends, who have sought upon slight suffering to endeavor to establish for themselves the character of entire and perfect martyrdom in our cause.

Other portions of the country have endeavored to do all that lay in their power. Philadelphia has acted nobly; and at a large and most respectable public meeting, an account of which you will find in the newspapers, has taken the true and philosophic ground that our independence is de facto established, and that the attack of Mexico is an unwarrantable aggression, and contrary to the laws of nations. I have responded to the committee, pointed out to them the true situation of our affairs, stated to them our more pressing wants, and requested that all their aid in furnishing provisions, munitions of war, and other sinews of a similar character, will be most gratefully received, and will best reach us through the hands of our consul in that city, Francis Gurney Smith, Esq. I believe much can be done by giving a proper direction to the contributions which we may receive. Men can be had in any number for the war. But of what use are these without the means of putting them in action. I concur most fully in the views of the President on this subject, and have used the general authority which he sent me as commissioner, for the sole purpose of obtaining aid in these essential articles of provisions and munitions of war.

I am going up the river as far as Nashville on Monday. I leave Col. Washington here as my representative. I believe I could be of essential service to the republic by extending my visit to the north. Do write me by the next boat, and direct to the care of our consul here. The new issue will be ready in a few days. It will then be sent according as the President may direct. I am glad to see that he entertains the view of restricting its issue to the lowest possible amount. This is *the only true policy*. The affairs of the Treasury Department will be exceedingly simple during the balance of the summer, and if the President thinks I can be of more service to the country under the authority he has sent me, in directing the aid of our friends, I will be most ready to obey his instructions. * *

All that can be done at home is to limit the issue (of exchequers) by every means possible. * * * The mere details of this can be managed by the chief clerk, who is a practical man, under the direction and control of any member of the Cabinet, but especially by yourself, whose views of currency *I know are most correct.* * * * * *

I am most sincerely yours,

WM. HENRY DAINGERFIELD.

[*From the President.*]

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
CITY OF HOUSTON, June 10th, 1842.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—You are hereby constituted and appointed a commissioner on the part of the Government of Texas, and empowered to negotiate a loan under an act, entitled an act to authorize the President to negotiate a loan of $1,000,000 of dollars, approved January 22d, 1839. You will proceed forthwith to the United States in the discharge of the above duty, and be governed by your letter of instructions, which will be handed you, with the privilege of making such change in the negotiation as you may deem expedient. You will receive for your services the compensation allowed by said law.

SAM. HOUSTON, [SEAL.]

[*From Garl Borden, Jr., Esq., Collector at Galveston.*]

GALVESTON, 11th March, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Your esteemed favor of 6th March, in relation to the course to be pursued in the custom-house rate of exchequer bills, and yours of same date respecting contracts with steamboats to carry mails, came by our friend Judge Toler.

Any thing which I can do to further the views of the Post-office Department shall be done with pleasure. I thank you for your *confidential* letter; it came in good time to prop up my drooping patriotism if I had any. The suggestions you make in relation to the custom-house rates of exchequer I had fallen upon as the only one which would at the same time preserve a consistency in my course, and keep up the little confidence had in the Government. Yet I say I thank you for the letter; it breathes a language I am not accustomed to hear either from the Executive or Treasury Departments. I have lately had trials which have so worn my patience that I am resolved to quit the ship if the President will appoint another captain.

Last spring I assumed responsibilities in the payment for engraving the first exchequer bills. I could not comply with my obligation. Col. Daingerfield, who principally understands it, resigned without relieving me of the difficulty, but has laid more weight upon me. The President and the Department appear dissatisfied with the course I pursue. I am hedged up on every side. I have addressed no less than three different persons acting as Secretary of the Treasury within four weeks. I am called on to do more than it is possible to perform.

I received a communication from the President, and James B. Shaw acting Secretary of the Treasury, each dated 24th February, and both containing things which I will not subscribe. I wish you could see the copies of these letters, and my answers to the Secretary of the Treasury under date of 1st inst., being two letters to him, and one to the President of 6th inst. I say to them in substance (after making my defence) that I should be glad to be relieved of my responsible station as collector of Galveston.

I infer from what has been said at different times that they believe me too much under the influence of merchants. I have endeavored to do my duty without partiality, favor, or reward. I believe I have done much for the true interests of the country, but am perfectly willing to let some other person try to carry out the views of the Executive, if he believes I have not done as I should. There is one thing I am certain will not be said, that I have been under an undue Executive influence. * * * * * * *

I trust you will excuse the much I have said about myself. The Judge will tell you the news, if any, respecting the Mexicans. We are going to make some substantial works of defence;

we mean to make every dollar tell. My regards to the President, Major Brigham, and their good ladies.

Your friend and obedient servant,

G. Borden, Jr.

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

Houston, January 12th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—Allow me to present to you my friend G. S. McIntosh, Esq., whom you have known well for some years by reputation. He comes to Washington to avail himself of the appropriation made for him by Congress and retrieve his fortune from impending ruin. I have assured him that yourself and the other officers of the Government will do every thing in your power to assist him. Please do me the favor to advance his views as much as possible, and you will confer a lasting favor on

Your friend, Henderson.

Hon. Anson Jones, Washington.

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

Houston, January 22d, 1843.

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—Permit me to ask if there is any prospect of my being paid the sum of $1,180 still due me? Will it not be paid out of the appropriation for foreign Ministers? When at Washington last you mentioned to me this would be the case. I dislike to trouble you about money matters, but my necessities are very great. My home will have to go for the payment of debts contracted for the Government. The payment of this amount would give me something to begin anew upon. Do please consider my interrogatory affirmatively. I trust to be at Washington about Tuesday; but if possible, let me have an answer before leaving here.

Yours, James Reilly.

[*Endorsed.*—This is a fair specimen of the importunities with which I am every day assailed.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. S. H. Everitt.*]

GALVESTON, February 7th, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I am now building suitable buildings in the Sabine Lake, on a small shell island known as Doom's Island, lying within the jurisdiction of the United States, for conducting a receiving and forwarding business; from the peculiar position of the land on the borders of the lake on the Texas side, there is no point that can be made available for this purpose; and I have made up my mind to domiciliate myself within the bounds of the State of Louisiana, for the purpose of conducting this general kind of mercantile business. *Rumor* has informed me that an impression prevails at the seat of Government and other points, that my object in commencing this enterprise is for the sole purpose of establishing a smuggling depot.

I take this method of making known to you that my object and desire are to conduct a strictly legal and legitimate and regular mercantile business, and that I have no desire or wish to aid or assist, directly or indirectly, the defrauding the Government of Texas or the United States of one dollar of revenue; but that, on the contrary, I shall cheerfully give my best efforts in any manner that they may be useful to the suppression of every description of contraband trade. I will add that I most heartily concur in the policy of the President in the financial position he has assumed; that I will and have been doing all I can to sustain his policy, both as regards the imposts and direct taxation, as an evidence of which I will cite you the fact of my having taken the onerous duty of collecting the direct taxes of Jasper county upon my shoulders, because no one else was willing to be security for the sheriff to enable him to qualify himself for that duty. I appeal to you as a friend and as an officer, to correct any erroneous impressions that may be afloat, (if any in regard to this matter,) and I ask you to lay these facts before his Excellency the President, with an assurance that I most heartily concur in his Administration, both as regards his external as well as internal policy, and that I am disposed and will do all in my power to sustain it.

You, sir, have known me long enough to place confidence in these declarations.

May I beg the favor of a reply to this communication, (addressed to this place,) and will you state to me, frankly, if you think that any possible injury can result to the revenue of this country by the establishment of this business at that point. My own impression is that I may be of service to the Government as well as her citizens,—besides, there are now one or two small retail concerns on the United States side of the Sabine, who, I think, may be broken up by having a wholesale concern at the point I am now building.

There must be some place for the receiving and forwarding the cotton of Texas at the mouths of the Neches and Sabine. The Sabine pass is not suitable, because flat boats coming down the river cannot cross the lake with safety; and that, and keel boats, are the only kind of boats that can at this time come down the river Neches, and it will require much labor before steamboats can navigate the river. Cotton can be brought down the river from Jasper county at an expense of $1 per bale, and from Nacogdoches for $1 50 to $2; while the expense of shipping to Natchitoches is from $5 to $7 50 per bale; and the expense on a bale of cotton shipped to New Orleans from Natchitoches is quite as much as it would be to ship the bale of cotton from the Sabine Lake to New Orleans, or to Galveston.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, dear sir, your very obedient servant,

S. H. EVERITT.

[*From Hon. Wm. Henry Daingerfield, Secretary of the Treasury, Minister at the Hague, &c.*]

GALVESTON, Feb. 4th, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I wrote you a hasty note at the departure of the last boat; the bell was ringing at the time, and red ink was not only the nearest at hand, but the only fluid I could dip my pen in. I obtained from Cruger and Moore the three copies of the laws for which I held your order, and gave them a receipt on the back of it. Your letter to P. Edmunds, of this place, for the copy of Kennedy's Texas, which you lent him, was delivered. He then stated that he would hand it to me as soon as he could obtain it from a friend to whom he had lent it. He now says he cannot obtain it. I am much disappointed in this, as I know not where I shall procure a copy. Edmunds states that he forwarded the box for Dr. Smith, and took a bill of lading for it.

In my last, I stated to you that Mr. Kauffman had detained the information with regard to the Hanse Towns. I thought you might require it as speedily as possible, and consequently sent it up in my hurried note. Subsequent conversation with Mr. K. convinces me the information was correct. The Hanse towns are governed by a Senate—the presiding officer of which body is the Executive. There is no such person known to the State as a Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He infers, therefore, with justice, I think, that the Senate of the free city of Bremen would be the proper address, and so as to Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort. The Bremen trade is of growing importance here; and there is at present a Mr. Brower, the representative of a house of capital in Bremen, who has come over for the purpose of extending the mercantile relations with that place.

I dined *last night* with the Viscount de Cramayel. Captain Elliot was there, and Count Leiningen and Col. Hockley, and your humble servant. The Count is very anxious about *that first, that last, that only* despatch about the "vines." Whether he considers it of importance by reason of the great moral truth which it inculcates, that it is better to get drunk on good wine of France, than on bad vine de Kentuck, as the Spaniard has it; or whether any other reason impels the Viscount, such, for instance, as retrieving the overthrow which he met in his encounter with his Excellency, by running a career with the Hon. Secretary of State, I cannot pretend to determine. If the latter be the moving cause, I fear, I mean I hope, or rather, I know, he will but add a second defeat to his first disaster.

Your department is particularly interested through the Post-office Bureau in the Change Notes. The law only authorizes one, two, and three dollar bills to be issued. The President has ordered me verbally to get them as low as a bit, or 12½ cents. Will you be kind enough to see that this order is sent to me *in writing*, to *New Orleans, as early as possible.*

I like Capt. Elliot very much indeed; he seems a frank, bold, honest-hearted Englishman, and although a good *republican*, a downright and *determined hater* of loathsome *mobocracy*, *insubordination*, and *mutiny in the ranks*. He seems to entertain the greatest possible confidence in the President, and he swears by the usual English shibboleth, that in some manner or other, the question of recognition is to be solved by the Executive within the next six months. *Over our wine* he offered me to bet that it would; I, of course, declined. He thinks there is *some mystery* in my going on to Washington. I have written to the President to "hit him agen" on the subject of *annexation*. Since writing the letter, I have dined with him, and think *that that is the spot* between wind and water with him.

I shall leave here to-day in the Neptune, and shall remain as short a time as possible in New Orleans, in order to get to Washington before the Congress rises. The treaty came near getting a ducking, but reached here in safety at last. We had a horrid time of it down. Wishing you, my dear Doctor, every possible blessing, and begging that you will commend me most kindly to your good lady, I remain, very sincerely, your friend,

Wm. Henry Daingerfield.

Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State:

P. S.—I write by this same mail to the President my letter of resignation, and a private letter. * * * As it regards exchequers, they seem to promise well enough, if they are sparingly issued in future. The collections here during the last month have amounted to $6,000; during the last quarter to $46,000. The present custom-house rate is $0 70. Borden has put funds at Houston to meet the various drafts, and to prevent their *accumulation here*. Drafts on the East had, I think, better be given for any amounts which may be paid beyond the current expenses of the civil list. I shall write you from New Orleans by return of Neptune, and shall be able to state more definitely the time of my leaving there. Again, God bless you, and adieu.

Yours, sincerely, Wm. Henry Daingerfield.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq., Private Secretary to the President.*]

March 4th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—Accompanying, you will have an account of my services in your department up to the 1st inst.; also, the original draft of the same, presented to you a few days since. The latter appears not to be drawn up in due form. Please, therefore, cancel or destroy it.

Upon advisement, I have made out the account for specific items of service, and not for a regular salary; and have left the respective amounts which may be allowed me to be filled up by yourself, as you may deem right and proper. You know something of the amount and value of the labor performed, and therefore, whatever allowance you shall make will be to me entirely *satisfactory*. I shall leave it *exclusively* to you, with the hope that I may be relieved from the task of specifying my own compensation.

I use this occasion, Doctor, to assure you of the grateful feelings with which your kind partiality has filled me in reference to the labor which I have performed for your Department. I am willing to encounter the severest exertion to secure even the smallest pittance. Necessity compels me to it; and for the facilities you have afforded me, rely upon it, you are, and shall be, long remembered by

Your obliged and obedient servant,

W. D. Miller.

To Dr. Anson Jones, Present.

[*From R. D. Johnson, Esq., Postmaster at Galveston.*]

Galveston, March 14th, 1843.

Dear Doctor,—I feel under many obligations to you for your kind letter by Mr. Toler. You say "it is my wish that you should receive an adequate compensation for the performance of the duties of Postmaster at Galveston, and every facility consistent with existing laws will be extended." You see, Doctor, from the returns which I have made to the Post-office Department, that the compensation is totally inadequate. I have made advances for the office here. I do not know what can be done. I should be under additional obligations to you if you would write me privately on this subject. I am *willing* to attend *faithfully* to the office, but am not in a situation to work for nothing. Any thing you can do for me will be duly appreciated. I am much pleased with Judge Toler. I mentioned to him that a small expenditure here would render great facilities in forwarding the mails; they can very frequently be sent down the coast and up the Trinity; but I do not feel authorized even to make a charge for drayage, as this office is in debt, and the great object with me has been to make it pay at any rate. The captains of the boats have thrown every obstacle in my way—will not take even a silver dollar if it has been hammered. There is no accommodation about them, and I am compelled to get silver for them at the best rates I can, let the sacrifice be what it may, or they are making great complaints in the papers. They have invariably received the two cent dues on each letter. I hope to hear from you very soon.

I am, with the greatest esteem,

Your friend, R. D. JOHNSON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. Isaac Van Zandt, Minister to the United States.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, 15th March, 1842 (3).

MY DEAR SIR,—I received by the hands of Col. Daingerfield on Thursday last your private letter of 23d January, and designed to have made an immediate answer, but have been so engaged otherwise, that I have been prevented up to the present moment.

I forwarded you by the mail of day before yesterday a voluminous despatch, which will put you in possession of a knowledge of our affairs here, and of the situation of the treaty, together with some of the causes of the unfavorable termination. The outrageous and abominable slanders which have been uttered at home, and sent here abroad, have kept me in a constant state of excitement. No man who has a spark of respect for the standing of his country, could have seen and beheld the effects which have been produced here in the public mind, but what would have felt the deepest mortification and regret. The great mass of the people here do not know how to appreciate these things; they take the movements of a faction for the action of the great body of the community, and the distorted and fanciful pictures of a poisoned and malignant letter-writer, as the emanations of truth and patriotism. If they were but compared with the licentious publications which emanate from the press of this country, where the highest are denominated *traitors*, and the most honest as the essence of all that is *mean* and *base*, more correct conclusions might be drawn in regard to the truth of the stories of our shame, as published at home and bruited abroad.

I am satisfied that our affairs are bad enough at home, and sometimes beyond endurance, almost; but what advantage it can be to our own citizens to exaggerate and publish them abroad, I know not. But it is unfortunately the case with some, if they cannot obtain fame, they must have infamy. If these same efforts were turned to an advocacy of the supremacy of the laws, and the suppression of insubordination, their authors might merit the praise of their country, instead of deserving its censure and odium. But I leave this subject, with a hope that these things may yield to the stern voice of reason, and soon we may see those who so lately were ready to tarnish the fair fame of their own land, boldly standing forth in its behalf, and, with the determination of the Roman of old, proclaim to opposing foes, "We are united, and for our country, right or wrong."

I have not heard any thing from you in relation to the old treaty between Mexico and the United States. In the private communication I made to Mr. Archer, I am satisfied I took the proper ground that the same is at an end between Texas and the United States. If I am correct, I suggest to you the propriety of immediately putting the five per cent. additional duties upon United States shipments under our statute, which provides for levying such duty upon those countries which are not permitted to enter upon the payment of domestic duty. It could not fail to have a salutary influence upon our affairs in this country. The people would begin to see the advantages and disadvantages which will attend them upon refusing us fair treaty stipulations, and that we are not the only party that can be benefited by an equal arrangement. Some of the people of this country are disposed to think that they can claim what they please at our hands, and we will yield it, of course; that there is no danger of our going to Europe to make commercial arrangements to their prejudice. Now, I think it our policy, at this time, to endeavor to alarm them to some extent on this subject. If a proper course is pursued, I think we shall be enabled to obtain an adoption of the treaty next winter in its original shape, if we do not by that time accomplish one of greater importance to us. I have strong hopes that this Government and France will take a stand in our behalf. The late view I have presented to the President on the subject of English efforts in Texas has aroused him very considerably, and if matters were settled here, he would undoubtedly make a move. Mr. Webster will leave the State Department very soon. Though friendly to us, he is very much in the way at present; he is timid, and wants nerve, and is fearful of his abolition constituents in Massachusetts. I think it likely Upshur will succeed him; if he does, it will be one of the best appointments for us. His whole soul is with us. He is an able man, and has the nerve to act. I regret Cushing's rejection; though from the North, he was with us. If Wise be elected again, he will do us as much good as if he had went to France. He is a perfect thorn in the side of old John Quincy Adams. The President, though much abused, is gaining ground; the democrats and moderate whigs are falling into his ranks, and coming to his support. Our principal strength in this country is with the democrats. Our own success here depends much on the political turns in this country. The President said to me the other day in a private interview, "Encourage your people to be quiet, and to not grow impatient. We are doing all we can to annex you to us, but we must have time." If the President concludes he can make capital by the move, or can secure the ratification, he will make the treaty as early as he can afterwards; but the opposition is so great, that he moves very cautiously indeed, and I think very properly, too. You will perceive the importance of keeping all these things (whether mentioned in my despatches, or private letters) from the public eye. If they were known here, the effects would be bad indeed upon the President, and create great opposition to him from a certain quarter.

What may be the final determination of this Government upon the various matters which we have submitted to it, of course cannot be known yet; consequently, I think it behooves the government (of Texas) to look around and see what can be done elsewhere, in the event that we should not accomplish any thing here; for this reason I heartily approve of the mission of Mr. Daingerfield to Europe. I have heard very flattering accounts of the good impressions made by Mr. Smith, but he has his hands full in France and England. If the United States decline our commerce on fair terms, we may find it an advantage to carry it elsewhere; and these missions will, of course, show us what can be done in other countries; though I hope we will finally secure what we desire by an annexation to this country.

I expected you would have said something in your letter about the appropriation of Congress. Not having done so, I desire to call your attention to the matter. I have money enough to pay my expenses until the 20th April or 1st May, by which time I hope to receive a remittance from you. * *

I hope the Indian treaty has been concluded. It is the only policy that can save the frontier from their ravages. You might as well attempt to exterminate the crows as to kill them all off. * * * * * * *

Your sincere and devoted friend,

I. VAN ZANDT.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON, 16th March, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—I received by last night's mail your private letter of the 17th ult., together with a despatch of that date to myself, and two large packages for Col. Daingerfield, who is now absent in Baltimore. I wrote you by yesterday's mail a long private letter; but as some remarks in your private note last received demand reply, I hasten to answer.

You say I have taken you severely to task for not writing me,

&c. When I read this remark, I was astonished. *I take you to task.* Let me assure you, my dear sir, that such was never my intention. I have recurred to the correspondence to which you allude, and confess, perhaps, the language used is not sufficiently guarded, and might be given a different construction to that which I designed. But while I would utterly disclaim any intention of arrogating to myself the authority to call you to task, I am satisfied you will readily excuse any warmth of expression used by me in relation to a want of attention to me on your part, when you reflect on the circumstances which surrounded me. Appearing here as the representative of my loved and adopted country, aroused at every attack on her character and reputation, solicitous about her honor and her standing, conscious of the high motives and purposes of her authorities, and witnessing the calumnies and abuse which were daily heaped upon her, you will not think strange, that in my ardor and zeal to defend her from these attacks, and place her right before the authorities here, that I regretted that I had heard nothing from you about those matters, and that I felt deeply the want of your high testimony to enable me, a young, inexperienced, unskilful, but, I trust, sincere advocate, to do justice to her cause, by striking down with the weapons of official and authenticated truths, the hand of falsehood and slander which had been raised for her destruction. These were the circumstances which surrounded me when I dictated the language which you think takes you to task, but which I again disclaim having so intended.

You say again, that when you were here the Government seldom wrote you, and that you did not complain, *but supposed the Secretary of State knew his business better than you did.* Now if this is designed to apply to me, let me assure you that it does not fit. I am too conscious of the ability, the knowledge, the experience, and wisdom of the incumbent of that high office, to think one moment of vieing with him in the knowledge of the important duties of his exalted station. It would be an arrogance and presumption wholly inexcusable in one so little gifted as myself. Aside from this, I hope I appreciate too highly the dignity of your rank to attempt to complain in the spirit of dictation. This, though a singular manner of complaint, seems to be so construed by the manner of intimation. I hope this, sir, will set the matter all right, and show, that though my language may have been uncourtly, that my motives were not rude; and in future, should any such discrepancies appear, you will set it down to the same account.

Your official despatches shall receive my immediate attention.

I saw a gentleman yesterday from Eastern Texas, who presents a favorable state of affairs in that quarter. I hope our affairs will generally assume a better shape soon.

I here take occasion to express to you my grateful and sincere thanks for the many able and voluminous despatches which I have lately received from your department.

Accept, dear sir, my best wishes, and believe (me) with abounding regard and true friendship,

Your most obedient servant,

I. VAN ZANDT.

Mr. Raymond desires me to present his respects to you.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, &c.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, 16th March, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—For the third time since yesterday morning, I set down to write you. My attention was this moment directed to the *Texian and Brazos Farmer* of the 18th February, in which two extracts of my despatches are given with long comments, which are well drawn, and replete with sound sense. But, sir, I call your attention to these extracts, and ask you to examine them, and see if they do not contain matter which should not have been published at this time under official sanction, names, &c. The first extract of a conversation related between Mr. Webster and myself, I see no objection to publishing, if his name and mine had been omitted. Do you think Mr. Webster will communicate with me freely upon a matter of that importance which is then before the Senate in secret session, and tell me the opposition, &c., if this conversation is to become a subject of newspaper publication forthwith before the matter is disposed of, with his name and all attached to it? It is impossible to think otherwise than that he would not communicate to me further than he would discuss a question in Brown or Gadsby's hotel. I repeat again, that the publication might be made to an advantage without the names. The second paragraph alludes to the United States Bank opposition. This matter was communicated to me by Mr. Moffit, who had learned it through a gentleman then in this city, but I received the information not to make it public here. I am compelled to derive many such facts from confidential sources. These efforts were made secretly by the bank agents, and not known to the public. It might be published likewise, but not as official, for it at once shows to these agents that I have learned their movements, and consequently they would become more guarded towards me, or gentlemen with whom I might be intimate. The first part of the extract, so far as the dissensions of the people are concerned, I would proclaim aloud if I were in Texas; and consequently, I am alone individually concerned in its publicity, and I am desirous for the people to know the immense injuries they work to our cause. But the last paragraph of the extract should not have been published until the treaty was disposed of. What was the meaning conveyed by that? I believed that there were individuals of the Senate who were under the influence of the bank, (although the same is dead in law, it is yet a host within itself,) and might not be disposed, from feelings of abolition, &c., to do us full justice, or, at all events, to act upon these matters without prejudice. I have not particularized, it is true; but then, who are these Senators alluded to? Each one may ask himself the question. Now, in order that I may do the country good, it is necessary that I should have all the good will possible of every individual in this community, whether he is in a high or low station, or without station. I conceive it my duty to let the Government know all which I learn in relation to our affairs. But let me assure you that I have opposition enough here from the enemies of the country, without making personal opponents. I regretted the comments upon the course of Senators about being led astray by *Grunter*, *Leach*, and *Drummer*. I certainly cannot object to the course pursued by Judge Johnson towards the assailants of the Administration; but surely I think it not proper to drag Senators into the quarrel by placing them under the influence of *Grunter & Co.*, whoever they may be. I have written you much confidential conversation with the President and Cabinet officers. I do hope these things will not be published, especially with their names standing out in bold relief. The President said to me, in a confidential conversation, "I hope it is unnecessary to remind you of the importance of not making these matters of public notoriety." I did not think it necessary to write at length always upon this matter.

I know that these publications were permitted with the best views towards the country, the parties mentioned, and myself; but deferring as to the manner, I hope you will excuse the notice I have taken of the matter. The private communication I made to Mr. Archer, which I have sent you, I have his consent to publish, but I desired to consult you first as to the propriety. I think it might be well to publish it—in that event, it would be republished here, and, I think, call the public to the importance of the treaty, that it may be reconsidered at the next session here, when the public mind becomes settled, and confidence restored.

I submit these hasty reflections for your candid consideration. I hope you will consider them as they are designed, not as *dictations*, but *suggestions*, which have occurred to me in glancing over the *Texian*. If I have put much stress upon these matters, your wisdom will of course correct my error.

I received a private letter this evening from the President. I am glad to hear that he stands unshaken amidst the tempest. I hope the Cabinet will likewise stand as pillars of state, which are neither shaken by the winds of faction nor the storms of opposition.

I received to-night your communication of 31st January. I have received others yesterday of a later date. Remember me to the President.

In haste, I remain truly and sincerely,
Your friend and obedient servant,
I. VAN ZANDT.

[*Endorsed.*—When the publications complained of were made, the "*treaty*" was dead and buried in the United States

Senate. They did not reach Washington City until twelve days after Congress adjourned. I no longer think it policy to maintain an attitude of supplication towards the United States, but will try a different course. We have begged long enough—too long, indeed.—A. J.]

[*From Stewart Newell, Esq., U. S. Consul, Galveston.*]

HOUSTON, April 5th, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Upon my journey to this city I met Captain Elliot, who informed me of the recent gratifying intelligence of propositions forwarded to the President by Santa Anna. Having, as you are aware, commenced early in the cause of Texas to advocate and aid her then uncertain prospects, the news communicated, although very uncertain as to its advantages generally to Texas, yet I could not but feel highly interested and gratified to know that silently but certainly her growth has been such, that Mexican pride has been so far humbled as to make concessions to Texas unasked, and particularly after the usual insulting and boasting manner which heretofore characterized the Mexican references to Texas, or any matters appertaining to her; and now let me ask of you the favor, if not inconsistent with your official duties, to let me know from you your opinion relative to these propositions, as to the advantages or disadvantages to Texas in the acceptance or refusal of them. They are looked upon here as a *ruse de guerre* on the part of Santa Anna, to delay, on the part of Texas, the reported invasion across the Rio Grande; and should commissioners be deputed to Mexico, our friend Gen. Houston will no doubt select gentlemen of clear and cool judgment, firmness, and decision, interested in the general welfare of the country, and willing to sacrifice private interests when the issue is their own or their country's welfare; and knowing the strong personal friendship existing between Generals Houston and Henderson, I hope he may be selected, as one possessing all these qualifications; and should a treaty be made with Mexico, who can calculate the immense advantages to accrue to Texas? And little as I am disposed to ask from the Government any thing that would render me else than a plain citizen of the republic, yet, should a Secretary of Legation to such an embassy be appointed, I trust, from your personal acquaintance with me, you will not consider me as asking too much by offering my services in that capacity, the honor of which I will endeavor to merit, and gratify the great desire I have always entertained to render service to our country whenever the opportunity offered, to identify myself with her.

I have the honor to be most respectfully your ob't servant,

STEWART NEWELL.

[*Endorsed.*—In reference to Mexican Commissioners, and wishes the Secretaryship.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Isaac Van Zandt.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., 5th April, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.:

DEAR SIR,—With this you will receive a lengthy despatch to your department, with a copy of my communication to Mr. Webster. I had hoped that before this time the United States would have taken a decided step in our affairs, but you will perceive in this I have been mistaken. The late apparent misunderstanding between the British Ministry and this Government in relation to the construction of the late treaty concluded by Ashburton and Webster, and the controversy between Gen. Cass and Mr. Webster in regard to the same subject, seem to have engrossed the whole of Mr. Webster's attention. This subject is likely to keep him in the department longer than was intended a short time ago. I think he will not probably retire until this discussion is closed.

I had a conversation with the President on Monday last upon the subject of our Mexican relations. He said he was clearly of opinion that it was high time that the war should cease, and that he was for action in the matter, and had so said to Mr. Webster, but that Mr. Webster had not acted as promptly in the matter as he desired; that he would return from Boston in a few days, when he would again call his attention to the matter: he said Mr. Webster's reasons were that he was greatly absorbed in their own affairs across the water. I fear there is not the best understanding among all the secretaries at this time, (I speak this of course confidentially.) Mr. Tyler certainly feels embarrassed from the opposition which surrounds him, and any attempt to force his matters too strong would possibly produce an explosion, which is certainly much to be dreaded. Every thing in the administration is assuming a democratic form throughout as fast as possible. Removals are frequent, and will soon be extended abroad. I have it from a high source that Judge Eve will be sent for soon. Gen. Murphy, of Ohio, will succeed him: this may be certainly depended on, though the matter has not been hinted here out of the ranks of those presumed to know. Several other foreign gentlemen will be recalled soon.

Col. Daingerfield was at Baltimore a few days ago, and bound for his mother's, down on the eastern shore. He wrote me he would soon be ready to sail for Europe, but would visit me before he sailed. I hope before this reaches you, you will have sent me some small change, for my necessities are beginning to press upon me. Col. Daingerfield told me that you had an impression that I had received drafts on the eastern customhouse and obtained par funds,—this is not correct. Mr. Borden was directed to enter me a credit on the books of his office at Galveston. McKinney and Williams gave me a draft on Baltimore for $500, and was to have disposed of the balance to my credit. I have not received another dollar from them. On the contrary, I drew a draft on H. H. Williams of Baltimore for $200, which has been protested. I state this fact to correct an impression that probably I did not need funds, and to show you I am really needing the appropriation. My board and expenses are paid up to this time, but now I have not ten dollars on hand. I hope you will not suffer me to get behind hand so long as I live within my income. I had to spend much of my own funds to get here, but I have spent all I had—I rely with confidence on your assistance. Salute the President for me.

In haste, your sincere friend and obedient servant,

I. VAN ZANDT.

Mr. Raymond desires me to present his respects to you.

P. S.—I must take occasion to tender you my sincere acknowledgments for the several very able communications I have received from your department during the last month.

Thine, I. V. Z.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, 19th April, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I send you with this a lengthy despatch, which will give you a notion of matters and things here generally. I regret that I have not been enabled to procure the action of this Government in our affairs; but as you know matters and things of State move slowly, especially when the wheels are much weakened and clogged, as is somewhat the case with Captain Tyler at this time, he is trying to fix things up to get a good headway—or, as our country boys would say, he is stopping to spit on his hands in order to get better hold. He is trying to roll the stones out of his way, but sometimes he has to roll them up hill, and when he lets go to take another up the last rolls back, so you see he has a hard time of it. He is good pluck, however, and wont easily give up the ship. He is endeavoring to repair his vessel,—whenever he finds a piece of the rigging that looks very ultra, he is very apt to remove it and put a moderate or conservative looking piece in its place. I think, from present appearances, *democracy* will be seen written upon his flag in big letters when it is hoisted to the masthead. If the Captain succeeds in getting a full crew on board who will be ready to obey orders when the word is given to beat to quarters, I think he will give a broadside that will tell for the lone star.

In my despatch I allude to some essays which I design to write; I will submit you a brief of the outline which I think I shall pursue, and if you have a leisure moment I should be much pleased to have any suggestion you may think of, or any correction you deem necessary in the points selected. * * *

I hope soon to hear from you in relation to a little of the all needful, which is much needed by me about this time. * * * I shall be in arrears for my post-office bill this month—last month it was upwards of $30, and all silver you know. You must excuse me for alluding to this subject so often; it is an old proverb, that "out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh," but this is my version—because of the emptiness of the pocket the pen writeth. * * * * * *

In haste, with sentiments of great respect,

I remain sincerely your friend and obedient servant,

I. VAN ZANDT.

HON. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c., Washington, Texas.

[*From John Hall, Esq., Chief Clerk of State Department.*]

WASHINGTON, April 30th, 1843.

SIR,—Enclosed you will find blanks, which will convey to you fully the suggestions that I have heretofore alluded to in respect to our commissioners. I have submitted them to Mr. Miller, placing, as I do, a high value upon his judgment in matters of this kind, and it affords me much pleasure to state that they are approved by him. I send you a copy of a recent proclamation of the President, which is perhaps the only item of news that may be to you in anywise interesting.

I await your return with much anxiety, as I deem your presence here in every way important.

I am, sir, with much respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN HALL.

To HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Galveston.

[*From Mr. Ammon Underwood.*]

COLUMBIA, Texas, 18th May, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I leave in the morning for Massachusetts. I would have been happy to have given you possession of our house before starting. * * * I know, my dear sir, that you are not much disposed to correspond where there is not an absolute necessity for doing so; but if you could do me the honor of addressing me that which is new and interesting, addressing me as per direction for Mrs. Jones, I would feel very much gratified. I feel for you a respect, believing that the high station you fill is honored, and the country benefited by your talents; and conclude you will yet fill, with honor to yourself and advantage to the republic, the highest station within the gift of the people. All of which is sincerely hoped by your friend, A. UNDERWOOD.

[*From Gen. Ed. Morehouse.*]

HOUSTON, 25th June, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I should have been at your place before this but from being prevented with the *piles*, which prevented my mounting a horse. I trust in a few days I may have the pleasure of meeting you. There is nothing stirring in our town of much interest.

All excitement has in a manner died. General Rusk was here and *made a speech;* whilst here there was much speculation on the probabilities of his being a successful candidate for the Presidency. I learn since he has declined running for the office of President, and that Gen. Lamar and others may be expected in the field. I would soberly ask what the d—l are we to do? I shall suspend any opinion on that subject until I see you!

Much exertion is used here to start an anti-administration candidate for Congress. D. G. Burnet is spoken of, but I think it will be no go. I am in hopes we shall be able to elect Jeff. Wright. I am anxious to visit you and return before election. I have a thousand things to say to you when we meet. * *

With high respect I am yours, &c.,

E. MOREHOUSE.

DR. ANSON JONES, Washington.

[*From James Burke, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, July 1st, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR FRIEND,—I enclose a copy of a *prize essay* which has been forwarded to me by the author for circulation among the *intelligent* and *patriotic* portion of our fellow-citizens. *Read it* —I know you will be pleased with it. Call the attention of his Excellency to it. Loan it among your friends. My knowledge of your friendship to sound morals, and your desire for their prevalence in the country of our adoption, induces me to send you this "*Appeal to a Patriot.*"

Hoping to see you at Columbia during the summer, and with my best respects to your excellent lady and your little "responsibility," or (it may be by this time) responsibilities, and hoping that your first son may be President of Texas,

I remain, with great respect, your friend,

JAMES BURKE.

[*From Dr. Moses Johnson.*]

INDEPENDENCE, July 3d, 1843.

FRIEND JONES,—I write you on a subject I intended to have spoken to you on when there, (at Washington,) which is that of a notary public at this place. If there is any vacancy in this county, or if it is discretionary with the Executive, we should like to have one here; it would certainly be very convenient, as we now have to go to Mount Vernon or Washington for notarial acts. Major Moses Park would please as well as any, and I promised to speak for him. He is justice of the peace, and would like the other office. * * * I had another talk with Col. Butler, * * * He says Houston has done but two things wrong, and they were not illegal,—calling the extra session at Houston, and removing the archives. * * Please let me know what is determined on in reference to candidates for the Presidency, &c. I think, from what I discovered since I saw you, if you run as the Houston candidate, and Houston will take some trouble for you, the chance may be good; and I think he would be glad to see you succeed him, for he thinks you the greatest man in Texas, or nearly so. He told me he had rather have you for Secretary of State than Daniel Webster.

I remain, with much esteem, your friend,

MOSES JOHNSON.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington.

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, July 5th, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—Will you do me the favor to let me have from your department a copy of the treaty which I had the honor to conclude with Mr. Webster on the part of the United States, for publication? The treaty, as I am informed, having failed before the United States Senate, I imagine there can be no impropriety in giving it to the public. I regret the failure very much, and should have viewed the outlay I incurred but as a trifling matter could it have been consummated.

We have no news here. Our eyes now turn principally to your place for matters of interest. We rejoice in the prospect of peace. I hope, and I believe, that under the management of yourself and associates, all will be well.

With sentiments of highest respect, yours,

JAMES REILLY.

[*From Capt. Charles Elliot, H. B. M. Chargé d'Affaires.*]

GALVESTON, July 7th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—It would have given me great pleasure to meet your wishes respecting the immediate appointment of a consular agent at Corpus Christi, and I believe with you that nothing would tend more to the encouragement of friendly dispositions than the growth of a flourishing trade with the settlements west of the Rio Grande. But my instructions forbid me from making any appointment without the sanction of Lord Aberdeen, notwithstanding the general powers of my commission. I have already prepared a despatch to his lordship upon the subject, and I am sure Gen. Houston's wishes will always have great weight with him. Understanding that Mr. N. P. Aubrey would be an acceptable person to the President, I would gladly name him as soon as I have received this due authority.

The very bad state of health of my little one, and indeed my own liability to fever and ague at this season of the year, prevent me from paying you a visit. Accept my cordial congratulations on the mending appearance of affairs. If wisdom and honorable disregard of weightless public clamor can constitute any title to full success, no man will deserve it more than the General; and I have a strong confidence, and have always had, that a peace will be signed during his administration.

We are looking hourly for the steamboat from New Orleans.

With my compliments to Mrs. Jones, believe me, my dear sir, very truly yours,
Charles Elliot.

The Hon. Anson Jones, &c., &c., &c.

[From Gen. E. H. Tarrant.]

Boston, July 6th, 1843.

To Anson Jones, Secretary of State:

Sir,—Having become a candidate for the high and responsible office of Major-General of the militia of Texas, and believing, as I do, that no man should hold on to one office while he is endeavoring to get another, thereby wishing to monopolize—and as I hold monopolies of every description *anti-republican*, I for these reasons tender this as my resignation of the office of Brigadier-General of the Fourth Brigade Texas Militia, and hope his Excellency will receive the same and order a new election for my successor. If permitted, I would suggest that the election should come on as soon as practicable. If the President would order the election to be held at the time and place of the general election for representatives, it would save the people some time, and there would be a more general turn out.

I would be happy, sir, to receive the vote of my friend the Secretary of State, but can hardly calculate on it, as it is with considerable degree of diffidence and reluctance that I offer my pretensions to the people of Texas for that high and responsible office, as I know they are limited as well as my acquaintances; but there is one thing I promise, that is to discharge my duty, if elected, and obey orders if I break owners.

I am, Sir, with high respect, your friend,

E. H. Tarrant.

[Self to John N. O. Smith, Esq.]

Washington, July 9th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—I was much pleased to learn through Major Scott that you had succeeded in purchasing the printing press, and that you were about to establish yourself again as the publisher of a newspaper at the commercial emporium, Houston. I wish you every success in the enterprise, and that you may make it a source of permanent advantage to yourself and to the country; and I beg leave to add, in all sincerity, that it will afford me great gratification to see both of these objects attained by you, and to promote their attainment by any assistance it may be in my power to render. I think it is now a very favorable time for the commencement of your enterprise, and am well satisfied that with prudent, energetic, and proper management, it will ultimately be successful. Should the present hopes of peace not prove illusory, there must soon be an immense impulse given to every kind of business in Texas, in which event the advertising patronage to a paper at such a place as Houston, must necessarily become very considerable.

I write to my friend Major Reilly to-day, and request him to employ his pen in writing for your paper, which I have no doubt he will take pleasure in doing. Your friends in this place will also lend a helping hand as far as they are able, particularly Mr. W. D. Miller. Any communications you may receive through him you can confidently rely upon.

Major Scott informs me you had concluded to change the name of the paper, but had not yet fixed upon another cognomen. There is undoubtedly much in a name, although "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." As your location is at a commercial point, I have thought perhaps "Commercial Gazette," "Commercial Advertiser," or some such appellation, would be a good one.

I shall leave in a day or two for Columbia, on the Brazos, where I shall remain some ten days or two weeks. I shall be happy to have a line from you while there, and will trouble you to forward a copy of your paper (when published) to Dr. D. C. Gilmore at that place, and also some of your prospectuses.

I remain truly your friend and servant,

ANSON JONES.

To J. N. O. SMITH, Esq., Houston.

[*From J. N. O. Smith, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, July 17th, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 9th inst., and at the same time to return you my thanks for the obliging expressions and good wishes which it contains. Believe me, Sir, when I say that in the discharge of the duties I have assumed, I shall ever be governed by a sincere desire to promote the interests and welfare of our country to the utmost of my humble ability. You will perceive by our prospectus, several of which I have forwarded to Dr. Gilmore, that we have adopted the title of "The Citizen." Had I received your suggestions a few days earlier, I should undoubtedly have adopted some of the titles you recommend; and I now somewhat regret that I did not make a selection more apropos to a commercial community like ours, although, on the whole, I consider it of but little importance. Our prospects are sufficiently encouraging, if not to say flattering; and I anticipate that by the fall we shall have a very considerable circulation—of the weekly paper particularly, which, you will perceive, we propose to publish at an unusually low rate, for papers of the size in Texas.

The first number of our city paper will be published on Wednesday. I found the office, on taking possession, in a most miserable condition, and in order to get every thing fairly to rights, I shall not be able to pay as close attention to the paper for the first two or three weeks as I desire; so, of course, all contributions of a proper character will be at all times welcome, and doubly so at present. * * * * *

Respectfully your obedient servant,

JNO. N. O. SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Major Thos. G. Western.*]

HOUSTON, 13th July, 1843.

Dr. ANSON JONES, Washington:

MY DEAR SIR,—Various efforts have I made, during the last few months, but in vain, to call your attention to the fact that the amount due me for rent of the offices occupied by your department in this city during the last summer remains still unpaid, and I now take occasion to bring the subject again to your notice. The circumstances are of course all fresh in your memory; the contract was made with you; the apartments were occupied by your officers; the amount duly approved as the account became due, and were admitted to audit in the month of December last, but were not paid, as the appropriation, according to the Comptroller, was exhausted. However, this excuse might apply then or now. Congress, it seems, at its last session, made, as a matter of course, another appropriation for the contingent expenses of your department, of (one would suppose) sufficient magnitude to warrant the payment of last year's arrearages; but I have nothing to do with this, the "modus operandi" of your business, and I do not wish to encroach on your prerogative. What I want is the amount due me, which is $111.33, without interest, in par funds, as per agreement; though if nothing better can be had, and you say it is just that I should receive it, the exigencies of circumstances may require me to admit *Exchequers*, though they are far from par value, as you know.

I trust you will do something for me in this affair, and that I shall soon hear from you.

Yours most truly, THOMAS G. WESTERN.

[*From Self to Thos. G. Western.*]

WASHINGTON, July 19th, 1843.

Major THOS. G. WESTERN:

MY DEAR SIR,—The duplicate copy of your letter came yesterday to hand, the original having never been received. I regret you should have any cause to think there was neglect on my part, and do assure you such has not been my *intention* at least.

Your claim for rent I know to be a just one, and the same has been approved. This was all that was in my power. The reason it was not paid, as has often been explained, was that the appropriation had been exhausted before you consented to receive the Exchequer bills.

You appear to think that as the appropriation for the last year was exhausted, and Congress had appropriated another contingent fund for the State Department, your claim should be paid out of that. In reply to this, I can only remind you, as I have already done Mr. Ruthven and Mr. Scott, that the contingent fund for 1843 is for the current expenses of this year, and it is not in my power to dispose of it otherwise than Congress intended.

If in my power to do any thing for you in this matter, my dear Major, you, I know, do not doubt my willingness to serve you in any way I can, consistently with my duty; and if I have not the ability to accord you that justice which is so unquestionably your due, and pay the amount of your claim, I beg you to attribute it not to my want of personal friendship and regard, which I assure you are as lively and sincere as ever.

I remain faithfully and fraternally yours,

ANSON JONES.

[*From Col. James Reilly.*]

HON. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I have to thank you for a copy of my unfortunate treaty forwarded by you to me for publication, accompanied by your kind letter, and both of which I found here on my arrival. I regret most sincerely the failure of the treaty before the United States Senate, and must believe that the remark of a distinguished ex-Senator of the United States was correct. When asked how its failure happened, he stated "that it was because Texas was not represented." I shall not publish at present under the circumstances.

Your absence from Washington while I was there, I regret; for, in addition to the pleasure of seeing you and conversing upon many subjects which I wished to do, I believe you would have had the amount of $1,180 for me, for which you audited my account, paid, whereas I only received $387.

Your flattering request that I should assist the worthy proprietor of "The Citizen," I will cheerfully do whenever he may need my services. * * * * * *

With sentiments of highest respect, yours truly,

JAMES REILLY.

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, July 23d, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your friends in this region of Texas have been convinced for some time that Gen. Rusk would not be a candidate for the next Presidency; and next to him, many of us believe that you have stronger claims on the country than any other gentleman who has been spoken of as a candidate. If Gen. Rusk had not declined, I would have voted for him; next to Rusk, I have always expressed myself favorable to your election, and would now, or at any time, with the candidates who I expect will be before the country, prefer you; but, after making every inquiry with other of your strong friends here, (K. L. Anderson, Berry, Brooks, &c., &c.,) I am satisfied we could not concentrate a majority of Houston's friends upon you. I have lately been pretty well over the eastern counties, and have satisfied myself of this fact. I speak to you very plainly and candidly, just as I am sure you would wish me to speak, and I intend to say to Judge Lipscomb (who seems to be the strongest man with our friends in the East, and whom I will support in the event of his nomination) exactly what I have said to you above. Judge Ochiltree is the only one of your friends here who thinks you can be elected by the strong vote you will get west of the Trinity, together with what we could give you in the East. Judge Lipscomb has a large number of Alabama acquaintances in Eastern Texas, and all others know him by reputation; and from my personal acquaintance with him, I shall be perfectly content with him. I have advised our friends here not to call any meeting to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency until we can hear and reflect more on the subject. Should it still be deemed by your friends here useless to run you, Judge Lipscomb will be the nominee for President and K. L. Anderson for the Vice-Presidency. The East entertain what seems to me a very foolish opinion in regard to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, viz.: that they must always have either the one or the other elected from amongst themselves. With myself it matters not where the man lives, provided his character and views suit me. I would be glad to hear from you on this subject as soon as possible.

Yours very truly,

J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON.

[NOTE.—My course in the matter of the unconstitutional division of the Supreme Court in 1839 and 1840, has not been forgotten by Gen. H.'s friends in the East. This was a favorite measure with him and them; defeated in the 4th and 5th Congresses, (of both which I was a Senator,) passed in 1841-'2, and signed by Gen. H., and became a law which the Supreme Court forthwith, by a unanimous decision, declared to be *unconstitutional* and *void.* For doing my duty, and regarding my oath of office, I have ever since been *ostracised* by these parties in the East, and the impression erroneously made on the minds of the people there, that I was opposed to Eastern interests, than which nothing could be more erroneous. Now the cry is, that I am opposed to the West on account of the seat of Government question, which is equally an error with the other. Thus I am like to become a victim to mere sectional jealousy—a jealousy in both cases brought into being and nurtured to great strength and virulence by Gen. Houston and a few of his friends, and with which I have had nothing to do.

ANSON JONES.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

MONTGOMERY, 30th July, 1843.

DEAR JONES,—Might it not be well to appoint *no time* for Commissioners to meet those of Mexico at Loredo, but say we would let Wool know when we were ready? Think of this. Please write Hockley and Williams, and give them a hint of what will be wanted of them. Thank Capt. Elliot and the Count, and explain my situation of haste to them.

Do as you and Dr. Hill think best in the premises. The whole matter will not be concluded during my term, and "as you make your bed, so must you lie in it."

Take out my letters and open them, then dispose of them as may be best. You can judge of their character by the back of them.

Salute Madame Jones, and kiss Sam (Captain) for me.

Thine, truly, HOUSTON.

[*Endorsed.*—Instructions to Commissioners to Mexico, and devolving the government upon me.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. G. W. Terrell, Attorney-General.*]

MOUNT AIRY, NACOGDOCHES, July 30th, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I should have written you by the last mail, but I had been confined by indisposition from the time of my arrival at home, so that I had not been able to collect any news in these parts; nor indeed have I been able to go out much from home. * * * I have seen a good many people since I came to the East. The next Presidency begins to excite very general interest. Your name is constantly mentioned in connection with that subject. You are stronger in this country than I had hitherto supposed you would be. Yourself, Hemphill, and Burleson, are all spoken of very generally as the probable candidates. Hemphill is strong throughout this country; and should you and he both become candidates, your interests would so clash that, in my opinion, defeat would be the inevitable consequence to both, for it will be as much as either of you could do to beat Burleson single handed, and the same prominent men throughout the country are the friends of both; and, as far as I can learn, the only wish of your friends is, that both should not run. It is immaterial which of you should be selected, he would be successful. This is the unanimous opinion of our friends, as far as I have either seen or heard from them. It is important that this matter be amicably arranged between you and Hemphill, as the object of all is success, and not defeat. Either of you will be acceptable to the friends of the Administration throughout the East, and it is my opinion that either, single handed, will beat any man the opposition can bring into the field. As for myself, either will suit me, and whichever may be the candidate, shall receive my most cordial support. And I will say further to you, there is no man in the Republic I would sooner see President than yourself. My great object, however, is to get out a candidate, and but one, that will unite the friends of the present Administration, and thereby insure success.

You have probably seen in the *Red Lander* the nomination of Judge Lipscomb. I do not understand this *manœuvre.* When I left Washington, Judge Lipscomb had declined running, as I had from the best authority; but the nomination came out about the time Gen. Hunt was at San Augustine. This throws a mystery around the transaction that I cannot comprehend. Time, however, will clear it all up.

I received a letter from friend Johnson, in which he says he will have to make a surrender of the "Vindicator." This I regret much. Johnson was doing a great deal of good; his paper was beginning to wield a powerful influence throughout this country, and was more sought after than any other in the Republic. Can it not be so arranged as to be purchased by some of our friends, and continue him in the editorial department? He would do a great deal in a close contest; for I assure you, you have no conception what a stand his paper was acquiring throughout the East.

I leave the day after to-morrow to meet the old chief at Crockett. About one month from this time write me, addressed to this place, and give me all the news. I shall be back, I presume, about that time.

My kind regards to the Madam, and accept for yourself assurances of the high regard with which I remain,

Your friend, G. W. TERRELL.

DR. ANSON JONES, Washington, Texas.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq.*]

MOUNT AIRY, August 1st, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I have been unwell for the most of the time since my arrival here. * * * *

I very much regret that it was not convenient for you to come over with the President as far as Crockett. It would have afforded you an opportunity of mingling with the people, and, by that means, of extending your acquaintances. There is to be a "big" barbecue at that place on Friday next, and myself and Gen. Terrell expect to leave to-morrow, (Wednesday,) to be there to meet the President, and proceed thence with him to Bird's Fort.

You have learned, ere this, that the *Red Lander* has placed the names of Judge Lipscomb and Col. Anderson at the head of its columns for President and Vice-President. This nomination will probably bring the former into the field, however much he may have been previously opposed to it. So we are likely to have four candidates in the field, *not* including Burleson. I find, from the little inquiry I made upon the road, that Hemphill already *occupies* a *favorable* place in the public eye. How it has happened, I know not; but so it is. He would *now* run *very* well. Hemphill will also make a good deal by personal intercourse with the people. They always like to see, as well as hear of the object of public attention.

I have been a good deal disappointed in the character of the country east of the Brazos. I could never relinquish a home in the West for one in the East, with my present knowledge of the country.

With my best wishes, your friend and servant,

W. D. MILLER.

DR. ANSON JONES, Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

PARIS, August 2d, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State:

SIR,—I sent off long despatches yesterday, which, with my preceding communications, will, I think, give you a tolerably accurate idea of our relations in Europe.

It has been a work of some difficulty for me to convey a correct idea of the course of conduct of the British *Government* in relation to slavery in America, at the same time that I have desired not to attribute to that Government any sinister or covert purposes against Texas. The abolition of slavery is their open and avowed policy, and they have invariably pursued it for a long period, in favor of their own commerce, manufactures, and colonial interests. They will persevere in this policy, and employ all means for its accomplishment. Should money be necessary, they will give it, as they have done to Spain; because they anticipate, and, in my opinion, justly, that more than counterbalancing pecuniary advantages will accrue to Great Britain from abolition. In the pursuance of this policy, so far as regards Texas, the British Government and its officers very naturally, and perhaps properly, study the interests of *their own country alone*, in entire disregard of its influence upon the prosperity of Texas, without, however, any hostile or unfriendly feelings towards our country; but, on the contrary, with as much practical good-will for us as may be consistent with the vigorous perseverance in their abolition policy.

I cannot speak in terms of commendation of the parties generally with whom Mr. S. P. Andrews has formed relations in London. They are chiefly violent abolitionists. It has become most obvious to me that they do not entertain friendly feelings towards Texas, but quite the opposite; that they are animated by motives of sordid and jesuitical fanaticism, and unscrupulous in the means they employ to accomplish their purposes. I further know, that they do not possess, as a body, the confidence or esteem of the enlightened British public. As a slight evidence of their spirit and unscrupulosity, I will mention a remark made by a leading individual among them: that they had sustained Mr. Doran Maillard, because he attacked Kennedy. The latter gentleman is, I believe, as highly esteemed in our country, as the former is notorious as its libeller.

I have had some conversation with Col. Daingerfield concerning a division of our diplomatic representation in Europe; and in a private letter to his Excellency, I have mentioned that I am wholly at disposition, and shall not feel hurt by any course that may be taken in regard to me. Col. Daingerfield has since told me that he has written, I would prefer London, &c. The Colonel did not clearly understand me. I scarcely think it proper for me to express preferences in such a matter, further than to say, that having been formerly and first appointed to the French court, it will be entirely satisfactory to me to remain here, provided my doing so shall meet the views of the Government.

In order to be able to remain in Europe, a remittance of funds from Texas will be necessary. My present means will not support me beyond November. My brother, G. A. Smith, went to Texas on this business some time since. I have not heard from him since his arrival. May I ask you to aid him in facilitating the transmission of the proceeds of my salary at as early a period as may be convenient.

M. de Saligny is still in Paris. His return to Texas, which was, at one time, considered certain, appears to be now doubtful.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing letters to my brother in despatches to your department, as the only safe and prompt means of their reaching him.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

ASHBEL SMITH.

[*From Major T. G. Western.*]

HOUSTON, August 2d, 1843.

Doctor ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—Your esteemed favor of 29th ult. came yesterday to hand, and it seems passing strange that you had received none of my former communications. The idea I have conceived that my claim could be paid out of the present appropriation, is not without foundation. When Mr. Secretary Daingerfield visited this city, some time ago, I approached him officially respecting my claim. He stated to me that he had given instructions to the officers of the Treasury Department to pay claims of a similar character whenever the head of a department required it, and the amount was not of such magnitude as to exhaust or seriously diminish the contingent fund of that particular department. Considering yours to be ample, I wrote to you forthwith, craving of your goodness your consent to the payment of my claim, under this rule. I need not add that I received no reply. This course was observed with some claimants—Slocum and others—I was informed.

Circumstances admitting no delay, I was forced to pledge the accounts, together with those of the War Department, for a certain sum of money my exigencies required, conditioned to refund it if the accounts were not paid within a specified time; that individual, my creditor, employed Scott to collect them—they were not paid; I had not the money to refund—my honor, my credit at stake. To sustain them, I was obliged to sacrifice a valuable property, the yellow house, my homestead, for, as it were, "a cup of porridge." Yes, my dear sir, a property which (if Houston's armistice egg does not addle before it hatches peace) will soon be worth thousands. Thus you see, by the failure of the Government to fulfil her contracts, &c., &c., &c., am I subjected to ultimate loss and present privations, without a dollar in my purse. 'Tis true, I have land; but where? In the abandoned, the rejected West—unavailable. You must not tire, my dear Doctor, at the recital of my misfortunes and grievances, but bear with me. I set a sufficiently high value on the ties that link us, to tax your patience for once. I would not urge—nay, nor even insinuate, that you, whom I so highly esteem, should deviate one step from the path of your duty. But, I recollect a Spanish proverb, which seems applicable to our case: "There is a remedy for all things but Death." You may say that my remedy is with the next Congress. That relief were too tardy; I want prompt aid now. If this cannot be had officially—and you are the party competent to judge of this—could you not dispose of a matter of your own private "pecunio" for a month or so? I have an arrangement in embryo to obtain some funds, but I am crippled by the want of means to carry out the project. You can have any security, and interest too, if you require it. You know I would grant you any favor you in reason could ask. Now, do not deny me this my request. Let this be confidential, and believe me ever yours,

Truly and fraternally,

THOMAS G. WESTERN.

[*From F. T. Wells, Esq., of the Texas Navy.*]

TEXAS BRIG-OF-WAR WHARTON,
GALVESTON, Aug. 3d, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are apt to remember our friends in the time of our need, and as that is peculiarly the time with me now, I deem it a most suitable time to call upon you for what may be of little moment to you, but may be infinitely so to me.

Our navy, I presume, from the indications, is about to be broken up, and so far as I can see or hear, those who have been in its service will, in all probability, receive no compensation for their services, but will be turned adrift to look out for themselves, without a cent to start upon, or an opportunity given (to) obtain employment, which in Texas, at this season of the year, is next to impossible to be done.

Whatever evils may have arisen from the navy going to sea contrary to the orders and wishes of the Government, should be attributed to the proper place, and its consequences should fall on the guilty alone.

When the Commissioners first arrived in New Orleans, if they had taken possession of the vessels, there would have been an end of the matter, and the officers who had no agency, or knowledge that they were acting contrary to the orders of the

Government, would have been spared the mortification of seeing themselves held up to the world as a band of pirates and traitors, and Texas would have been spared the infamy of the proclamation by the want of an occasion for its publication. Before Mr. Bryan returned to Texas to make the report of the Commissioners, I informed him that I would not go to sea contrary to the orders of the Government, nor would, in my opinion, any other officer in the navy, if the orders were communicated in such a manner as would enable us to obey them without the charge of insubordination. And on his return we were still induced to believe that the Government was sanctioning the shipping men, and procuring supplies from the citizens of New Orleans, as it was done with the knowledge and countenance of the Commissioners; and (they) ought to have known, if they did not, that no men could have been obtained, or supplies procured, but upon the grounds of our going against the Mexicans. The officers endeavored to get some information from the Commissioners, but without success. I cannot believe the proclamation would ever have been published under its present form, if the President had known that the officers were totally ignorant of its existence, or of their acting in any way contrary to his orders. It was believed here that, before going to sea, all the officers knew of the existence of the proclamation, and were willing to risk its infamy, but it is not so. Its existence was totally unknown, or suspected, by rumor or hearsay, till towards the last of May, when I heard it from New Orleans. I believe the other officers were as ignorant as I was of its existence. We have been fortunate in returning safely, for we ran a narrow risk of expiating *other* people's neglect and offences, at the yard-arm, as pirates, which sentence of our own Government the Mexicans would have most cheerfully executed if an opportunity had been afforded them.

But inasmuch as we have returned safely, I want your advice upon what my prospects are of staying in the navy or going out of it. I am unable to ascertain if any navy at all will be kept up, or if we shall receive any pay from the arrangements that are making by the Navy Commissioners.

There has been and is now considerable excitement here in regard to the proclamation, the dismissal of Com. Moore and

Capt. Lathrop. And Com. Moore has been brought out as a candidate for Congress; but I do not think (he) will be elected if he continues the canvass.

I hope you will do me the kindness to drop me a few lines. I have been in the service a very great length of time, and received but little remuneration, and I am somewhat solicitous about the result of our naval affairs. In all the *moneyed* operations of our navy with Yucatan, I have unluckily been out of the mess, so that none of it fell to my share.

If you can recommend me to any thing in the way of business, I would be much obliged to you.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

F. T. WELLS.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington.

[*Endorsed.*—Difficulties in the navy. The proclamation was injudicious, and made in my absence without my knowledge.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

CROCKETT. 3d Aug., 1843.

MY FRIEND,—Since I came here I received a letter from Gen. Henderson, in which he stated that he would write you one—and Judge Lipscomb, also, on the same subject. I look for Henderson, Anderson, and others, here to-morrow. Things I doubt not will go off pretty well, and there will be a large assembly of the sovereigns.

The subject on which Henderson wrote I will not let go unattended to if I see him. However, I have this to say in relation to it—he is mistaken. If any one is to be preferred by my friends in a contest for the Presidency, I am sure they will concentrate most readily upon the man who has sustained my administration by his exertions and capacity. This must be the case when, if they were not to do so, they would have to take one who had incurred no responsibility, and would be at liberty either to adopt my line of policy, or to abandon it if it might suit him, or his advisers, and no charge of inconsistency could be laid to his charge. Moreover, I cannot perceive what he has done that would authorize the pretermittal of your claims, which I regard as equal to any man's, for the station. Maintain your position unmoved. Firmness of purpose always adds a moral influence and weight to design. Henderson is honest and noble, but he is not a good calculator. He is in the habit of drawing conclusions, more from objects with which he is thrown in contact, than from generalized views of affairs. This is a matter which can only be compassed by enlarged calculation, and one which will involve many things incidental to your position, and connected with the very premises he assumes.

You can weather the storm, in my candid opinion, and I can see no reason why my friends cannot rally upon you, as you will most directly represent the principles which they advocate. Your policy will be known and manifest, whilst that of any other candidate will be equivocal, to say the least of it, and you will "have borne the burden in the heat of the day."

Make no move adverse to being a candidate until we meet.

I hope (to) return to this place by the 25th inst., and will hope to meet letters at this place from you, and many of my friends. Tell me all the news. I have prospects of a successful trip, and hope to leave these good people, and place all others at peace in Texas. As you would suppose, the worthy citizens here greet me kindly, and on to-morrow I will try and make them a decent talk.

Salute Madam and "big Captain Sam;" also the young gentlemen in the office. As to big matters, Mexico, &c., keep them smooth. Write to Hockley and Williams, to the Count, Capt. Elliot, and salute Gen. Murphy.

Thine truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. R. M. Williamson.*]

AUGUST 15th, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—The aspect of things, so far as relates to yourself in this section of the country, *I mean all the State of Montgomery*, is truly flattering. The crisis is auspicious, and an anti-administration man is not, is never seen or heard of in any direction that I have travelled. If there be any here, I have not encountered them. I have not failed, freely and frankly, to discuss the subject of the next Presidency, and your claims have been plead without resistance from any quarter, without the hope of ever being contradicted. I tell you this in the spirit of candor. The subject now is being prudentially entertained by the people, and they are resolved to take tried men hereafter. But more in detail when I see you. * * * If I were as current as you, I could come soon.

In haste, I am yours truly,

R. M. Williamson.

To the Hon. Anson Jones.

[*From Hon. Isaac Van Zandt.*]

Alexandria, D. C., Aug. 12th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—I forwarded to your department, two days ago, a lengthy despatch, which will give all the important information here, in relation to our affairs.

Mr. Upshur, I think, is disposed to act up to my most sanguine expectations in relation to Texas. He wished me in my official despatch *not* to say that "I had seen his instructions to Mr. Thompson," but that I might say "such were his instructions, and that I knew the fact," and in my private letter inform you confidentially I had seen them. This I thought a distinction almost without a difference; but, however, I followed his wish in regard to it. The instructions were very lengthy, and drawn with great ability. The Secretary is fully alive to the important bearing which our institutions have upon this country. He expresses some alarm lest England is attempting to exercise some undue influence upon our affairs. His inquiries upon this subject I have waived by replying, I knew nothing of the measures of England towards Texas, except that she professed and evinced a great desire to secure us peace; but if she did intend, or was trying to obtain an undue influence over Texas, the better way to counteract her efforts was for the United States to act promptly and efficiently, and show her disposition to afford to Texas every facility which she might expect to obtain from England, either in a commercial point of view, or by manifesting her friendly disposition by her active interposition to secure us peace with Mexico. In reply to my suggestions on this point, Mr. Upshur desires me to say to you, both privately and officially, that nothing shall be lacking on his part, consistent with his station, so far as his ministry is concerned, to secure us peace and advance our prosperity; that he conceives the interests of the two countries closely connected; and that he can serve his country's interest best by promoting that of Texas. These in the main correspond with the views of President Tyler; but unfortunately for us, the other branches of the Government, especially the Senate, are not disposed to aid Mr. Tyler in his views upon any important national question; therefore his efforts, no odds how laudable they may be, will meet with more or less opposition. I think, however, our prospects are looking up very much; public opinion is becoming enlightened, and consequently begins to react; the feverish excitement is giving way, and a healthier state begins to appear. The noisy and clamorous, who were crying Old Sam had sold the country, begin to say they believe he was above half right after all. The people of this country may be misled for a time; but the truth must at length be unveiled. When this shall be the case, disappointed ambition may wield its pen, and a licentious press may give circulation to its effusions, but 'twill be in vain. Those who have firmly stood by the country, its constitution and laws, will not only be upheld and applauded by the people of Texas, but in every country where order is observed and the laws respected, their names will be cherished with lasting regard.

My family are at this place, and we shall remain here until towards winter. I have selected this for the present, because of the expenses of board, &c., being less than at Washington. I go to Washington almost every day, the passage being but one bit each way.

The President is absent on a trip of pleasure to Virginia; he is expected back to-day.

Please to present my respects to Gen. Houston and the gentlemen of the Cabinet.

With abiding regard, I am, very truly,

Your friend and obedient servant,

I. VAN ZANDT.

HON. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Joseph Waples, Esq.*]

Dr. Anson Jones
To Joseph Waples, Dr.

* * * * * * * *

For services as acting Secretary of State—Balance due March 31st, 1843, in Exchequers, . . . $330 68

To the Hon. Anson Jones:

Sir,—Above I hand you a statement of our financial affairs, which shows that you are indebted to me to the amount of three hundred and thirty $\frac{68}{100}$ dollars in Exchequer bills. It is my intention to leave this place in a few days; and if convenient to you, it would be conferring a great favor for you to pay me previous to my departure. But should you not find it convenient before then, you will please pay it to B. F. Johnson, Esq., whom I will authorize to receive and receipt for me.

It has always been customary when an officer in a department or bureau was left in charge thereof as acting, he was entitled to receive pay equivalent to that of the head of the same, and as the law does not authorize the payment in the same office by the Government of two heads of a department or bureau, the amount was consequently deducted from the pay of the principal, or by him paid to the acting officer, *especially* when said principal was absent from the seat of Government on his own private business, or following his profession distant from the seat of Government. * * * * *

Respectfully your obedient servant,

Joseph Waples.

[Note.—Mr. Waples was only charged with the usual routine business in my absence, and which properly belonged to the Chief Clerk, (as he then was.) The more important duties of the office I attended to myself at all times, or through Gen. Terrell, with whom I had made an arrangement for this purpose, attending to matters for him in return when he might be absent. There was but one "Despatch" ever written during my term from the State Department except by me, and this was written by Gen. Terrell. This claim was in abeyance about one year, and probably might not have been set up at all but for the fact of my having discharged him from office.—A. J.]

[*Endorsed.*—The officers of Government were forced from necessity to do something for their support except holding office. I paid at this time to J. L. Farquhar $75 per month, in par funds, for board of self and family; and my salary amounted to from $50 to $60. I had an office and a partner at Columbia, but was absent very little: Dr. Gilmore attended to my business.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, Aug. 17th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—On the occasion of transmitting the accompanying note on the pending claims of British subjects, I hope you will excuse me for mentioning in a private way, the very great desirableness of adjusting the claim for the "Eliza Russell" without further delay. I am persuaded the want of settlement in that matter is occasioning much surprise in London; and I cannot help hoping that the President will feel himself justified in making the payment at once. The nature of the case, the fact that there has been a [decision] upon the subject, the very long delay in the satisfaction of the claim, joined to the repeated urgency with which it has been pressed, might surely justify the President in setting such a question at rest, and depending upon Congress for the confirmation of the act. I am in daily expectation of renewed and much more pressing instructions on the subject of all these claims, and I do heartily wish you would put it my power to prevent the necessity of any further appeal about this very wearisome case of the "Eliza Russell." It really ought to be paid at once.

We learn here, and to my greatest pleasure, that the General has been received with high respect and cordiality in all parts of the country through which he has passed. I have always told such of his bitter enemies as I happen to know, that I would venture to prophesy the time would come when those of them who had any fairness or justice would be found among his warmest supporters, and I think my prophecy is coming out the right way. With time and the requisite degree of support in his own country, he will assuredly settle this business honorably and advantageously. And I certainly never met any man but himself who could have solved such a problem satisfactorily. Without finance, without armed force that can be depended upon, (so far, at least, as the all-important points of discipline and concert of action are in question,) in the face of a desperate opposition at home, and against an enemy with a population of between seven and eight millions of people, Gen. Houston has already, by steady policy, secured for the sixty or seventy thousand souls in Texas an acknowledgment of the virtual independence of the country. What remains to overlay is but the shadow of a name; and as the Mexicans seem contented to hand you over the *substance* in exchange for *that shadow*, I suppose you will not be so quarrelsome as to dispute with them, on that score, with any more deadly weapons than pens and tongues. They will be foolish indeed if they do not cut the rope entirely, for the truth is that Gen. Santa Anna's scheme is only practicable at all at the manifest advantage of Texas. There are, to be sure, examples in Europe of such unions of States, (each independent of the other, and with separate legislatures, but nominally under one head,) which work pretty well—for example, Sweden and Norway; but with great deference, the Swedes and Norwegians live in colder latitudes than your good selves, and moderation and reasonableness flourish better in the long nights, and cold weather, than so near the sun as we are living.

I did the General's bidding about the prisoners in Mexico to the best of my ability, and I hope they will soon be released. My health is not good, and I fear I must soon run away to more temperate climates than this of Texas. I rejoice to think, however, that I have not been entirely useless since I filled my present post, for perhaps I have, in some feeble degree, helped out your purposes of peace for the country. With kind regards to Judge Terrell and Dr. Hill, and to the General when he returns,

Believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

When do you expect the General again, and by what route will he return?

[NOTE, 1846.—Unfortunately the experience of less than three years served to dissipate the good opinions of Capt. Elliot in regard to the General (Houston.)—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

GALVESTON, August 28th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hope that the accompanying despatch will be satisfactory to this Government; and upon consulting Mr. S. M. Williams and Col. Hockley, I have felt myself justified in saying to Mr. Doyle that I see no reason to doubt that Gen. Houston will accede to Gen. Santa Anna's proposal respecting the exchange of prisoners. It is almost needless to add that I shall carefully explain—I am only offering my own opinion—and that I must not be understood to be committing Gen. Houston. Mr. Doyle remarks, that he found Gen. Santa Anna laboring under considerable excitement about an alleged murder of some Mexican traders near Victoria. I shall take occasion to reply in a private way, that the disturbed state of the western frontier has, I am aware, always been a source of great anxiety to Gen. Houston, and that the late proclamation putting that section under martial law was, I believe, mainly made with a view to the protection of peaceful Mexican citizens in that quarter.

Mr. Doyle has no reason to say that as yet Gen. Santa Anna shows any disposition to yield upon the point of the sovereignty of Texas being acknowledged by Mexico. The arrangement of other points, Mr. Doyle thinks, may not meet with the same difficulty; and upon the whole I incline to the opinion that there are symptoms of a general improvement in the spirit of the Mexican Government, in the sense of moderation and good-will towards the Government of Texas. The departure of the "Lady Byron" will be my excuse for a hurried note. With regards to my friends at Washington, and cordial salutations to the General when he returns, believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

P. S.—Will not this communication make another one necessary to Gen. Woll? There can be no harm in keeping open pretty frequent communications between Texas and Matamoras. The "Scylla" sails again to-morrow morning.

[*From William Kennedy, Esq., British Consul.*]

GALVESTON, September 4th, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—Thanks for your obliging communication of the 20th ult. I shall be glad to learn the result of your consultation with the President respecting the contract, so that I may communicate seasonably with Mr. Pringle, who informs me that a relative of Mr. Rate, your Consul-General in London, has become associated in the undertaking.

Within a few days after the publication of "the armistice" in the London papers, Mexican bonds rose *four* per cent. in the market! This ought to show the dreamers south of the Rio Grande the folly of their proceedings. * * *

Had it been possible I would have journeyed to Washington at this time to tender my respects in person; but were I free in other particulars I would be detained by the indisposition of Mrs. K., who is passing through a disagreeable, though not dangerous, species of acclimation.

From rumors that have reached me I should not be surprised if Gen. H—— is called upon to take the field against Gen. Gaines, who seems quite eager for a trip to Nacogdoches!

Believe me, my dear Doctor, very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM KENNEDY.

Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

A Mr. Andrews seems to be making some stir at present in London. I shall be curious to see whether or not his counsels exhibit themselves in the progress of the negotiations southward.

[*From the Count de Cramayel, Minister of France.*]

[PARTICULIÈRE]

GALVESTON, 9 Septembre, 1843.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,—Je désirerais beaucoup savoir s'il serait possible d'avoir les extraits sommaires des importations et exportations de la République depuis l'époque où il commencé à en être tenu des notes exactes. Je prends donc la liberté de m'addresser à vous à cet effet, et de vous demander si, sans indiscrétion il y aurait moyen de se les procurer.

Je n'aurais pas besoin de savoir le détail exact de chaque,

espèce de marchandise, ni le moment auquel elle a été importée non plus que le nom du navire, &c., &c. Tout ce que je voudrais serait d'avoir en masse, année par année, le total des importations et exportations pour les principaux ports ou bureaux de Douane de la République et leur total à la fin de l'année, comme par example dans le petit tableau ci joint.

Dans le cas où vous croisiez qu'il n'y a pas d'inconvenience à me communique ces notes qui me seraient très utiles pour un travail que je désire faire sur le commerce de la République, je pense qu'elles exigeraient quelques recharches au quelque peine de la part de quelqu'un de vos employés, et je me ferais un devoir de l'en indemniser de la façon que vous voudriez bein régler vous même.

J'ai appris avec peine que sans doute par un malentendu le G^al. Houston avait fait un voyage inutile pour rencontrer les Indiens. Veuillez, je vous prie, lui presenter mes compliments affectueux.

Auriez-vous aussi la complaisance, Monsieur, de demander au President s'il pourrait me donner une copie de cette *lettre d'un chef Indien* qu'il a publiée autrefois dans les journaux des Etats-Unis, et s'il ne trouverait pas mauvais qu'elle fut publiée en Europe. Cette demande ne me regarde personnellement. Elle m'a été adressé par le Cap^ne Houston, ce gentleman anglais qui était à Galveston, l'hiver dernier et qui, à ce que je pense, veut publier son voyage ou Texas.

Veuillez, mon cher Monsieur, recevoir la nouvelle assurance de ma consideration la plus distingué.

VTE. J. DE CRAMAYEL.

À l'Hble. Mr. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

Si vous pouviez aussi me donner les quantités de coton exportés, je vous serait bien reconnaissant.

[*Self to Capt. Charles Elliot, British Minister.*]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a hasty note, in reply to yours of the 17th and 28th ult., by the President on Monday last, which was accompanied by two official despatches of the same

date, and I now avail myself of restored health to write more in detail than I was able to do on that occasion. I am glad to have been able to satisfy the claim for the "Eliza Russell;" for although I knew the amount of indemnity allowed to have been large for the injury sustained by her capture and detention, still, as Congress had once acknowledged the amount, and made provision for its payment, and Capt. Russell had been a long time in waiting for payment, I felt, ever since I have been in office, a great anxiety on the subject, and more especially of late, and since I have been aware of your situation in relation to the same, which certainly was any thing but pleasant.

You allude, in terms entirely consonant with my views, to the great moral achievement of [the Administration] (Gen. Houston) in sustaining the country under all the difficulties and embarrassments with which [it] (he) has been surrounded, and in obtaining the acknowledgment of its virtual independence by Mexico. To [its] (his) friends the struggle has been one of intense interest, and they hail the prospect of the full accomplishment of this achievement with the most cordial pleasure, both for his sake and the country's. Many a fortunate commander might have won at San Jacinto. Few—*very few*—men, indeed, could have had the moral firmness to withstand the storm of malignant, fiend-like opposition, with which he was assailed, and to persevere in conquering the obstacles, embarrassments, and difficulties with which he was surrounded. And he might have failed, but for the aid and encouragement you have so nobly given him; for amid the fury of the tempest your voice was always heard, cheering him onward, and telling him he could and would overcome it. He had some few—*very few*—friends who stuck to him in every emergency, and would have held on with him to the last; but none have (for none could have) been of so much service to him as yourself. I have, as you know, been much with him, and have long seen, and known, and felt this to be the case, and I am happy now to say it to you. But it is mournful to think how many of his own countrymen "did assist the storm." But a much better prospect is, I trust, dawning upon Texas, than the last two years presented. If Mexico will forego her phantasy of a nominal sovereignty, which we will labor hard by peaceful means to persuade her to do, it would certainly be all the better for both parties, for nothing beneficial to her can grow out of such an unnatural connection. I hope some other way may be found to save the wounded pride of Mexico, than this impracticable scheme.

We are under many obligations to you for your assistance in procuring the release of the Mier and other prisoners in Mexico, which we now hope to have home soon. Mr. Hoyle (who will call on you) has gone down to Matamoras with despatches for Gen. Woll on this subject, and a copy of the President's proclamation. It is proposed that each party pay the expenses of sending the prisoners in their hands to the place where they are to be exchanged, that is, Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and we to the head-quarters of Gen. Woll. Notice is also given to Gen. Woll of the return of the troops under Cols. Snively and Warfield. I trust there will be no delay in releasing our unfortunate citizens from their bondage in Mexico. Gen. Santa Anna will not, surely, expect us to *rope* his soldiers who choose to remain in the country, and send them home per force, as he brought them here.

In relation to the murder of the Mexicans near Victoria, in the reply you made to Mr. Doyle, you have correctly represented the President's views and feelings. For this outrage, and some others which I am sorry to say have been committed by lawless robbers on the frontier, he has taken every means in his power to inflict summary punishment. Col. Hays has been instructed under the law martial to execute without delay all whom he can arrest, and who are guilty of these infamous offences; and I trust the means now adopted will prevent any similar occurrences until the terms of the armistice can be definitely arranged, by which adequate protection will, no doubt, be given to peaceful citizens of both parties on that frontier.

I am well pleased to learn that a better state of feeling begins to exist in the Mexican Government towards Texas. When all causes of excitement shall have been removed, and time shall have exercised its healing influences a while, old sores healed, prejudices removed, and passions cooled, I trust both parties will be in a situation to come to the discussion of a settlement of their difficulties with a proper temper, in which event I entertain confident hopes that a satisfactory adjustment of these difficulties may be effected without another resort to arms.

As I presume you will probably have seen the President before this will come to hand, I deem it unnecessary to say any thing about recent events, Indians, &c., as you will learn them all from him, and more satisfactorily than I could write.

Have you seen Gen. Gaines' "Elongation" of the Laws of Nations? I think, from the 100° west to the Rio Grande pretty good stretching, and looks very much like going to the Pacific. Another such a *pull* would take them all the way.

My own health is much improved; and as the sickly season is now so far advanced, I hope to escape through without another infliction. With my kindest regards to Mr. Kennedy and Count Cramayel, and best wishes for the health of yourself and family, I remain, my dear sir,

Most truly yours, ANSON JONES.

To Capt. Chas. Elliot, &c., &c., &c., Galveston.

[*From Self to Same.*]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have a little family quarrel on hand, and as you have already proven yourself a good peace-maker, I must invoke your assistance to help me settle it. Although I may be as much benefited by *public* peace as any other individual in Texas, still *domestic* tranquillity is even of much more importance to me; and therefore, trusting in your friendly dispositions, confidently hope my appeal may not be in vain.

The fact is simply this: On the 4th inst. (being the day of general election) my good lady, having, as I suppose, great respect for the day, presented me with a second son, and we cannot agree upon a name for him. Mrs. J., on the birth of our first, wished to call him after his father; but I claimed the privilege of naming him myself, and very much to her disappointment, and contrary to her wishes, called him after our much-abused friend "Sam. Houston." This was two years and a half ago, when the General was (as some thought) at low ebb. Since he has risen again and become President, "she, like the rest of the world," has become somewhat better satisfied, but has not yet recovered from her pique. To satisfy her, I offered to let her name this second one, and was vain enough to think she would call him "Anson," as she wished to name the first; but, to my surprise, she absolutely and positively refused. I have thought myself a little badly treated in this, and have been as obstinate as herself. So we are at issue; and the child, without some remedy can be found, will have no name. On Sunday we held a conference on the subject, to endeavor to effect a reconciliation, when it was proposed to call the boy "Charles Elliot." This seemed to be perfectly agreeable and satisfactory to both parties, and to all their friends, so far as they could be consulted. Your simple assent, now, to your name being so used, will settle this difficulty, and I hope you will not object.

The fellow appears to promise fair, so far as present developments go, and I shall make it my endeavor to bring him up in such a manner that he will not be a disgrace to the name. Moreover, I beg leave to assure you there is no gentleman than yourself living, for whose good qualities, both of head and heart, both his parents entertain a more profound respect, consequently there can be none whose name they would sooner their child should bear.

With best wishes for a continuance to you of health, happiness, and long life,

I remain, most truly yours, ANSON JONES.

Capt. CHARLES ELLIOT, &c., &c., &c.

[NOTE, 1849.—After Gen. Houston's treachery to Texas, the South, and his friends generally, I changed the name of my first son to "Samuel Edward."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, Sept. 25th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall be gratified and flattered indeed to interpose for the restoration of perfect contentment between *the two powers*; but, like that of most mediators, my scheme is in the nature of a *compromise*. The prefix of "*Charles*" to "Elliot" has not been a lucky one in more cases than one. But on the contrary, no man can deny that the history of our country will prove that the cognomina of "Anson" and "Elliot" are both becoming and of good augury. My proposal is that this stranger should be set forth on his way as "Anson Elliot Jones," or at the pleasure of the fair contracting lady, "Elliot Anson Jones." I hope this arrangement will accommodate the difficulty, and I pray God to direct and keep him in the right way, and in all honor and happiness here and hereafter.

My child is still *very, very* poorly, but I hope something better. It adds to my worry about her, that I cannot leave her just now, and pay the President a visit, which I should be very glad to do. I hope, however, that I shall soon be able to have that satisfaction. We are looking hourly for Col. Williams and Col. Hockley. Your note respecting the "Little Penn" is at hand, and shall be acknowledged anon. In the mean time, I have to beg pardon for my misconception of your meaning, and will correct the error in England by the next boat. My best compliments and kind wishes to Mrs. Jones, and most friendly salutations to the General and all my friends at Washington. Believe me (in much haste to save the boat) always, My dear sir, your sincere friend,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*Endorsed.*—I did not adopt the suggestion of Capt. E. in respect to the name, because the prefix of "Anson" to "Jones" had been considered by me as unfortunate. I therefore adopted the "Charles Elliot" in preference, which, I believe, was acceptable to my friend, the writer of this. This letter to be preserved for Chas. E. Jones.—ANSON JONES.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

LIBERTY, Sept. 15th, 1843.

DEAR JONES,—I am here; broken carriages, bad roads, and sick family have detained me. * * * I hope all things will go on for the best. I must yield to circumstances when sickness obtains, for it is the act of God. If my absence should have to be *noticed*, you will know best how to have it *done*. * * * I intend to return by the way of Montgomery. Salute all friends, Thine truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Capt. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, Sept. 14th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you kindly for your private note with the despatches, and am glad to hear you are recovering from your indisposition, and I hope that the cool weather will be as beneficial to you as it has been to me. But to tell you the truth, I am afraid that Washington is a very unhealthy place, and do heartily wish you were all stationed in some safer locality. You have sent us back Gen. Murphy in a sorry condition, but he will, I trust, derive benefit from the sea air. * * I beg to thank you for the very prompt attention you have given to the suggestions about the "Eliza Russell" case. It was a tiresome subject, and I am sure its settlement *will be of good effect*. I thank you much for your too kind expressions about my departure from this country. It would have troubled me indeed to have left you till I saw the *weather clearing up*, but I have no misgivings now about the result. Pray offer my kind respects to your lady, and believe me,

My dear sir, sincerely yours, CHARLES ELLIOT.

The Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*From Col. M. L. Smith.*]

QUESTIONS FROM STATE DEPARTMENT PER ANSON JONES.

COLUMBIA, Oct. 1st, 1843.

1st. Would it be expedient for Texas to change the present warehousing system for a system of cash duties?

2d. Or for the bonding system?

3d. Or, in other words, which of the three modes, under all present existing circumstances, would be most advantageous for the country?

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—In answer to the annexed questions, I have to remark. The warehousing system will induce the largest importation of goods; the cash, the least. This has uniformly proved to be the case, even where there is plenty of capital and credit. In this country, where most of the merchants are in want of *both*, there can be no doubt it would lessen the amount of imports if the cash system were adopted. For instance, a Texas merchant, possessed of $1,000 capital, with the duties at 25 per cent., could import but $750 with his whole capital, the balance, $250, must be retained to enable him to pay the duties, and control the goods after they arrive here. Under the warehousing system, he would import to the full amount of his capital, and rely on the facilities he obtained by depositing a portion of his goods, and from sales of the balance redeem them. The abuses and loss to the Government that would grow out of the bonding system makes it the most obnoxious of all other plans; in short, its abuse has been so uniformly proven, whenever it has been tried, that it requires no argument to prove it. Peculators ever have, and ever will, seize on the inducements held out to them under this system to rob the Government that adopts it.

Very truly yours, MORGAN L. SMITH.

[*From Gen. J. Pinckney Henderson.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, October 1st, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 22d ult. two days since, for which I am much obliged to you. I have not, however, received the letter you mention in your last as having been sent by Major Burton. I received a note from him by mail immediately after his return to Crockett, but none from any other source. I fear the letter you mention has been lost; and should it fall into the hands of *some persons*, your frank on it may create a desire in the finder to take a view of its contents. I regret it, however, more because I have not shared the pleasure of reading it. I hope still that it will reach me.

It seems to me that Her Majesty of England has some other object than a desire of securing the rights of her subjects to the land they claim in Texas, in pressing their claims at this time. I am sure you will find no difficulty in satisfying the Government of England, as well as the claimants and the world, that the claims they urge are illegal. Granting it that the claimants have merits, surely the British Government will not press their claims *at this crisis*, when they at least pretend they are anxious to see peace concluded between Texas and Mexico, and are told that if they press seriously these claims, it will at least embarrass the negotiations with Mexico. It really looks unfriendly, and I think Her Majesty should be warned of it, and requested to suspend the claims until our difficulties are settled with Mexico, or the negotiations broken off. The United States should interfere and make a like request if England continues to press the matter. But I am sure you will find no difficulty in convincing even the British Government that they have no right to press those claims, and if they have the claimants have no rights, &c.

Is it the object of Texas and Mexico to make the *treaty of peace* contemplated near the Rio Grande? It seems to me that it is an inconvenient point. I have not seen Gen. Gaines's letter, but I really think that Capt. Cooke's conduct was a most wanton and unwarranted interference between Texas and Mexico, and if the President of the United States really has the good feeling for us he has ever expressed, he will not fail to punish him. What is the nature of the claim set up by the United States to the region she claims? I have never before heard of it. I have no objections myself to her claiming the whole of Texas, but I have to any thing less. * * * We have no news here. Our court is now in session, and I am busily engaged. We will have a meeting here in a few days to nominate candidates, &c. It is expected generally in the East that you will be nominated for the Presidency.

Yours very truly, HENDERSON.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*From Dr. Moses Johnson.*]

INDEPENDENCE, October 6th, 1843.

FRIEND JONES,—We propose to hold a meeting as was proposed some time since. Taylor is anxious for it; and in a conversation I had with him last evening, we thought perhaps best to hold it before you go below, and send the proceedings to the *Planter*, not saving much about your being a Houston man. I would like to see you before you go, and before the nomination; and I must, if possible. If I should be able I will ride over and see you, but I wish you could take time to come here within a day or two.

I must see you before we act. I don't want to forget the Old Chief, but would like bringing in as much of the opposition as possible.

My health is improving slowly—I'm going about town a little.

Sincerely yours, MOSES JOHNSON.

[*From George K. Teulon, Esq., Editor Austin City Gazette.*]

AUSTIN, 21st October, 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Washington:

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * It is said you are the Houston candidate for President. Well, I do not think I shall be in opposition, for the probability is I shall be out of the country. I am attached to Austin,—I love its mountain seat, its beautiful scenery, and even its very atmosphere; it was my first abiding-place in Texas—it shall be my last. If the Congress and the Government do not come here, I must leave and seek another clime. When I quit here I quit Texas. I have been sick, very sick all the summer, and in fact am not now recovered. Remember me kindly to Mrs. J., and to all old friends, and believe me to be yours truly,

GEORGE K. TEULON.

[*Endorsement.*—I *have had* nothing to do, I *will have* nothing to do with the policy which has contributed to desolate the fairest portion of Texas—the West; but I must be misunderstood for the present.—A. J.]

[NOTE, 1850.—Mr. Teulon died in Calcutta in 1847.]

[*From Hon. I. Van Zandt.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22d, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since Mr. Raymond left nothing of a public nature has transpired here in relation to our affairs. I have had an interview with the Secretary of State on the subject of Dr. Robertson's negroes, and I am promised an answer soon. Several objections are made to giving up the negroes, but I think I shall be able to answer them all satisfactorily.

The facts have not all been received upon the subject of the outrage on Col. Bourland,—so soon as they are received the Secretary will attend to it.

I learned confidentially from Mr. ——, that lately some rough papers have passed between Gen. Thompson and Bocanegra, which have not yet seen the light. Mr. Bocanegra was exceedingly arrogant and threatening. General Thompson replied that a repetition of similar sentiments would not be tolerated. I was told that I need not be astonished if Gen. Thompson was called home soon, and the correspondence between the two Governments broken off. Mexico and Great Britain have a different sort of a man to deal with since Mr. Upshur entered the State Department.

I have seen the Commissioner of Indian Affairs this week, and he has promised to write letters to the leading chiefs of the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, to persuade them to use their influence with the wild tribes to get them to make peace with Texas. I think if Gen. H—— would do the same, it would be of service in the contemplated treaty.

There is every prospect that the Secretary of War, Porter, will go by the board; if he does, I'll say amen, for it will be none the worse for Texas, though he professes great zeal in our cause outwardly, I believe him secretly opposed in every shape. Crawford can also well be spared from the Indian Bureau, and his place supplied with a better man. Spencer has been ratified and must be borne, but then when left alone he can't do much.

I am still without remittances from home, and occupy at present a most humiliating position,—not a stiver in my pocket, and fearful to borrow lest I never shall be able to pay. I had to borrow money to get Mr. Raymond off, and how it is to be paid the Lord only knows. I hope Mr. Raymond will return directly and bring us a little of the needful. I hope you will accept annexation, 'twill be the best move we can make. My secret opinion is Santa Anna wont acknowledge our independence now; but we must keep trying—the longer the armistice the better.

In haste, most truly thine, I. VAN ZANDT.

We have no mail for near forty days. I have but one letter from you since 6th July.

[*Endorsed.*—Mr. Van Zandt does not understand my position. I am as willing for annexation as he is, but I do not believe it can be effected in the manner now proposed, and am unwilling to risk every thing on a single throw of an uncertain die.—A. J.]

[*From Com. John G. Tod, Texas Navy.*]

BALTIMORE, Md., October 25th, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—Our friend Miller's letter will have informed you of the time and object of my visiting this country. I was taken quite sick here shortly after my arrival, from a violent cold settling on my bowels; and as soon as I was able to move with safety I went over to Washington, where I found every thing connected with Texas of vital interest to the present Administration. I conversed freely with Mr. Van Zandt about affairs, and called upon the President and Secretary of State; with the latter I had as many as three interviews, in which Texas, Annexation, English and Mexican affairs, so far as related to us, were the sole object of our conversation. I left there earlier than I would have done if my finances had been in a more flourishing condition. I was to have seen the President again, but I did not; and when I left Mr. Upshur requested me to write to him at any time, and all that I could pick up in my intercourse with the people here, or from home, would be thankfully received.

Many persons thought I was on some public business relating to Texas from the company I kept. But as Commodores Warrington and Crane are both in Washington, and I am so well known to them; and indeed the former is as friendly and intimate with me as the difference of age will allow,—and as Mr. Tyler and Mr. Upshur are old and intimate friends of his, I have no doubt that that circumstance at once admitted me into matters which I might otherwise have remained a stranger to.

All who know me have, in conversation, made many inquiries about our affairs; I find very wrong impressions here about Gen. Houston. I have invariably done all I can to place matters in their true light, and have generally given them to understand that I am one of the last men in Texas that ought to say any thing in justification of him and his policy, unless I believed he was in the right, and that I felt a duty in disabusing the public mind on all proper occasions. I have done so, and expect to carry it out; not that I believe Old Sam has any claim upon my friendship, but rather the contrary, for at a time when I had been badly treated by those who found it more desirable for their own delinquencies to try and sacrifice me, he joined hands in their wickedness, and added one link more to the chain of my difficulties, all of which, thank God, I am clear of; and if I can get some of my pay from Congress to pay off my debts, I will thank Providence and take courage for the future.

In talking about our next President for Texas I have always mentioned Anson Jones; and wherever he is known, I have been gratified to find that the event would be received with joy, and hailed as an omen of prosperous days for Texas.

I was very sorry to find the subject of annexation suspended by us. Mr. Upshur is a great advocate for this measure, and as he is the first one occupying the position he does that has had the boldness to make it a leading measure of his policy, I consider our prospects at present more flattering for accomplishing the object than they have ever been, or probably may be again.

The wires are working, gradually manufacturing public opinion, getting every thing prepared to *pull up* the subject in a popular and captivating address. Some say Sam. Houston would be made one of these days President of the United States by the Democrats; that he would be elected Senator from Texas, and his military fame and name would gradually combine the scattered elements of that party; and as he has reformed from old habits, many who are not of the party would support him. Well, "we shall see what we shall see."

I was in hopes, on my arrival, to make a sale of some of my land, as I was very desirous to be back in Texas to attend to my claim before Congress for my pay. It is abominable that I should be made to bear the sins of others; not one cent have I been able to get, whilst others have received from time to time a portion, and a home furnished them. I want you to see Dr. Miller and Major Bache, and do what you can with such of the members as may get me my claim, for I am truly in want. If it was not for my few debts I would not care so much; but as it is, I am wretchedly situated, although I am not to blame, for I lived as prudent and economical as I possibly could; and though I arrived here in rags, I felt some consolation that it was honest poverty, and all old friends took me by the hand and were pressingly urgent in administering to my wants. I thought if the bill was worded so as to include such as were discharged from the navy previously to June, 1841, that it would pass without trouble and receive the approval of the President, for I am sure he will not make me suffer for what has turned up in the navy since I left it, and I have waited patiently until I thought we were able to pay. I think the Government can do so now, as it is not much. So I fully calculate upon my friends doing something for me, for I see no chance of my arriving there in time to attend to it myself.

We have had no intelligence from Texas since the 7th September. I discover the steam packet "Sarah Barnes" has been lost, but no particulars given. If we get our independence recognized by Mexico, and settle our difficulties with the Indians, I do not know that annexation would be considered of so much importance; but it would relieve us from great trouble and responsibility, for to a small nation as we are, government will always be burthensome, without any settled policy, subject to be led away or influenced by temporary expedients. * * *

Compliments to all old friends, and accept of the esteem of your friend,

JOHN G. TOD.

[*From James Burke, Esq.*]

BRAZORIA, October 31st, 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR, * * * * I intend in a few days to remove to Lone Oak Post-office, Montgomery county, where I shall cultivate a farm next season. I wish to ask of you the favor to write me occasionally at that office during the approaching session of Congress, and let me know what is going on. * * * * Are you a candidate for the Presidency? If so, do you run on the strength of Houston's popularity, or upon your own merits? In other words, are you the Administration candidate? My personal predilections in your favor have been too unequivocally expressed to permit any doubts in your mind in regard to my friendship. But I could not consent to vote for any one for the Presidency who depended on the popularity of Sam. Houston and the fame of San Jacinto to carry them into office, especially so important an office as that of the Presidency. *You*, I am well aware, have substantial merits which would constitute a far more legitimate claim upon the people, and would be a much surer passport to public favor. I speak this plainly to you, because I believe you will appreciate my motives, and because I have heard you spoken of invariably as the probable Administration candidate. I think your chance for success would be decidedly better if you were not thus associated with the administration. I do not think it would be necessary for you to denounce the administration, or even to attempt to conceal your warm friendship for Gen. Houston; but I do not think you should permit your name to be run as the *nominee and special favorite* and candidate of the administration, as Van Buren was of Jackson. I do not think that popularity is transferable in Texas as in the United States. Thus much I have said in perfect friendship and with the best of motives. Pardon the liberty I have taken.

I wish to suggest to you the propriety and importance of having a *Chaplain* for each House during the approaching session of Congress. The only objection wearing the least semblance of plausibility that I have ever heard urged to this was the *expense*. This can easily be obviated. I am informed that the Rev. W. M. Tryon (a Baptist residing near Washington) offered at last session to officiate gratuitously. Doubtless he would do so this session, if applied to. One clergyman could officiate for both Houses, as you will recollect Dr. Hall did in 1836–'7. Other clergymen residing near Washington could doubtless be prevailed on to aid Mr. Tryon. * * *

I trust you will use your influence with Congress to have this good old custom restored. Please suggest it to Gen. Houston and his good lady, and get Judge Johnson of the *Vindicator* to recommend it. It will tell well upon the close of Gen. H.'s administration. * * * * * *

Yours truly, James Burke.

[*From Committee of Citizens of Independence.*]

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—In compliance with our duty, we respectfully submit the accompanying preamble and resolutions, and would most earnestly solicit your acceptance of the nomination.

Yours with much respect,
Moses Park,
J. M. Norris,
E. W. Taylor,
Com. Correspondence.

Independence, Nov. 10th, 1843.

At a meeting of the citizens of Independence, on Saturday, the 28th of October, on motion, Hon. John P. Coles was unanimously called to the chair, and E. W. Taylor appointed secretary.

The chairman, in a brief manner, explained the object of the meeting to be for the purpose of nominating candidates to fill the office of President and that of Vice-President at the next election.

On motion of Dr. Moses Johnson, J. M. Norris, Esq., was called upon to address the meeting. He responded to the call in a short and pertinent manner, advocating the claims of the Hon. Anson Jones for the next Presidency with much ability and effect.

He was followed by J. D. Giddings, Hon. J. Stamps, and Dr. Johnson, who all eloquently alluded to the distinguished talents, patriotism, and great moral worth, both as a public and private citizen, of Dr. Jones, and recommending him as possessing claims paramount to that of any other individual for the highest office in the gift of the people. On motion, the chair appointed a committee of five to draft a preamble and resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, to wit: Dr. Moses Johnson, J. D. Giddings, A. Willingham, John Stamps, and J. W. Norris.

The Committee retired, and after a brief absence returned, and through their chairman, Dr. Johnson, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, [which were unanimously adopted.]

Whereas, the period for the election of a Chief Magistrate is approaching, when the free people of this Republic will be called upon to select a suitable person for the next Presidency, your Committee, in view of the ability, integrity, patriotism, and distinguished services of the Hon. Anson Jones, of Brazoria county, would call the attention of this meeting to him as the person eminently qualified to discharge that high and important trust. Dr. Jones has been a citizen of Texas for more than ten years, and is intimately acquainted with the history of the country. He has filled many important stations and offices under this Government. He mingled in the struggle for liberty on the plains of San Jacinto, and obtained by his skill and energy, in the dark hour of our history, the recognition of our independence by the United States. He has served in the Senate, and performed the duties of President *pro tem.* of that body, and, during the present administration, filled the office of Secretary of State, and in all discharged his various duties to the general satisfaction of the people; and being intimately acquainted with the history and present condition of the Government, both in its foreign and domestic relations, is fully qualified to foster and protect the growing interests of our common country.

Therefore, Be it resolved, That we, having the highest confidence in the integrity, ability, and patriotism of the Hon. Anson Jones, of the county of Brazoria, do most cheerfully concur in the nomination made by the citizens of San Augustine, and do hereby recommend him as the most suitable person for the next Presidency of the Republic of Texas.

Resolved, That having implicit confidence in the ability, integrity, and patriotism of the Hon. K. L. Anderson, of San Augustine county, we do most cheerfully concur in this nomination for the Vice-Presidency of said Republic.

On motion, the chair appointed a Committee of Correspondence,—Moses Park, J. M. Norris, and E. W. Taylor.

* * * * * * * *

JOHN P. COLES, *Chairman.*

E. W. TAYLOR, *Secretary.*

[*Endorsed.*—The first nomination I *received* for the Presidency. The nomination was first *made* at San Augustine; but this was the first of which I had notice. (V. Letter of Committee of San Augustine, Nov. 18th, 1843.)]

[*From Committee of Citizens of San Augustine.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, TEXAS, Nov. 18th, 1843.

To Mr. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—The undersigned Committee have the honor of informing you of your nomination as a candidate for the office of President at the ensuing election by a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of this county, lately holden in San Augustine. You will much oblige your fellow-citizens in the East by accepting this nomination, and suffering them to run your name for that high station. Their selection is made with a view to their own interests, and to the dearest interests of the whole country. We may assure you that their support, founded on such a conviction, will be warm and energetic. And your success will crown their hopes with another bright prospect of their country's safety. Please accept the high esteem of your obedient servants,

O. M. ROBERTS, S. A. SWEET,
W. EDWARDS, H. GRIFFITH,
A. CLARK.

[NOTE.—My nomination and election to the Presidency was the spontaneous act of the *people of Texas*, and without any agency on my part. Party had nothing to do with it, unless those who wished to see the great measures of Peace, Independence, and Annexation, and an economical administration of the Government, measures with which I was fully identified, carried out, might be called a party. The speculators and "war-dogs," and some in the West who misunderstood my position on the seat of Government question, opposed me, as well as the personal enemies of Gen. Houston generally. I probably lost more than I gained by my association with him. "1845."—A. J.]

[*From Morgan L. Smith, Esq.*]

COLUMBIA, Nov. 7th, 1842.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * If you succeed in obtaining a commercial treaty with the United States this winter, by which our cotton is admitted free, and other restrictions now existing are taken off, that now weigh so heavily on the commercial intercourse of the two countries, you will become a *public benefactor*, and add to the receipts of the treasury near double the amount of this year. If cotton *cannot be admitted free*, I would aim to have the debenture privilege so free that our cotton might pass through the United States, and foreign goods brought *via* that market at the least possible expense and trouble. Facts speak to the mind, as does the landscape to the eye, and I give you, I admit, one of the strongest cases that occurred in our last year's business by forwarding you the enclosed duplicate account sales from Mr. Brower:—"The lot of cotton A Z was received in bad order. Bagging torn, marks obliterated, and required picking and putting in order—this was refused, unless we lost the debenture of 3 cents per pound. This we could not submit to: our merchant was compelled to send it to the public store, then get the privilege of altering the packages so far as to put it in order, from the Secretary of the Treasury, after a delay of six weeks, and a personal visit to the city of Washington. You will also perceive there is a great difference in the in and out weight of the cotton; on this we actually lose 3 cents per pound, amounting to $63 on 25 bales of cotton; add to this, 2½ per cent. is charged upon the whole debenture." Many other faults touching commercial regulations are of as much importance, and which our Minister should be instructed upon, or the embarrassments in the trade between the countries will be insurmountable. If we could readily get another market, by which the finances of this country would not be embarrassed, it would be of less moment to all of us. With the known poverty of the country, the small quantity of cotton produced, the smallness of the vessels required to enter our waters, owing to their obstructions, a substantial European trade cannot be had for a long time. To foster therefore the trade with the United

States, which enables the man with but $1,000 capital to replenish often, will bring the most money to the treasury. I have gone much beyond the length of what I intended when I commenced this note, but earnestly hope it will not be unacceptable.

Yours truly, **MORGAN L. SMITH.**

[*From James H. Cocke, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, 8th Nov., 1843

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State:

SIR,— * * * * We have no news. I am particularly gratified that "The Citizen" will issue again immediately. Our friends must be up and doing, and must pull together. Organize properly, and there is nothing to fear.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, **JAMES H. COCKE.**

[*From William Kennedy, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, Nov. 9th, 1843.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I have just received a letter from Mr. Pringle, in which he states that Mr. Grieve and a party were about to leave England for Texas, with the view of proceeding "to the West, if practicable, commence the surveys, and make other preparations for the reception of colonists."

Mr. Pringle was anxious as to the renewal of the contract, and observes—"Whenever you can assure us that the contract is renewed, we are prepared for vigorous and efficient action. You will therefore, I am sure, write me very fully and satisfactorily in answer to this." I have nothing important from England.

Believe me, my dear Doctor, very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM KENNEDY.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Gen. Thomas J. Rusk.*]

NACOGDOCHES, 18th Nov., 1843.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Major David Gage, a gentleman with whom I have been acquainted for several years past. You will find Major Gage a gentleman in whose integrity and patriotism the utmost confidence may be placed. Any attentions you may have it in your power to show him will be duly appreciated by him, and confer a favor on me.

I am, sir, truly yours, THOMAS J. RUSK.

[*From Dr. S. H. Everitt.*]

JASPER COUNTY, Nov. 19th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you from New York while in that city. After spending some forty days at that place, I started on my return to Texas, taking Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington City, and other places, in my way.

While at Washington I had the pleasure of spending part of two days with our Minister, Van Zandt. He has his family with him, and I find that his conduct is such as to reflect much credit upon our country. I doubt if the Executive could have made a better selection in the Republic. His habits are without ostentation, and republican; and he seems to be respected and esteemed by all who know him. He is, or was, in want of funds, and was suffering much in feeling for want of that pecuniary aid due him from our Government.

You are aware of how much importance it is that one situated as he is, should be in funds on all occasions. He had his family at Alexandria at the time I visited him, but intended soon to remove to the city. If he has not been placed in funds since September, permit me to urge upon you the importance of forwarding means to him soon. I take the liberty of making this suggestion, as an old friend, and not with a view of meddling with your peculiar rights, &c.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say to you that Texas, in the Northern States, stands as low in the grade of nations as it is possible a nation can be and exist; and that every wrong committed by a citizen or officer of Texas is heralded forth as an evidence of the grossness and immorality of all connected with her, while her better acts are passed by unnoticed.

* * * * * * * *

Accept for yourself and lady my best wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

Truly, your friend, S. H. EVERITT.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, &c.

[*Endorsed.*—Ask assistance for our Minister at Washington. I have done, and shall continue to do, every thing consistent with the condition of the public treasury for our agents abroad, and officers at home; but at present all of us have to live "from hand to mouth."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Christopher Hughes.*] (V. p. 32.)

THE HAGUE, 24th November, 1843.

MY DEAR AND VALUED OLD COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND,—This shall be a short letter—it will have a long voyage—it shall be exclusively addressed to the single object I have in writing it; *id est:* to give a new and willing proof of my friendly feeling and interest for Texas.

I met just now a very respectable gentleman of this country, an acquaintance of mine, who mentioned that some commercial friend of his, at Rotterdam, was about to send a vessel to Texas, and expressed a wish to know some *competent and trustworthy commercial house at Galveston*, to which the transaction of the business of the ship, cargo, and return cargo might be safely confided. I said I *knew* no one at Galveston; but that I thought I could suggest a way by which the object might be achieved; that I could and would write to the Secretary of State to Houston, asking him to recommend some house at Galveston, with which the captain might safely commune and conduct the business of his voyage; that the captain of the Dutch vessel on his arrival might send my letter to the Secretary of State to Houston, and in twenty-four hours (or less I had no doubt) he would receive an answer from Mr. Anson Jones giving him the desired information, and indicating some commission-house with which his (the captain's) business might be safely and honorably transacted.

Now this is the design and purport of this letter. It will be forwarded to you by the captain immediately on his arrival at Galveston; and you will, I hope, answer it, and satisfactorily, and without loss of time, and place this Dutch adventurer, the first in your ports and waters, in competent and SAFE hands. This is the first ship, I believe, that goes to your country from this old and important commercial nation; and it is highly desirable and important that this *first commercial venture* should *go* all right, fair, and *ship-shape*. That this new customer from Holland may be satisfied, and be encouraged *himself*, and thus be the means of encouraging *others*, in the opening and extension of a direct trade, which, if properly fostered and honorably conducted, so as to establish faith and confidence, may become a matter of importance, and of mutual advantage to the youngest and oldest trading nations of the world—*Esto Dico*. * * * I feel the warmest interest in every thing connected with the success, development, and prosperity of your new country; and you may rely upon my never failing to prove this, my friendly concern for Texas, whenever an opportunity may put it within the narrow limits of my poor ability to render Texas a service. Nothing prospers, or ought to prosper, in this world, unless truth, honesty, and *practical good faith* be the bottom and the principles of its character and conduct. Destroy faith, take away confidence, and ruin, soon or late, is inevitable; and though ruin may be staved off *for a time*, disgrace and infamy are certain. Look at *our* standing (I mean the United States by *our*) in consequence of the frauds and felonies of our repudiating doctrines and our *non-paying* practices. The foul deeds of a *few* stain the name and fame of *all;* and we may say what we choose, and feel indignant and enraged as we may, (for I doubt if there be a more upright and honest people, as a people, in Christendom than our people; this is my sincere and inmost conviction and opinion of my countrymen,) we may rage and storm as we please, but the fact is, that *American* and *knave* are convertible terms, at present, in the greater part of Europe; and we stand a memorable example before the world of the hideous and disgraceful consequences of a want of faith in our money engagements. Once, and "our word stood before the world; now, none so poor to do us reverence." I have written you, I see, not a short but a very long letter. I have left no place nor room for gossiping or *swaggering*. Your

Chargé d'Affaires, Col. Daingerfield, has succeeded completely here in gaining the respect and good-will of everybody, native and foreign, and does credit and honor to his adopted country.

* * * * * * * * *

Now for a small touch of swaggering. * * * You seem to have quite forgotten me. Be it so—I shall not be the less friendly to you and to Texas. I stood your friend in France when you were *in need* of support and aid. Gen. Henderson is a gallant, an able, and an honorable man; and I have a great regard and respect for him. But he may *think*, and he may *say* what he pleases—and I am sure he will never *say* what he don't *think*—but *I say* what *I know*, and that is, *you are indebted to me for the recognition of your independence by France in* 1839. I accomplished it through the interest, influence, and agency of my *French friends*. This is *fact*—this is *History:* and I gave you a powerful *push forward* in England; and I believe *my friend* (for he is such) Lord Palmerston, deeply regretted *afterwards* his not yielding *more* to my advice, and less to O'Connell, in the question of recognizing your country. This last *I believe*, the first I aver. Adieu, God bless you.

Yours, C. Hughes.

To Anson Jones, Secretary of State, Houston, Texas.

[*From Gen. E. Morehouse.*]

Houston, 25th Nov., 1843.

Dear Doctor,—The old Dragon, family & Co., leave this morning for Washington. * * * *

Judge Hemphill, as you are aware, visited our place some days since, and now is at the Island. His purposes are very definite. I am waiting to hear from the Island. But, in a few words, *he* will be *no go*. All matters are getting on as well as could be expected, and there is no doubt the final result shall be as we may and do wish. * * * *

With high respect, yours,

E. Morehouse.

To the Hon. Anson Jones, Washington.

[*From Gen. W. S. Murphy, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires.*]

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—My only clerk has been so much engaged, and the papers useful to you so numerous, that, having a favorable opportunity by one of the officers of your Government to send you a printed pamphlet, containing more important information than can well be copied, I concluded to send you the book itself. If, however, you wish any thing further, it will afford me pleasure to furnish it.

I wish you would take care of the book sent you, as it is the only one I have.

Yours, respectfully, W. S. Murphy.

Galveston, 27th Nov., 1843.

[*From Geo. L. Hammeken, Esq.*]

Peach Point, Dec. 6th, 1843.

Hon. Anson Jones, Washington:

Dear Sir,—We have already expended upwards of $3,000, and much labor besides, on the canal; but the greatest impediment to its progress is the illiberal 14th section of the charter. I have forwarded an amendment to Mr. Jack, with a request to introduce it in the Senate.

I am afraid that party politics may affect even works of public utility. I request, therefore, your kind services in obtaining for my *hobby* as many friendly votes as possible; for if I can have that amendment passed, we can, probably, at once prosecute the work to its completion. * * *

Daily observation and experience demonstrate it [San Luis] to be unquestionably the best harbor of Texas; and if your great big folks at the head of affairs procure either recognition or annexation, I believe San Luis will exhibit the beneficial effects of your administration as speedily as any other point.

I voted for Burnet in preference to Houston; why or wherefore matters not. It affords me, however, of late, much satisfaction to argue with those who voted for old Sam, and now abuse him. I most heartily wish you and him success in your efforts for the advancement of Texas, and sincerely believe, if Texas does not advance, her progress will be retarded by circumstances beyond your control, and not through want of ability or endeavor on your part.

I remain, with respect,
Your friend and obedient servant,
GEO. L. HAMMEKEN.

[*From Peter McGreal, Esq.*]

BRAZORIA, Dec. 13th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just learned from Judge Jack that you have responded to the call of your friends, and consented to become a candidate for the next Presidency. I am truly gratified that you have so determined.

From the conversation which I had the honor to have with you in Galveston, I inferred that you had not, at that time, resolved upon allowing your name to be presented to the people as a candidate. I am glad to be relieved from this state of suspense, and I hail the announcement of your determination with no small share of gratification. God speed you in the good work.

It is admitted by those who will oppose your election—and I regret to say that there are some of them in Brazoria—that you will combine more strength than any other friend of our excellent President. That you will be supported by all, or nearly all, of Gen. Houston's friends, I have no doubt.

In your election, the good people will have some guarantee that the good work now progressing, and the measures projected, will be consummated.

May God enable the people to weigh maturely the consequences that may result from their choice in the approaching contest, and direct them in the right path. Although Gen. Burleson may, for aught I know, be a good, honest man; yet, from his ignorance and want of capacity, he would be but an automaton in the hands of designing, unprincipled, and dishonest politicians of the country, and, Heaven knows, we are afflicted with more than a fair proportion of that class. But I cannot, nor will I, admit that the people of Texas can be so mad, so stupid, or so blind to their dearest interests, as to advocate such a man for the Presidency. And yet Gen. Burleson is not to be despised as an opponent; it would be imprudent, if not dangerous. He has many strong advocates—men, not actuated by friendship, or love of country—but who, in the event of his election, would expect to carry out some of their unholy schemes of peculation and fraud, which, at present, they have not the hardihood to attempt. Will such men be scrupulous of using any means by which they can attain their end? Will they not require unceasing watchfulness, in order to counteract and defeat their unhallowed plans of electioneering.

With such humble talents and abilities as God has given me, I will exert myself to the utmost to contribute towards your success—not alone from friendship, but under a solemn conviction that it is the bounden duty of every man, who wishes well to the country, to exert himself in the good cause, prudently, zealously, and manfully. Consider me, therefore, a humble sentinel upon the watch-tower; and though a volunteer, I will endeavor to do *regular* duty.

For more than a year I have kept aloof from politics. I saw that the current was setting in the wrong way: that it could not be stemmed, but that there might be danger in venturing to oppose it, for it could not be diverted from its headlong course. I have therefore been a silent, though a watchful spectator. * * * * * *

Sincerely your friend and servant,

PETER MCGREAL.

HON. ANSON JONES, Washington.

[*From Col. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, Dec. 21st, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 17th came to hand last evening. I thank you for your promise to do all in your power to advance my claim, although I do assure you it is with feelings of mortification that I present myself as a petitioner before Congress. The money due me, if paid now, would enable me to liquidate the sum of about $800 I still owe Mr. Irwin, of New Orleans, being balance of that $1,200 draft, which, on the faith of the Government advancing me the appropriated funds, I drew. This debt paid, I would not be a suppliant to the Government for one cent. * * * * *

I do not wish to await the slow and uncertain contingency of having it placed in the appropriation bill, for it is my duty to inform him in a brief period whether he can be paid or not. I want the issue as to the Government's disposition to do me justice met at once, let that issue be as it may.

The historical errors in the editorial, in announcing the candidate for Presidency, never occurred until the *Telegraph* rushed at them with the fury of a Paixhan shell. As you will perceive in the subsequent *Citizens*, the slight errors by awakening the ire of your ancient enemy, did you no harm. He got, we humbly think, as good as he sent. He will soon get a little more.

In regard to your suggestion about annexation, it shall be adopted. I will only republish in the *weekly* a former article entitled "United States, Texas, Great Britain," not, however, for home, but foreign consumption. I want to send it to the several Senators. It would have some effect in repressing the harsh and unjustifiable treatment of the United States towards us.

Permit me to say to you in all candor and truth, and looking to the consummation of the wishes of yourself and friends, that it becomes the imperative duty of the Government to bend all their energies immediately, either to the obtainment of a final peace, or the establishment of an armistice for a definite period. For this purpose your agents and representatives at the Governments of France, United States, and Great Britain, should do all in their power to arouse them to an active interference. Smith should be confined either to the court of Paris or London, and another in the vacant places. Resident Ministers have much more influence than those so migratory. This, if you remember, was my opinion, whilst in the United States. Van Zandt should press it with unabated vigor on the Government where he is. Let an armistice be established, and your success is certain.

The President cannot regret more than myself the failure of my treaty. The moment I can pay Mr. Erwin, I shall endeavor to make arrangements to spend a couple of months at Washington, and do all I can to assist Mr. Van Zandt. I have lately been honored with regrets of leading men in the Senate and Congress of the United States, our friends, that I did not now occupy official station as before. They do me the honor to assert the belief, that from the peculiarity of my position to both Mr. Clay and Mr. Benton, that I could combine more influence in favor of Texas and her interests, than any one else. * * * I have written recently to Choate, of Massachusetts, and Porter, of Louisiana, and shall write by next boat to Bayard, of Delaware, and others, on the subject of my treaty. It is difficult to manage the question by letter, for with the Democrats you must argue as if its ratification would open the road to annexation, and with the Whigs as if it would end all clamor among us on the subject. The Democrats, as a party, are in favor; and the Whigs, as a party, opposed to annexation. I do not know what our Congress will adopt on the subject; but this much I feel certain of, that a resolution by our Congress to annex us would be rejected by the United States Senate, and whilst it was undergoing violent discussion, the treaty would not be considered. Pardon me for writing so long a letter, containing so little substance. I will write by Mr. Raymond to Washington.

Yours truly, JAMES REILLY.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington, Texas.

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, Dec. 20th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have nothing from Washington since the time appointed for the meeting of Congress. I fear some of our Eastern members did not reach Washington in time to be present to vote on important questions, which I fear will be raised within the few first days after the organization of Congress. They should have been the first on the ground.

When in the United States lately, I received a letter from Van Zandt, in which he expressed a strong hope of being able to consummate a treaty of annexation. I took the liberty to suggest the impropriety of making such a treaty, unless he was certain of its ratification by the United States Senate. I am extremely anxious to see such a thing take place; but it does seem to me that Texas would be placed in an extremely awkward situation in regard to her intercourse, should the treaty be signed, and afterwards rejected by the United States. What could we say to England, especially, who is now in the very act of urging our recognition by Mexico. She would probably withdraw her Minister, and refuse to hold any further intercourse with us. The offence would be nothing if we were once attached to the United States, but bad consequences might result otherwise. I found, whilst in the United States, that the Southern and Western politicians were considerably alarmed at the report of the apparent prospect of England's getting a foothold here. I did not deny it, as I saw it was having a good effect, although I knew there was no danger of it. It will stimulate the South and West to greater exertions to accomplish its defeat by annexation. On the other hand, England may be induced, in order to defeat annexation, to compel Mexico to recognize Texas without any such terms as I fear she would, under other circumstances, induce her to insist on. I suppose that the British Minister will be demanding an avowal of the intentions of Texas, in regard to that matter, as soon as he hears that any steps are likely to be taken; and I presume it would be a sufficient answer to say, that we will be governed entirely by the result of the present negotiations with Mexico for recognition, which England can control, and in that way prevent annexation, if she is anxious to prevent it. I am anxious to see Mr. Tyler's message, in which Mr. Van Zandt says the subject of annexation will be urged upon the attention of Congress. He thinks that important changes have taken place favorable to Texas in the North. I fear he is too sanguine.

I hope to see you in Washington in January, and learn all about these things.

I think all things are working well for you in this region.

* * * * * * * *

Yours very truly,

HENDERSON.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., Washington.

[*Endorsed.*—A shrewd and sensible letter this, and "hits the nail on the head" every time.—A. J.]

[*From James H. Cocke, Esq.*]

CUSTOM HOUSE, GALVESTON, 22d Dec., 1843.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State:

SIR,—On the 14th November, I had the pleasure of addressing you on the subject of certain Treasury drafts deposited with me for your benefit, enclosing them for the purpose of having the necessary order endorsed on their back by the Secretary of the Treasury; since which time I have not heard from you. If they are not already forwarded, you will oblige me by having the matter attended to at your earliest convenience. We are taking in no specie at present for duties, the whole amount paid in being exchequers of a very suspicious character, though genuine notes.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES H. COCKE.

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

[MONTGOMERY,] Dec. 3d, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I have made my arrangements to remove to Houston as soon as I can get over the roads with my family and *plunder*;—shall be at your place before I go, to try if I can not in some way get the assistance I talked with you about, and make some arrangements connected with the business. The weather and roads have been so bad that we have not yet been able to get up a meeting, but hope to before I come over; all feel friendly.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON."

Hon. ANSON JONES.

Written on the back.—" Send this to Doct. Jones so soon as possible. HOUSTON."

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, Dec. 27th, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I arrived here the 24th, and immediately obtained a house and an office, and published my card. I wish at once to proceed in arranging the office suitably for a Post-office.

Judge Toler said he should make the appointment 8th January. I hope it may be done so as to come in next mail, and I wish it enclosed in a letter to Col. Reilly, whom I have talked with on the subject fully. He is pleased with the arrangement, and has assisted me in getting a house, &c.

I am afraid Tyler's message will produce an unfavorable influence over our Mexican negotiations, and yet it seems to me that it should be responded to in our press in the kindest [manner]. If we had some one at Washington who could change the probable movement there for annexation, to such strong measures on the part of the United States as would secure our independence, or rather *enforce* it, I should feel much hope of advantage from [it]. The three great parties there might unite on such a measure,—at any rate the friends of Mr. Clay and Van Buren,—and thereby avoid the dangers they might encounter in favoring or opposing annexation. Reilly says if he can raise money enough he will go there immediately, and he thinks he can effect it. He proposes to go on his own account, if he can get money enough from Government for former services to pay his way. He is disappointed to-night in not getting a letter from you.

I shall take charge of the paper as soon as I can get my family into town; assist, perhaps before. Will you write by return of mail, and let the appointment be forwarded as desired, as the holding it up begins to excite remark. My great anxiety is to get charge of the paper, as something must surely be done to revive the hopes of our friends; but I cannot do it until I get the Post-office arranged. I am to have Campbell's office adjoining the printing-office. The boat is not expected before the departure of the mail. Should any thing of importance reach us in the morning I shall try to inform you by private conveyance.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. A. JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, Dec. 30th, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I am anxious to get an abstract of the Secretary of the Treasury's report, containing the receipts and disbursements of the last year; a copy of the Senate's order for recalling Raymond, and President's message in reply; also a copy of the resolve of the House on the subject of annexation; and a copy of the secret act of last year for sale of the navy—none of which have been published, and all of which have been grossly misrepresented in the "Telegraph." We must have a regular correspondent at Washington during the session to give the proceedings of each day. Will Scott undertake it, or is there some one else who can do it? Efforts are unremitting here, as at Washington, to induce the belief that the President and Cabinet are opposed to annexation.

A strong effort is making through the "Telegraph" to disturb the tariff, probably with the view to depreciate Exchequer bills. Is it likely to be accomplished?

You said you thought a copy of journals of Congress from beginning might be had. I shall be in great need of it, and hope you will send it to me by some wagon.

Com. Moore arrived here by last night's boat, and it is said is on his way to Washington.

Judge Toler's presence is very much needed here at this moment, as there is said to be a defalcation in the Post-office—at least Baldwin says so: he appears very friendly. If Judge Toler cannot come down, let him give us instructions how to act, as there is doubtless money due the office which may be saved. Stubblefield was buried yesterday, and his son is now here. I think my appointment will give satisfaction, but every day's delay will create disturbance, and I have been repeatedly inquired of if I have the appointment. I am anxious to arrange my office, but do not like to do it in advance. Do not fail to let me be informed of every thing important. I wish for the yeas and nays on the vote to sell the navy.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

DR. JONES.

[*From Joseph F. Smith, Esq.*]

PEROTE, Dec. 9th, A. D. 1843.

MR. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—We see from the papers that an armistice between this and the Texan Governments has been agreed upon;

that Commissioners on the part of each Government were to meet at Loredo on the 25th of September last; and have seen their arrival at Matamoras announced; but we have not seen the result of their meeting. We see that the trade has recommenced, and that the Mexicans are on their route to reoccupy their old homes in Texas. We see from the debates in the British Parliament that Texas is at peace with all the world. Then why do we suffer all the consequences of war? And as we receive no news from Texas, you will please let me know, as a friend, the true relations of the two Governments; for nothing but *imprisonment* is so irksome as suspense.

Our treatment is savage and inhuman; and a pestilential disease is making such ravages among us, that few, ere long, will be left for liberty or slavery. You will please enclose a letter to me in one to E. Smith & Co., New Orleans; for no letter mailed in Texas will reach this place.

Yours truly, JOSEPH F. SMITH.

Extract from the "National Vindicator" of August 17th, 1844.

"RETRENCHMENT."

"We do not allude to this subject for the purpose of claiming any thing more for Dr. Jones than we believe he is entitled to. That he will, if elected President, sanction every judicious measure tending to reduce the expenses of the Government even below its present economical scale, we have reason to know. It will be a matter of pride with him, not only to sustain the currency of the country, upon which we must rely for the existence of the Government and its efficient action, by guarding its issues—but to exhibit to his fellow-citizens at the end of his term a balance sheet of receipts and expenditures, which may elicit from them that highest commendation, "well done, thou good and faithful servant." That Dr. Jones would pursue a course of this kind as Chief Magistrate we have no doubt; for the journals of Congress, throughout the entire period of his service therein, furnish evidence in abundance of his uniform disposition to reduce the Government from its unfortunate scale of magnificence and grandeur, to a system which would more properly accord with our numbers, and means to sustain it. The people, we are sure, may rely upon his opposition to all measures which would tend to the increase of the public taxes, under whatever pretence they might be presented. Vigilance, retrenchment, and economy will mark his policy."

[*From the Same.*]

"Already we hear it whispered about among some of the opposition, that Jones is opposed to Houston and annexation—to both of which assertions, were they not in themselves so entirely improbable, we would give a flat denial. The next rumor we expect to hear * * will be that of Mexican invasion, in order to throw the whole country into confusion and call the people from their homes, and raise a tremendous excitement, just for the occasion. The leaders of the Red Back and Glory party are up to all such tricks, and we forewarn the public against their designs."

[*From the Same.*]

DR. JONES'S LETTER."

"*The Harrison Times* of the 25th July, says: 'By the politeness of a friend we were favored, a few days since, with the perusal of a letter written to himself by Dr. Jones. We make a short extract from the letter, wherein the Hon. Secretary expresses the impossibility of his being able to visit the people previous to the election.

"'Were I to make a tour through the country, I should either be compelled to neglect official matters or to resign. The latter would, indeed, be very easy, but in the present crisis of our negotiations it would, perhaps, look very much like a desertion of my post. I am not yet without hopes of annexation; and as I have had a great deal to do in this matter, I have some pride in wishing to go through with it. The charge that I am "inimical to further negotiations with the United States for the re-annexation of our country to that," is wholly without foundation in fact, and a base slander.'"

[*From the Same.*]

"We invite the attention of our readers to the article on our first page, presenting the opinions of Dr. Jones in 1837 upon the extraordinary powers and dangerous tendencies of the charter of the celebrated 'Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company.' A copy was sent us from Houston, and will probably appear also in the *Democrat* of this date, for which reason we credit it to that paper."

[*From the Democrat.*]

MATAGORDA, August 5th, 1844.

MR. EDITOR,—I take the liberty to enclose you a copy of the *Bulletin* newspaper published at this place on the 23d August, 1837. I do so with the view of calling your attention to a very able article addressed to the people of Brazoria county, and through them to the whole Republic, [signed FRANKLIN,] which was written by Dr. Anson Jones, one of the candidates at this time for the Presidency. It is no doubt nearly out of print, and if you think proper to republish it, I am sure none of your readers will regret the space it occupies, as it is a spirited but concise commentary upon one of the most startling and iniquitous schemes of legislative profligacy and individual aggrandizement, at the expense of the people, of which the history of any republican government affords any account.

It was in opposition to this monstrous project (with credit be it told to the people of Brazoria) that Dr. Jones was chosen to Congress in 1837; and to his well-directed and ceaseless efforts the country is certainly indebted for the final overthrow of that great citadel of fraud and danger; for which, to this very day, the expected beneficiaries of the scheme have never forgiven him. Through his agency their *golden* hopes were crushed in the bud, and hence they are the yet loudest of the loud in denouncing him as a man and a citizen.

Respectfully, &c.

ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF THE COUNTY OF BRAZORIA.

BY DR. ANSON JONES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The period of a new election is at hand, when you will be called upon again to exercise the important right of suffrage in the choice of two representatives to represent your interests, and to make an expression of your views and wishes in the approaching Congress of the Republic. Emerging as you just now are from the chaos of a revolution, in which you have overturned a system of military and religious despotism, and engaged in laying the foundations of a new Government, based upon liberal, independent and enlightened principles, you are not indifferent to the great and important consequences which will result to yourselves, and to the future welfare of the country, by the judicious exercise of that right. The first councils of a young nation are those which establish the institutions, frame the laws, and consolidate the principles upon which its whole subsequent character and prosperity depend; and exactly in proportion as these are wise and just will the country be prosperous and happy. Nature has been liberal in bestowing upon you a delightful climate, and a soil unparalleled by any other in the world for richness and fertility; and all that now remains to make your success, as a people, proportionate to her bounty, is a good government. Upon the wisdom, the intelligence, the virtue, and the disinterested integrity of those whom the people choose to represent them in the next Congress will it mainly depend, whether you and your country shall or shall not enjoy this crowning blessing for which mankind have so often struggled, but, unfortunately, so seldom attained.

I have remarked that you are not indifferent to these important considerations. A strong desire to be fully enlightened on every subject connected with our national legislation is apparent throughout the county of Brazoria, and many are inquiring, with patriotic anxiety, "What shall we do to be saved?" Heretofore, during our whole struggle, the intelligence of this county has exercised a controlling influence over the political measures adopted by the country; and its chivalry, its liberality, and its wealth, have greatly contributed to the success of those measures; and its blood and treasure have been freely poured out to resist oppression, and to defend that national independence which it was among the first to advocate and declare.

By these and similar means much has been accomplished. Texas has been redeemed from her nine millions of oppressors, and the single STAR which but yesterday appeared above the horizon, and upon which "shadows, clouds, and darkness rested," has now culminated, and shines forth in full meridian brightness; either to become another beacon light of freedom to guide and direct her sons, or else an *ignis fatuus*, to bewilder and betray. The vessel is fairly afloat, but it is surrounded with dangerous rocks and threatened with storms:

> "And when the demons of the tempest rave,
> Skill must conduct the vessel through the wave."

Though this is poetry, it is, nevertheless, no fiction; and the citizens of the county of Brazoria, ever zealous and watchful of their rights, know and feel the truth and justice of these remarks, and are now inquiring with more than common anxiety for the best means to avoid the impending evils. Many important and exciting questions still agitate the public mind from one end of the republic to another, and some measures of the last Congress have given much alarm to the friends of the country, both at home and abroad. At such a crisis, and on the eve of an election for a Congress to whom you are looking to settle these questions of national interest, or to remedy any evils which may have crept into the Government, I believe it to be the duty of every well-wisher of his country, not only to inform himself fully on every subject which has a bearing upon its political welfare, but boldly and freely to communicate information of every thing which may threaten it with danger, and although his best friend be implicated, act "not as loving Cæsar less, but Rome more." You will therefore excuse an individual who, entertaining these sentiments, only presumes to address you for the purpose of contributing his mite, however small it may be, to the general mass of enlightened feeling which characterizes this community.

Among other acts of the last Congress is one chartering "The Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company." When I first read this charter, I rose from its perusal with astonishment at the extraordinary powers conferred upon the Company; but great as they then seemed to me, I am free to confess that I did not realize the extent of the evil which they appeared to me to threaten the country with, until I chanced a few days since, by accident, to see a letter from Gen. T. J. Green to the

President of that Company, Dr. B. T. Archer, in which he points out the several advantages of their charter. The letter is dated Columbia, 26th December, 1836; and the following extracts from it will serve to explain my meaning:

"I have examined your charter with much attention, and find it as liberal in all its provisions as the company ought to desire, and more so than any other in my recollection. The privilege of discounting thirty millions of paper at ten per cent. per annum upon its ten millions capital stock; its *unrestricted* privilege to deal in bills of exchange; its *unrestricted* authority over the establishment of tolls, fees, and charges of the works; the privilege of taking, at the minimum government price, all the land within half a mile of such works; its full and ample power to buy and sell all species of property; the advantage of investment at the present low prices of real property; the right that foreign stockholders have to hold real estate in Texas not otherwise allowed to them, together with its *ninety-eight* years' duration of charter, are privileges almost incalculable, and are invaluable to the company.

"You will conclude, with me, that your corporate privileges *are beyond arithmetical calculation.*

"I incidentally remarked just now, upon the ability of the corporation to complete the works with the net profits alone arising from the employment of one-third of your discount privilege. This may be done alone by the usual operations of the bank. But suppose you were to invest one million of dollars at present in the purchase of the best lands in the country, which may now be had at an average of fifty cents per acre; in less than two years, if the emigration continues as it has since the commencement of the revolution, (and we have a right to expect its tenfold increase,) such an investment will have increased not less than one thousand per cent.

"But in the event of your securing the town site upon Copano Bay, and the land up the valley of the St. Antonio River, 120 miles to the city of Bexar, and the real property in and near that city, it will not be necessary for you to do more than survey the road, before *millions* of property may be sold upon it, &c.

"There are many other sites, where towns and cities must be built soon, *within reach of your charter*, which a small improvement would render most valuable, &c.

"It is at the option of your corporation to commence *any* public work at pleasure, and to prosecute the same *free of any legislative restrictions or penalty*.

"In negotiating for funds to put your bank into operation, your company can afford to give a larger per cent. than *any other* institution, because, as I have before said, the profits of your company will not be confined to the usual operations of a bank."

What think you, fellow-citizens, of this modest picture, drawn "*currente calamo*" with "the pen of a ready writer;" and if this splendid and gigantic monopoly goes into operation, what or how much have you gained by all your toils and sufferings in effecting your independence? Only, as I humbly conceive, to have "escaped from the frying-pan into the fire;" and avoiding Scylla to be swallowed up in Charybdis. Perhaps you will think that the author of this letter, in his zeal for the institution, has overwrought the picture of its advantages; if so, permit me to say, you will find, upon a comparison of it with the original charter, as it now stands upon the statute-book, that it is but too faithful a delineation, and in no respect exaggerated, amplified, or enlarged.

Comment upon the vast and unparalleled advantages which this letter displays, as belonging to the bank, is unnecessary: it need but to be read, with a disposition to understand it, to be properly appreciated by an intelligent community. Besides, were I to attempt to go into detail of all the ways and means by which this monster of legislation may and will fix the fangs with which this letter so truly paints it, upon the vital interests and the property of the country, a whole volume would not be sufficient for the purpose; for, concluding even then, with the admission that "its corporate privileges are beyond arithmetical calculation," I should be obliged to leave it, as the author of that letter has done, for imagination alone to set limits and bounds to them. The famous East India Company, with its forty millions of subjects, sinks into a pigmy, in comparison with this mammoth scheme of wealth.

But we are told of the advantages which this institution will confer upon Texas.

And, first:—"That it will pay a bonus of $25,000 into the treasury of the Republic." This paltry sum will scarcely buy the slaves on a single cotton plantation, much less *a whole nation of freemen!* and is, comparatively, less than the miserable mess of pottage for which Esau sold his birthright. It is but a poor bait, and does not begin to cover the hook.

The second advantage claimed is:—That this institution will rain down a deluge of gold and silver upon the country;—that it is the true philosopher's stone, which will turn every thing to gold. But how is this to be accomplished? Oh, the bank will discount everybody's note at ten per cent. per annum, and a scarcity of money will never again be heard of. Softly, *poco a poco!* the letter shows you that the bank can make one thousand per cent. in two years without discounting anybody's note; and will this soulless institution, in its mercy, loan money on precarious security at ten per cent. per annum, when it can make five hundred per cent. by investing it in real estate in the same time? This letter also tells you that the "bank has an unrestricted privilege to deal in bills of exchange." Upon these it is allowed to charge what discount it pleases; and will this soulless institution be so blind to its own interests as to discount notes at ten per cent. per annum, when it can discount paper in the shape of drafts at perhaps ten per cent. a month? Any tyro in the business of banking can answer these questions. But it is said the bank will put a stop to *shaving* by private usurers. This, however, has never been the case with any bank in the world as yet. Shavers and usurers are mushrooms, which spring up and grow luxuriantly in the shade of every bank.

And, finally, it is said this company will construct railroads and canals, and other public works, in every direction, all over the country, as permitted by their charter; and as they are allowed to own "every species of property," will have ships, and steamboats, and railroad cars innumerable—all—aye all—for the benefit of the public. And what will their "tolls, fees, and charges" be, or will they do all this gratis? The letter, *and the charter too*, says, "The company shall have unrestricted authority over the establishment of tolls, fees, and charges;" and if the planter wishes to transport a bale of cotton, or a package of goods, to or from market, he certainly must pay whatever the company think proper to tax him, or build a railroad for himself, and perhaps even this poor alternative may be denied him. From such benefits as these, I would pray, in the emphatic language of the Church, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

I have thus, incidentally, glanced at all the advantages which the friends of this institution claim for it, in connection with the welfare of the country; and if I have treated them too slightly, it is only because I could not consider them as worthy of more serious notice or graver argument.

Fellow-citizens! this institution threatens you with evils of incalculable magnitude, and something must be done soon to arrest its progress, or it will be too late. Fancy it in the full exercise of the powers and privileges which the charter confers upon it, and you behold an engine of power and wealth, which must and will destroy, in ten thousand ways, *the liberties of your country.* And was it, let me ask, only to endow this splendid foreign aristocracy with such powers and privileges, and for the slavery which it will entail upon you, that you have suffered so many years of toil and privation; that you have so gallantly resisted Mexican oppression; that you have so freely poured out your blood and treasure in the establishment of your independence? Was it for this you fought and bled at Velasco, at Goliad, at Conception, at San Antonio, and at San Jacinto? Was it for this that the sympathies and the aid of the sons and daughters of the United States, and the friends of freedom everywhere, have been enlisted in the promotion of your national struggles?

Let your consciences answer these questions, and let the response be given at the polls at the coming election, September 4th, when you will be called upon to choose between the advocates and the opposers of this institution. FRANKLIN.

(V. pp. 158, 159, 160.)

BRAZORIA, August 14th, 1837.

[1839.]

Remarks at a Public Dinner given myself and Col. S. M. Williams, by the citizens of Galveston, on Saturday, June 29th, 1839.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The kind reception you have given me on the occasion of my return from abroad, and the many other proofs of regard which I have received at your hands, demand an expression of my sincere and heartfelt thanks; and the favorable opinion you have just expressed for my public services, (while I have to regret they have not been more worthy of such a distinction,) adds another to the many obligations your partiality has conferred upon me, for all of which I know not how to attempt any adequate return. You will, therefore, as I trust, permit me, in place of a speech, only to express to you, briefly, the very great pleasure and satisfaction I feel in again re-uniting with so many friends around this social table—*some* of whom I recognize as old associates in other times and in difficult scenes; *all* of whom I am happy to claim as citizens of Texas, and identified with her principles and her interests, and of knowing from their own lips that my conduct meets their approval. If, in the discharge of obvious duty, I have acted in such a manner as you have been pleased to compliment me with having done, the consciousness of having so acted, and of having so obtained this approval, will of itself constitute a sufficient reward and the most acceptable return for all my services to the country. That I have taken a deep and abiding interest in the cause for which she is struggling, is, I believe, known to many of you; and, I trust, my services for the last three or four years in her behalf will sufficiently attest the entire sincerity of that interest. Such abilities as I possess, humble, it is true, have ever been at her call in times of trouble and danger; but situations of high responsibility, while I distrusted my own powers too much to *seek*, yet, when called to them by the people or the Government, I have not felt at liberty to *decline*. In every position, from a volunteer private soldier in the ranks, in which my career of public duty commenced, to that of a Minister abroad, in which I have just closed it temporarily, I have been alike zealous and faithful in my efforts to uphold the common cause of the people and Government of Texas; and, if in any I may have erred, it has been from a want of judgment, and not from a want of proper intention.

I am precluded, fellow-citizens, from making any comments, at this time, upon the manner in which I have discharged my late mission. The respect due to the Government and its officers requires that I should wait for them to communicate the several subjects to the people, at such time as may be deemed advisable and proper. When, however, the President shall make these communications, and my course thereby made known, I entertain a confiding hope that it will not disappoint the expectations which you may have formed. I am happy, however, to know, and to be able to assure you on this occasion, that I have, in the performance of my duty as the Minister of Texas at Washington, given entire satisfaction, as well to the Government which sent me as to that of the United States. For giving this assurance, I have the highest and best authority—the Presidents of the two Republics themselves!

I am happy, however, to be at liberty to assure you of the friendly feeling manifested for the success of Texas in all parts of the United States, and my entire confidence in the good dispositions of its Government. From the Representatives of all the foreign Governments at Washington I received every politeness and attention. Our final success or failure, however, fellow-citizens, must depend altogether upon ourselves—our own prudence and exertions. No friendly deity will interpose the shield of Pallas between us and our enemies, to save us from destruction. Let us be convinced of this, and no longer will the people be lulled into false hopes, or deceived by a false security! Let Texas depend on herself alone, and she will not be deceived by false friends!

We are yet, fellow-citizens, surrounded by many and serious difficulties, but they are such as it is in our power to control and remedy. Among the difficulties, the most important is the derangement of the finances of the country, and to obviate this should be our first care. A proper husbanding of our resources and very careful expenditures, suggest themselves to every one as the proper remedy, so far as these will go. The best talent of the country should also be put in requisition to devise and carry out proper plans for sustaining the credit of the country, which, now depressed, appears every hour sinking still lower. But here, again, Texas must depend on herself.

Above all these should be union among the people, and a determination to support the Government in all proper measures it may adopt. "Union is strength." Let us, if possible, have no parties. Texas cannot, as yet, afford it. She requires the services of all her most wise and experienced citizens, and will, probably, continue to do so for some time to come. But while mere party opposition and party strife should be deprecated as among the worst of evils, in our present situation particularly, the right of free, candid discussion of public measures, and a firm opposition to such as are improper or ruinous, should at all times be maintained and freely exercised by the people. This is not only a right, but it is a duty which the people owe to themselves, and to the great cause of representative freedom in which we are now engaged.

Texas, possessed of a domain sufficient to contain ten millions of agricultural population; a genial climate, and a soil unsurpassed in the world for exuberant fertility; rich in her mineral wealth and her forest growths, and inhabited *now* by an intelligent and enterprising people, accustomed to free government, enjoys within herself all the elements of future greatness and prosperity. In a few years she will take her stand as the second great successful experiment in representative, free government. To her the friends of such experiments throughout the world are looking with deep interest. Their good wishes are with us. And, I may add, there exists an entire confidence among the most intelligent men in the United States, and, so far as I have the means of knowing, in Europe, in the final successful issue of our struggle, and that we have before us the almost certain prospect of a long and brilliant career as a free, independent nation. Let us not disappoint these hopes, nor betray this flattering confidence.

I am happy, fellow-citizens, to see the evidences of prosperity which now immediately surround the island of Galveston. It is but about eighteen months since the improvements commenced on this island; and now, after the lapse of so short a time, the city of Galveston, like Venice, the bride of the Adriatic, has arisen as if by enchantment from the waters, and smiles gloriously and beautifully upon the sea which surrounds her. Your population, which already amounts to near three thousand, is rapidly and constantly increasing. The enterprise of your citizens has brought, and is bringing, a portion of the commerce of Europe to your port. You have sent the best possible negotiator for the Government to England, a ship loaded with cotton, the staple production of the country. As a citizen of Texas, I rejoice in the prosperity of Galveston.

There are many other subjects of deep and abiding interest which I would willingly address you upon at this time. But I leave them to abler and better advocates than myself; and I am already your debtor so much, I will not add to the obligations which I have already received, by trespassing further upon your time or attention. I again tender you my grateful acknowledgments for the many tokens of your regard and confidence which I have received, and pledge myself to renewed exertions in order to possess a better title to your favorable consideration, than any which my previous services have given me. I had hoped, on my return to Texas, to have been permitted to retire for a while from public life. My business and my private interests most imperiously require it, (as both are almost ruined by my long absence,) and my inclinations made it desirable. But, my fellow-citizens of Brazoria having again called upon me in so unequivocal a manner, by electing me to the Senate in my absence; and believing that Texas needs my services, and that of all her old friends, now more than ever she did, I shall not shrink from the duties, the cares, and the responsibilities of the high office they have conferred upon me. In the discharge of these duties, I shall, as I have heretofore done, "nothing extenuate, or set down aught in malice."

I conclude, by again referring to the importance of union and harmony among the people of Texas, and the fatally injurious tendency of party spirit; and in return for the very flattering sentiments you have just expressed for me, be pleased to accept the following:

Texas! her cause is that of Justice, of Rational Liberty, and Constitutional Law. May they soon be permanently established from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean; and may no strife exist among her citizens, except that noble and glorious strife of—Who shall best promote this great object.

Anson Jones.

[*From M. P. Norton.*]

HOUSTON, January 3d, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I have taken charge of the Post-office, and I am inclined to (think) it will not create much disturbance. At any rate, very many of the best citizens appear pleased with the appointment. I think Reilly, Lubbock, and Baldwin will be disposed to quiet any feeling among the numerous applicants who are doubtless a little disappointed. Kure remains in charge until I get my family in, which will be as soon as practicable.

You will see a change in the name of our paper, and an article on annexation, which I think takes the right ground. I do hope you will be able to assist Reilly in getting away, for I am much afraid that some one will be sent by Congress, or by the opposition somehow, that may injure us. If it were known R. was going, it might prevent it. At any rate, you will see every effort used to enforce the opinion that the Government are opposed to annexation, and even to assistance from the United States. I shall write you as soon as I return. In the mean time, give me any useful information. * *

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Changes the "Citizen" to "Houston Democrat."

[*From James Burke, Esq.*]

BRAZORIA, January 4th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR FRIEND,—Yours of Dec. 16th was thankfully received yesterday. I was much gratified to learn that it had been deemed expedient by Congress to elect Chaplains. I trust it is an omen of return to right reason. * * * I trust you will use your influence to have the duties taken off of all kinds of books. A tax upon knowledge is certainly inexpedient in our present situation. The fact that there is a tax upon books causes great difficulties in the importation of small parcels of books for private libraries, and for gratuitous circulation. It is difficult to get such small packages through the Custom House, especially by persons residing in the interior of the country.

Cannot something be done to facilitate intercourse between Texas and the United States by mail? As matters now stand, it is almost wholly impracticable to get a newspaper from the United States. As the head of the Post-office Department, I hope you will do something to increase the facilities of intercourse between our country and the United States. No act you could perform would be of greater public utility, and, certainly, there are but few acts whose beneficial tendency would be more generally felt by the people.

I sincerely hope that something will be done for the promotion of the cause of education during the present session of Congress. What has been done with the fifty leagues of land donated for the establishment of two National Universities during the session of 1838–'9? Has the land been located? What of the four leagues appropriated to each county for the benefit of common schools? Can you not use some influence with Congress to have this matter attended to? I know that, being an educated man, you feel more than *I*, or any other uneducated man can, the importance of a general diffusion of the advantages of education. Certainly there is great need of a deeper interest being felt in regard to the education of the rising generation in Texas. Suppose you suggest to Judge Johnson the importance of calling the attention of Congress to this subject.

The communication which I mentioned as having previously addressed you, was handed in person to the Postmaster at this place, and should have been mailed some two months since. It contained my views at some length in relation to the Presidential election. It may have been received and filed away among other letters by some of your clerks. I feel considerable solicitude on the subject. I very much fear that military popularity will again triumph in the election of General Burleson, who, though an honest man, is certainly unqualified for the office. I heard an intelligent lawyer say, yesterday, that he believed Burleson would beat any man in this country who had been spoken of for the Presidency. Though a friend, and as a friend of Gen. Burleson, I should much deprecate his election to the Presidency. I fear that many of your personal friends and admirers will be prevented from voting for you, by the generally prevailing impression that you are not running upon your own strength, but upon the popularity of Sam. Houston. I would suggest, as a friend, that it would be for your interest to "define your position" on this subject so plainly, that all who desire to do so may understand exactly "the ground you cover." I do not think any one would require of you to assume a position of opposition to the President, but that your friends who are opposed to H. should know, that by voting for you, they are not aiding to perpetuate the objectionable measures of the present administration. I make this suggestion to you as a personal friend. * * * Please give my regards to the Rev. Mr. Wilson; also to Rev. Mr. Tryon, and my brother editor, Judge Johnson.

With great respect, your friend,

James Burke.

[*From George Quinan, Esq.*]

Brazoria, January 5th, 1844.

Hon. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,— * * * I am right glad to observe that your name for the Presidency is placed under favorable auspices before the people. Who will be your opponents? No matter who may be your opponents, however, you are sure of the support of your own county, (though, by the way, there are a good many small fry folks who will go death against you.) Not the least favorable sign is the opening growl of the *Telegraph*. That's all right. The wrathier they "go it" against you, the bigger lies they tell, the better is it. * * * I intend to spread myself writing, that is, if I can forward in any way your election: first, because I believe in your policy; and lastly, because you are from Brazoria, an old citizen, and have honored me with your good will. * * * Write to me about these things, if you have leisure and inclination, and always command me. * * * Would it be too much to ask your attention to this, and the favor of a line? McMaster is hurrying me.

I am your obedient servant,

George Quinan.

Dr. Anson Jones.

[*From Hon. G. W. Hockley, Commissioner to Mexico.*]

SABINAS, 7th January, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have very little of interest to add to our official letter sent by this opportunity, as Col. Williams writes to the President. I will employ the short time previous to the departure of the express, in a few remarks upon the 5th Article of the projected Armistice. When we were at Washington, and received the letter of instructions, I was under the impression that *all troops* (Mexican) had been withdrawn from the left bank of the Rio Grande. I certainly saw such information or statement published in some of the papers, and I remained under that impression until our arrival at Matamoras; and upon being informed of the occupation of Laredo by *troops garrisoned* there, the difficulty at once presented itself. In military parlance, an armistice is a suspension of hostilities, generally, and by usage, a halt of movements on both sides, unless one party should hold possession of a prominent and important point belonging to another. If, for instance, an armistice had been proposed when the British troops had possession of Washington, U. S., a prominent article would have been the evacuation of the Capitol, both as a matter of honor and of necessity; but they would not be required to evacuate any point, no matter how commanding the position might be, which had *never been actually in possession of the United States Government.* I think therefore that Gen. Woll is not unreasonable, or asking more than military usage would warrant, when he requires to remain, peaceably, as regards Texas, at a point of which he has always held possession, and also a commanding one, for the protection of his frontier. I submit this opinion, hastily, for the consideration of his Excellency and yourself, and regret that our interview at Washington was so short and hurried; as the question, as now presented, would, in all probability, have been mooted.

Can it be possible that any citizen of Texas has had the temerity, the consummate villany, to prejudice this Government against the consummation of an arrangement between both. You know that some one or more attempted, and partially succeeded, in scuttling the sloop in which we embarked for Matamoras, which, together with other matters, leads me to the belief that we have those amongst us, *who would stop at nothing* to defeat the success or prosperous action of the present Administration.

We are here insulated from the world, with a very limited intercourse with Matamoras, and with the exception of two newspapers and some slips of an old date, sent by my friend Major Western, we have nothing from home. (If Major Western be at Washington, as his note intimates, please present me to him, with my most grateful thanks, and say that we have adopted the rule of writing no private letters, but to the President and yourself, or he would be more particularly remembered.) I should like, too, to hear of your success in the presidential contest. Remember that you go into it with your eyes open; and nobody can know better than yourself how unthankful an office it is; at the same time, I know of no one who will so well carry out the policy which, in the general sense, will sustain and cherish our country. Permit me most heartily to wish you success. To the General and Mrs. Houston present my most sincere regards, and my respects to Dr. Hill and my friends at Washington. In accounting for our present position out of doors, we *only say* we are in want of instructions from our Government relative to one article proposed. This is the explanation of Gen. Woll. You will see the letter from Col. W. to [the President], which is more in full. I have been engaged in copying; besides, it is scarcely necessary to repeat.

Believe me, most sincerely yours.

GEORGE W. HOCKLEY.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—NOTE. "Remember you go into it with your eyes open; and nobody can know better than yourself how unthankful an office it is." This is very true, and I know well that

"He who ascends to mountain tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
Though high *above* the sun in glory glow,
And far *beneath* are earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led."

And I have no expectation that the presidential chair will be any thing else than one of thorns; nor do I desire the office; and my only object in consenting to take it is, to consummate a policy which has already cost me great labor and great sacrifices, and thus give peace, security, and happiness to Texas.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

New Orleans, January 8th, 1844.

My dear Sir,—I avail myself of the opportunity of this despatch to write to you a few lines, though indeed there is nothing of interest to tell you. By the "Neptune" I told the General that I heard in *all respectable quarters* nothing but the language of satisfaction and praise concerning his message, and it seems to have had the still more wholesome effect of shutting the mouths of his assailants. I hope there will be no difficulty in meeting the wishes of her Majesty's Government in the matter set forth in my note, and if that should be the case, and you will send me *your copy* of the declarations, with the changes of form necessary for your archives, I will take care to sign and seal it accordingly. We hear through the English newspapers that the difficulties with Mexico are adjusted; it is probable, but I do not know it officially. I am longing for tidings from your Commissioners, and for news of the release of the prisoners. Perhaps the next boat from Galveston will bring us something. * * * Please tell Judge Terrell that I always suggested that the lively interest in Texan affairs at Washington seemed to be better calculated to *unsettle* than to *settle*, and since I have been here I have seen enough to satisfy me that I was not very wide of the truth in that respect. Well-informed persons in this country laugh at the idea of annexation, and when you remind them that, in that case, the agitation of the subject is cruel, because of its disturbing consequences at Mexico, why, they laugh again. It suits their purposes, and that is enough. The good effect, or otherwise, upon Gen. Houston's negotiations for the pacification of Texas, is not a consideration at all. But I see good reason to hope that those negotiations will reach a happy conclusion.

Believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

Charles Elliot.

Hon. Anson Jones, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Morgan L. Smith, Esq.*]

COLUMBIA, January 8th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR, * * * * I note your remarks about the treaty,—the consummation will be the most fortunate event that has occurred to the country since the battle of "San Jacinto," and nothing could benefit this country more than this measure, except annexation. Brower wrote me some time since he was making a report as chairman of a committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of New York, on the subject of Texas commerce, and that it closed with a resolution for that important commercial body to memorialize the Senate of the United States to pass upon the Reilly treaty: this I deem an important step in the matter. * * * *

In great haste, I am truly your obedient servant,

MORGAN L. SMITH.

P. S.—The exchequer money measure will not be popular with the people. I would touch it lightly in the important position in which you stand before the people. I am exceedingly anxious that no measure of the Administration (for which you ought not to be responsible) should injure your election to the Presidency. M. L. S.

[*From Lot Clark, Esq.*]

JACKSONVILLE, January 21st, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have recently learned from the newspapers that you, Anson Jones, are a candidate for the Presidency, with a tolerable prospect of success, and I will just add the airy mite of my hearty good wishes for your success.

I have been looking on and *speculating* on Texan prospects, but am so ignorant of all but the surface of things, as to be unable to form any just and satisfactory judgment in the premises.

The best hopes of man are involved in your experiment. The general opinion is that you have too much Democracy, too few checks on the licentious spirit of unregulated ambition to settle down into a stable government where the doctrine of *meum* and *tuum* will be faithfully preserved. I must confess that I do not see in your institutions a full guarantee for private right and public safety.

The subject of annexation is much agitated here, but I think the sober judgment of seven-eighths of the country is, that our territory is already too large and unwieldy for a free government. At any rate I feel *quite sure* it will never be made larger. * * * I shall soon be at Lockport, New York, again. I am here on a visit.

Most truly yours, LOT CLARK.

HON. A. JONES.
(By E. Bissell, of Ohio.)

[*Endorsement.—Nous verrons.*—A. J.]

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, January 21st, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I have just this moment received this letter from Mr. Brower, and as I find Kain on the wing, I take the liberty of sending it to you with this brief note.

Yours, JAMES REILLY.

CONSULATE OF TEXAS, NEW YORK, Jan. 4th, 1844.

HON. JAMES REILLY:

DEAR SIR, * * * * I think there is a strong party in this country favorable to the annexation of Texas to the Union, but, with you, I have not the least idea of the accomplishment of so just and desirable an event. You are aware, in the United States all things are controlled by our statesmen in reference to popular effect upon the ballot boxes, and any matter, no matter how proper or important, about the popularity of which there hangs a doubt in reference to partisan expectations, the public good seems not to weigh a feather in the balance.

It has been intimated that the question of admission will be proposed at this session of Congress. I have myself even doubted whether any party will go so far as this; and unless the result should prove successful, I would rather the question should not at present be agitated.

With these views I would be greatly delighted could a peace on fair terms be made between Texas and Mexico, which, I feel assured, would give a most important start to Texan prosperity. * * * * * *

Your very obedient servant, J. H. Brower.

[*From Gen. Morehouse.*]

Austin, 27th January, 1844.

My dear Sir, * * * * I was anxious to have met you before the adjournment of our *holy* Congress, but the fates have unceremoniously put it out of my power to do so. We are beyond the pale of news, save rumor. The mail came to hand this evening, when I was in hopes to have received something of interest from the seat of Government; yet in my regret I have been unable to get a sight of even a paper of the right political stamp. How is this, that we can get to see but one side? The *Vindicator* and *Citizen* should now and then make their appearance in this quarter. Such things should be attended to.

In *these settlements*, as a matter of course, the talented Gen. B—— stands fair, as they say he is to bring back, without difficulty or hesitation, and irrevocably *fix* the seat of Government at Austin, and Dr. Jones' policy is of Sam. Houston. * * * For God's sake, write me one word and send me a few papers.

With high respect I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. Morehouse.

Dr. Anson Jones, Secretary of State, Washington.

[*From Dr. Ashbel Smith.*]

Rue Castiglione, No. 10, Paris, Jan. 29, 1844.

My dear Sir,—My late private letters to the "Old Chief" and yourself have been so full that I have little now to add, though having been despatched by sailing vessels they may not reach you as soon as the present. I believe I may state confidently that the best feelings are entertained for us, both at this court and that of London. The foolish commercial restrictions of Mexico—and especially the perseverance in the peace policy by our Government, have powerfully contributed to remove the great prejudices I found existing against Texas on my arrival here. For myself I can only say, that on all proper occasions I have been indefatigable in diffusing correct information in regard to the country.

I wish you would write as often as you conveniently can: it is always serviceable to be able to say I have late intelligence from home. I get the newspapers, though somewhat irregularly. When at court I find the King and Royal Family quite obliging in their inquiries. I shall leave for London in a short time; but it will perhaps be best to address your letters, &c., to Paris, as it is only a delay of two days, and a more certain conveyance from New York. Will you let me know, either directly or through my brother, what I am to expect? You know how entirely I hold myself subject to the slightest wish intimated from the "Old Chief" or your department.

I have seen your nomination to the Presidency, and *ardently* wish you a successful canvass. Whether here or at home, count me your decided friend and supporter.

I have not heard for some time from my brother or Mr. Gillett, and my finances are pretty *slender*.

With &c., &c., I am very truly yours,

ASHBEL SMITH.

ANSON JONES, Esq.

[*From James H. Cocke, Esq., Collector, &c., Galveston.*]

CUSTOM HOUSE, GALVESTON, 30th January, 1844

To the Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR, * * * * So soon as Congress adjourns, I have no doubt but the exchequers will be better; but, sir, the people have no confidence in that honorable body, and so long as they are in session no sales can be made except at a very low rate; consequently yours must not be sold until times are better, which I hope will be ere long. * * * I have come to the conclusion, from experience, that the only way to get exchequers near their face value is to follow the merchants down, as far as they may think proper to go, even to ten cents in the dollar, and at the same time it prevents them from speculating in that money.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

J. H. Cocke.

[*Endorsement.*—Exchequer money 25 per cent. discount, and falling.]

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

Houston, 1st February, 1844.

Dear Sir,—Last evening I transmitted a couple of letters to Judge Terrell, one from Mr. Choate, Senator from Massachusetts, and the other from Barrow, Senator from Louisiana. I wish you would see them, for they will convince you that, so far as annexation is concerned, it is for *this year* hopeless. I do not believe the Whigs will permit the matter, even should the Democrats desire [it] to be acted on.

On the subject of my treaty, would it not be well to authorise Van Zandt to exchange the ratification as the United States Senate have left it, provided the reconsideration of the vote rejecting the fourth and fifth articles cannot be had. I have urged this on several United States Senators, and shall continue so to do. If this cannot now be had, it may at a future time; and if the law can be passed giving us our cotton free of duty for three years, as Barrow seems inclined, it may be perpetuated by an additional treaty hereafter. The removal of the present tonnage duties on our vessels in United States ports is a great desideratum. However, permit me to suggest that your Minister should be instructed not to exchange the ratification until all hopes are abandoned of obtaining the ratification as presented by our Senate.

We have no news—please write me. Will it be possible for me, should the claim for my benefit in the appropriation bill be sustained, to get the money by the middle of February? If it is, I will go to New York and Washington, and be absent until the 1st of June. What has become of your friend Norton? he ought to be here.

Yours truly, James Reilly.

Hon. Anson Jones.

[*Endorsement.*—I have always been in favor of inducing the United States to admit our cotton free of duty. In 1838–'9 I got the matter before Congress at Washington City, and should have succeeded if the difficulty between the United States and England, about the Maine boundary, had not been sprung just at the moment when the measure was nearly matured. Had I not been recalled in 1839, I should, without doubt, have got the bill through the next session.—A. J.]

[*From Col. M. L. Smith.*]

SAN FELIPE, February 6th, 1844.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR, * * * * By the way, there is considerable excitement on the subject of annexation,—many believe it; the prospect has excited general joy throughout B—— county. An impression is entertained that Gen. Houston is not friendly to the measure, and that Congress will do nothing. A general mass meeting is spoken of in that event, with the intention to recommend all the other counties to hold such meetings, and have a Convention, &c.

Yours truly, MORGAN L. SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—This Col. Smith was a brawling New York politician, broke, and came to Texas. When annexation was nearly consummated in 1845 by a policy pursued for a long time by me, he bestirred himself, as at this time, and thought of "mass meetings" to embarrass the Government by demagogueism and noise. God help annexation if it depends upon such means! "Save me from my friends," it would say, if it could *talk!!!* 1845.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

NEW ORLEANS, February 10th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I send you herewith the copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Government to Mr. Pakenham, but I would beg you to observe that it should by no means be published till the Government of the United States has seen fit to do so or not, as may seem proper to them. I have taken the liberty to suggest this to the President, and I hope you will concur with me. I was, of course, directed to *communicate* it to you for the information of the Government of Texas, but you will immediately perceive that it would be unsuitable to the Government of the United States, that any despatch addressed to the Minister near that Government should be made public in Texas before it was published at Washington.

Since I have been here, I have had some good opportunity of judging of the real state of feeling in this country respecting annexation, and I am persuaded it is entirely out of the question; and secondly, that no persons are better aware of that fact than the present Cabinet at Washington. The single eligible and practicable solution for all parties concerned is the acknowledgment of her independence by Mexico, and the steady adherence to it by Texas. I was concerned, indeed, to see that some movements had been made in your Congress in another sense, for they are not calculated to work good effects in Mexico, or to encourage the real friends of Texas elsewhere. But I am very sure the President will never lend them the least countenance, and I remain a fast believer in the success of his high and wise purposes,—not only high and wise as respects Texas, but largely considered as respects the United States and Mexico; for the first cannot be extended with convenience or safety, and the last had better have Texas for a neighbor than the United States.

Believe me, with regards from Mrs. Elliot, very sincerely yours,
Charles Elliot.

The Hon. Anson Jones, &c., &c., &c.

P. S.—Not a line from you since I left Texas; but I suppose you have been very busy.

[*From Ammon Underwood.*]

Columbia, February 12th, 1844.

Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State:

Dear Sir,—Your favor per Stoddard is before me. * * * While I write our town is illumined by burning of tar barrels,

&c., and loud festival shoutings and rejoicings at the now certain prospect of annexation. Your name is cried aloud as Governor Jones instead of President. Though an unwavering friend of yourself and old "Sam," I had much rather give my vote for you for Governor, than the higher sounding title of President, of Texas. * * * * *

Your friend, respectfully, A. UNDERWOOD.

[*Endorsement.*—Don't halloo "till you are out of the woods" is a good rule; and we are not "out of the woods" yet, by a long way.—A. J.]

[*From Charles Power, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, 12th February, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—I seldom or ever meddle with matters which do not concern me, and even now I feel a reluctance to the nature of this my present application. * * * * We have no news here except such as has been spread by that silly old man, Murphy, and all seems quiet; on the whole, I do not think there is so much desire for annexation as the present position of this county would lead one to suppose;—come what may, any thing is better than our present position, without existence as it were, and that of almost universal execration. Of Williams' and Hockley's movements we have not a word; they have both fortunately got *cellars* that will hold without exciting the "polloi,"—consequently you will know more than we do here—I argue for the best: neither can I divest myself of the idea but that every turn desired by this Government, from the position the United States have assumed both at home as well as abroad, relative to this country, will be arranged. Far better were it for Mexico to have us, weak and imbecile, as her neighbor, than throw such obstacles in the way of our independence as to allow a power like the United States [to] say—Texas, enter the Union.

The Presidential chair is not canvassed here at all—those parties who do speak of it seem inclined to an opposite administration to the present. Burleson seems to be the man most spoken of. You may rely on one thing, that Galveston is about as ultra as any other portion of the republic; and were Houston to achieve the independence, annexation with even bounds, and every desire of this incongruous population, he would not have a friend, hardly, down here; and I have come to the conclusion, that to be honest and patriotic in a republic, is viewed in about the same light as venality in a minister would be in my country. Hence, I say, defend me from the position of Chief Magistrate under such circumstances.

Yours, Dr. Jones, truly, CHARLES POWER.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington.

[*From H. F. Gillett.*]

HOUSTON, February 13th, 1844.

Doctor JONES:

DEAR SIR, * * * * Annexation appears to be all the rage here, and judging from the "*Telegraph Extra,*" I almost hear the din of "United States Regulars" passing to our borders to drive back our common enemy the "Mexicans." From what I can learn, it now depends upon the "ipse dixit" of General Houston, whether or not we shall be returned from whence we came. For my part, if peace can be had from Mexico, I should rather remain as we are, an "independent Government." And I think that three more years of the present policy of State matters, (which, if we remain as we are, seem very sure to take place,) would place us, as a nation, on a solid and firm basis, the pride of the present age, and the glory and happiness of coming generations. * * * * * *

And believe me, sincerely, your obedient servant,

H. F. GILLETT.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsed.*—General Houston would fain have his friends *believe*, or at least *say*, that annexation depends on his "ipse dixit," but such is far from being the case.—A. J.]

[*From J. N. O. Smith, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, February 14th, 1844.

DEAR SIR, * * * * Mr. Manson, whom I have known some time, has furnished me several articles which I like very much. It will always afford me pleasure to receive assistance from him, except in certain *contingencies*. * * * He has a very elaborate article prepared in opposition to annexation, which I have declined publishing—at least, for the present. On this question, although far from halting between two opinions myself, I am actually puzzled which course to pursue. Some advise me to continue the publication of articles showing the disadvantages of the measure, while others contend that their effect is to induce the belief that the President and yourself are opposed to it. This latter opinion I shall take an early occasion to present in its true light.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

JOHN N. O. SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Publication of correspondence with British Government on Empresario Claims, to commence February 24th.]

[*From Judge Norton.*]

HOUSTON, February 14th, 1844.

DEAR SIR, * * * * You request me in one of your letters to quit piping against annexation, as that course will ruin us. You cannot be more sensible of this than I am; and I do assure you that I have used every effort to prevent Smith taking the course he has, that lay in my power, but without effect. I have written but one article on the subject, and you will find that in the first number of the *Democrat*, under the head of "Annexation," which I wish you to look at, and I believe you will find it correct in sentiment at least. Reilly is opposed to annexation, and what he may have written I do not know; but I said to him in the outset, that if the paper opposed annexation we must lose by it. Who wrote the two editorials which have placed the paper in an attitude hostile to the measure I do not know. Smith says they are *confidential*, and I began to suspect they came from Washington. One thing I do know—if the course is persisted in we do much to injure the influence of the paper with the people. An absurd editorial is in the paper to-day, attributing the factious opposition in the last Congress to annual elections,—the truth is that Smith must be *strongly* advised by you to admit nothing as editorial without consulting me, and then I will be responsible for all. You say in your letter to Smith that the news by express is "favorable," which means, I suppose, that it may lead to *annexation* or *independence*, as the case may be. Now I wish you to give me just so much information on the subject, *confidentially*, as you think may be safely and usefully communicated. * * *

Yours, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Says they will quit piping against annexation, as I have repeatedly requested.]

[*From H. A. Cobb, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, 14th February, 1844.

ANSON JONES, Esq., Washington:

SIR,—I take the liberty by this means of reminding you of the appointment of my friend Mr. Maximilian Vanden Berg, as Consul for this republic at Antwerp.

During the session of Congress I abstained from writing you on the subject, knowing the multiplicity of your engagements at that time.

You will excuse this liberty, sir, and believe me,

Your much obliged and obedient servant,

H. A. COBB.

[*From John Manson.*]

HOUSTON, 16th February, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I confess myself fairly hoaxed in the matter of my belligerent epistle from Richmond, and no one has laughed more heartily thereat than myself. About an hour after the departure of my messenger therefrom, I discovered, upon getting hold of a paper, that the *horrida bella* arose from the publication of the secret message of the President to the Congress of 1842, which the country bumpkins agreed in supposing was the emanation of the present session, and I devoutly wished the bearer of my letter at the ——, that is to say, with the Lady

Byron, or in some other immovable position. But, as Falstaff says, "No more of this Hal, an' thou lovest me." As Othello's occupation's gone (when it wouldn't come), I resumed my proper arms, i. e., the pen; the which you will perceive in the *Democrat*, in the articles, "Eighth Congress," and "Election of Public Printer," &c. By the way, the first of these is by no means complete; and as it is a very convenient peg to hang *fouls* (fools) upon, I shall continue to administer frequent doses of pepper and salt to keep them in season for the public.

Mr. Cruger arrived here yesterday with the copies of laws for public printing, and immediately entered into a negotiation with the office of the *Democrat* to borrow *type to print them with*, in which he succeeded. Well, remark is useless. There is every possibility I will enter into some arrangement with them to do them up (not C. and M., but the laws), much against my inclination, but it is my poverty, and not my will, consents; besides, I adopt the good old military maxim, "always to quarter on the enemy." I mention this, in order that you may know why I am about their office at all, differing as we do, "far as the poles asunder," in politics. In fact, my hands will be in one office, and my head in the other. So you may well consider me a gigantic kind of a fellow.

So I see you have had a great mass-meeting of the enemy in your camp. Highly pleasing must it have been to you, as it was to me, to see the *unanimous* dissension which prevailed. My sentiments thereon I may record in print on Saturday. There is not the least doubt there will be a hard contest between you. Slack no exertions, spare no pains; never think an enemy too contemptible, or he may catch us asleep. I need not say I will do my best for you.

There is one subject on which I feel deeply interested, but from which it would be advisable you should stand aloof, and by all means be non-committal, if circumstances should not compel you to join the enemy's ranks. That is annexation. It has suddenly assumed a position which, to the real friends of Texas as an independent nation, is really alarming, from the inconsiderate favor with which the insidious subject is received by the unthinking, many-headed populace. In consequence of the above reflection, I have determined to lay the matter before the public in a pamphlet form, for we thought that a paper which supports the administration so strongly as the *Democrat*, might implicate you, and be prejudicial in the coming election. This is, by all means, to be avoided; we have enemies enough to contend with, without making more.

The book, or pamphlet, will only extend to some twenty pages; and if we can raise funds enough—about $25, to publish it by subscription—the thing shall be done. I intend it shall sell at twenty-five cents. If I finish it as well as it is begun, it may be worth the money. The title is, "Thoughts on Annexation, addressed to his fellow-citizens by a Texan." What say you; will you or any of your friends subscribe?—please say so in your next.

I have entertained you (I hope) with this desultory scrawl; because I am of opinion that the principal ought to have a knowledge of those who pull the wires.

I am, dear sir,
your most obedient friend and servant,
J. MANSON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

[*Endorsement.*—I disapprove the publication, and shall persuade Mr. Manson not to make it.—A. J.]

[NOTE, 1845.—It was never published.—A. J.]

[*From C. H. Raymond, Esq., Secretary of Legation.*]

OFFICE OF TEXAS LEGATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 17th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

VERY DEAR SIR,—I expected to have addressed you by Capt. Tod, but his departure was so sudden, and my time so much occupied with business after I learned his intention, that I could not well avail myself of that opportunity, and I have deferred writing to this time, because I had nothing of much importance to communicate, nor have I at present.

The subject of annexation is exciting a great deal of interest at this court, and in this country. Senator Walker's letter has given it an additional impetus, and in some degree corrected public sentiment in regard to its bearing upon the general interests of this nation. It is most decidedly gaining ground, and I am under the belief that two-thirds of the Senate are in favor of the measure. Those who are presumed to know, aver, as a settled fact, that such is the case. But as you have probably determined what course the Government of Texas will pursue in this matter, I need not now enlarge upon it. I have the most abiding and unshaken confidence in the present administration, and believe that the wisdom of those at the helm of State will in due time conduct us safely to port.

This Government has, at length, consented to restore Dr. Robertson's negroes, and Mr. Van Zandt will take the necessary steps to have them returned to their owner.

The Cooke and Snively affair rests where Mr. Upshur's letter of the 16th, a copy of which was some time since sent to your department, left it. Mr. Van Zandt is, however, preparing a reply, in which he will attack the grounds assumed by Cooke in his justification. The Bourland outrage remains "in statu quo," under investigation by this Government.

The Commercial Treaty appears dead to all intents and purposes, and is beyond hope of resuscitation while annexation is in view. The time agreed upon for its ratification has expired, and, I imagine, powers to form an additional article in relation to that point, would be necessary to give it due effect. But as no action will probably be had upon it, any further step seems useless. There is some prospect that the bill to admit our cotton free of duty will become a law. It is, however, involved in much uncertainty, owing, in a great degree, to an aversion to disturb the general tariff law.

Mr. Pakenham has arrived in this country, said to be charged with the arrangement of the Oregon question. I opine that the only amicable mode by which to adjust the dispute, will be by withdrawing all British claim to the territory in question. The question being kept open, will favor annexation.

Messrs. Porter and Henshaw were rejected by the Senate. Mr. Wilkins, M. C., from Pennsylvania, supplies the place of the former; Mr. Gilmer, M. C., from Virginia, of the latter. Both are warmly for annexation.

I shall prepare and send some communications before long to the *Vindicator*, which, I hope, may tell upon the September election. The back business of the Legation accruing in my absence has kept me almost constantly engaged since my return. I have, however, found time to hear Daniel Webster's argument in the Supreme Court on the Girard Will case, in which two and a half millions were involved between his heirs and the city of Philadelphia. Webster is certainly an intellectual giant, and his effort was a giant, though perhaps fruitless one. The case is under advisement.

While at Galveston, I disposed of the $417 90 of exchequer bills which you paid me as a portion of contingent fund of this legation, for par funds at seventy-five cents per dollar, making in par funds, $313 42, and have paid over the amount to Mr. Van Zandt. My necessary expenses, as bearer of despatches, amounted to $252, which Mr. Van Zandt has paid; all of which, I hope, is satisfactory to your department. I have to guard my expenses very much at this time, not knowing whether Congress will make the necessary appropriation for my salary. I rely very much in this matter upon your kind representations to that body in my behalf. Mr. Van Zandt has all along strenuously opposed the introduction of the resolution relative to Santa Anna's tyranny, &c. The treatment at present received by our prisoners in Mexico seems to demand some expression by the civilized world, and I have concluded to call the attention of some of the members of the House to this subject, and, if practicable, to have the resolution, or something similar in character, introduced in that body. [V. vol. I., p. 156.]

Please present my regards, &c., &c.

Most truly your friend and obedient servant,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

HOUSTON, February 17th, 1844.

DR. JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I have written to Judge Toler a letter, in which I have urged two matters upon his consideration, viz., the forwarding of the New Orleans mails directly to this place, without passing through the office at Galveston, and the establishing a mail route to Montgomery. I think both important. * * * If they cannot have a mail direct from here, the public interests must suffer. I hope you may think it advisable to confer with him on both subjects. * * * Smith has published, this morning, the correspondence between Texas and Great Britain on the slavery question, but has mutilated my editorial in such a way as to destroy its force, because he thought it favored *annexation*. It is very annoying. Has he any authority for giving your views, and those of the President on that subject, as he has in this morning's paper? I offered him your triumphant correspondence with Capt. Elliot for publication in this week's paper, with such an editorial as I thought it deserved, but he said it must be deferred. I suppose it desirable that Gen. H.'s visit to the United States shall not be publicly known; if so, will you please to say so. He has gone [to] Galveston in to-day's boat, and will be back on its return. Do not fail to say to me if I shall be allowed to forward free letters from the United States to the President and yourself, when that mail arrives, as it does generally, after Kane has left. * * * * * * *

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

Hon. ANSON JONES, State Department.

[*Endorsement.*—Smith may have authority from Gen. Houston, but has none from me, for the course he is pursuing.—A. J.]

[*From J. H. Cocke, Esq.*]

CUSTOM HOUSE, GALVESTON, 20th Feb., 1843.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to enclose herewith a draft of Hon. I. Van Zandt, who writes me that you would, or had, placed some funds in my hands for him. He also states he is in great need, and that the amount received from me last, amounting to $1,330 specie, but little more than met his liabilities already contracted. If it is absolutely necessary that Mr. Van Zandt should have funds immediately, it will be impossible to raise it from exchequer bills at anything like a fair valuation; that money is now going at fifty cents, and I do hope it will fall to twenty during the present month. * * *

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAS. H. COCKE.

[*Endorsement.*—Exchequers at fifty per cent, and likely to go lower.]

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, February 19th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—Your note by last mail, together with enclosures, was received, for which I am much obliged to you. I regret the failure of my treaty, as detailed by Mr. Van Zandt. The ratification of a treaty of annexation I have my doubts of. That Tyler will enter upon a treaty is certain, but as to its ultimate success, I think Texas has three things to fear. Tyler would create a party, at the head of which he would put himself, and go into the House along with Mr. Clay and the nominee of the Democrats for Presidency. If Whig and Democratic votes joined in the rejection of the treaty, he would put himself at the head of the annexation party; 2d. If the Democrats have taken the question up as a party, they have done so for the purpose of making capital in the South and West, and will endeavor to throw the responsibility of rejecting the treaty upon the Whigs. If the Democrats have taken up the question as a party, is it [it is] not likely the Whigs will reject as a party. Suppose, however, these two suppositions true, I do fear a worse evil for Texas from the action of the Whigs, knowing the sentiments of some of them on the subject, and that is, they will not assume the responsibility of rejecting the ratification, and not probably of its ratification, but postpone its consideration until after the next Presidential election, which occurs next fall. This postponement will place Texas in a ridiculous and mortifying position, and one extremely disastrous as to her negotiations for either peace or an armistice with European and Mexican powers. Henderson and Van Zandt have a difficult game to play. Neither H. nor V. Z. should exhibit their powers, and H. should not suffer himself to be known there as Envoy, until he is assured the treaty can be both made and ratified immediately. Rejection or postponement would be our political death. Another suggestion is this: that as Henderson and Van Zandt are both such determined Democrats, and as the Whigs have the power in the Senate, they should not speak as to what party would have the vote of Texas, but rather create the impression in the minds of both parties that they will succeed. You will pardon me for making these suggestions, but your intelligence will enable you to see there is some force in them. I dread the danger of postponement more than rejection at present.

Your friend Norton will have informed you by last mail of his return. Little is said about politics here. You are represented as a warm friend of annexation, whenever your name is mentioned in relation to the matter.

The contract entered into between Gen. Mercer and the President has been, and will be, of more injury to his party, than all the acts of the administration.

I am very much disposed to receipt my account in full for salary of which I have been illegally deprived. The Government compelled me, in its service, to create a debt, refused to pay me, and still retains my funds. The action of Congress has not my opinion as to the source from whence relief should come. I have never viewed Congress as the proper department from whence either to ask or expect relief. My property—my *whole property*—is now advertised for sale for taxes due that Government that plunged me in debt, caused me to spend my own money, refuses to pay, and will now sacrifice for taxes due her the property of a creditor she owes and sternly refuses to pay. This may be *national* policy, but it is *not* justice; and such measures sicken me with politics, and render me indifferent as to what occurs, since, in the end, I suffer and am wronged. I got a letter from Mr. Amory, now at Orleans. He is in real distress, and asks, like myself, if there is no relief, no justice, no sense of honor in the breasts of the officers of that Government we have both endeavored to serve.

* * * * * * * *

Yours respectfully, JAMES REILLY.

P. S.—I must thank you for the regret you express at the failure of an effort for my relief. Were it of any use, I too would express regret; but I feel outraged, when I think that, because Government has not the justice to give me a paltry amount of exchequers, I am kept in debt, forced to have my property advertised and sold for taxes, and denied the prosecution of those means necessary for the restoration of my health. I trust, however, the act will do the Government good, in proportion to the injury it does me. I may be in error in regard to my views as to the action of the United States Senate on annexation, but I have no doubt that Democrats, Whigs, and Tylerites, or Calhoun men, would, either, readily make Texas a victim, if it would advance their aims and elect their President. Would not a vote as to the reconsideration of the Articles 4th and 5th in the Treaty now before the United States Government be a good test? Should the treaty of Annexation, if submitted, be rejected or postponed, would it not be advantageous to have the privileges of that treaty secured to the people of Texas?—J. R.

HOUSTON, February 22d.

DEAR SIR,—As the boy William is just starting, I write by him a short note. My letter, which you will receive by mail, merely hinted at what was the representation by your friends of your sentiments on the question of annexation. As a friend, I would advise you not to commit yourself too deep on that subject; for, as I anticipate future events, many of its warmest advocates will wish to be rid of it before long. I have but little faith in its occurring. Sure, the majority here, and throughout the country, is in favor of it; but the sentiment is far from being universal. The question of independence will soon become the most popular. Press, then, negotiations for either peace or an armistice for a definite period, and get all the benefits you can by treaty from the United States under present excitement.

Henderson and Miller both left here yesterday. With H. I had a long talk, and if I had the means, would meet him, as he desired, at Washington City. I suggested to him the advantage of testing the *sincerity* of the Senate and Government by the amendment and ratification of the treaty, which gives us almost the benefits of annexation; and it strikes him as sensible, before venturing and risking all, in laying a treaty before them of annexation, either to reject or postpone.

I did not see Miller, as he was here but a short time. Is it not rather an unjust course that the Government pursues in sending out two ministers and two secretaries to the United States, and yet leaves a former minister and a faithful secretary to *starve?*

Yours, James Reilly.

P. S.—Your correspondence with Capt. Elliot has just been commenced in the "Democrat." It will do you credit and benefit.

[*Endorsement.*—Mr. Reilly, being openly opposed to annexation, could hardly expect the Government to send him to make the treaty, and he has been paid for his former services as well as any minister, or nearly so,—at least as well as ability has permitted, and twice as well as I was paid myself.—A. J.]

[Note.—The United States tariff on raw cotton only drives our staple to Europe direct, and deprives the Atlantic cities of the United States and New Orleans of our trade; it produces no revenue to the United States, for not a bale will be consumed there while the present tariff remains.]

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

Houston, Feb. 21st, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I received your letters by Col. Miller, addressed to me as the "Editor of the Democrat," which is an honor I must decline for the present, or until I can get its political control, which I am in hopes to do in a few days. * * * I was right glad to get your letters, and you may depend that your suggestions will always receive prompt attention. I am glad to hear that the President and yourself are both in favor of annexation, and hope the measure may be speedily consummated; but I feel a strong interest in knowing into whose hands we may fall, politically, there. The Democrats have a majority in the House, the Whigs in the Senate: we cannot be annexed without the aid of both parties. If the Whigs favor the measure, will Texas support Mr. Clay? If the Democrats help us, will we go for Mr. Van Buren? We should be making up our minds on these matters. I am myself very apt to "count chickens before they are hatched;" and if I read a clause in one of your letters aright, some other person than myself is appointed as District Attorney for this county. * * *

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES, State Department.

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, Feb. 26th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—You were right in supposing I had reference to you when I spoke of running against Burleson for *Governor*. Houston or Rusk would certainly beat him, and perhaps Henderson. Gen. Houston would beat any or all men, but I supposed he would be inclined to take a seat in the Senate; but if he will consent, I can see no reason why he may not be elected our first Governor, in case we come into the Union this spring, and still be able to go into the Senate as soon as the Congress will meet in December; in such case we should be able to organize our State and our party without difficulty; and I hope that may be the course. If it shall lie with the President, I do hope he may be inclined to assemble the Convention for forming a constitution at Houston,—it will do much good; and I suggest for consideration now if the depopulated western counties are to have the same voice in that measure that they now do,—if so, we shall have the same unrighteous inequality in representation entailed upon us that we now suffer under, and I hope some mode may be devised to remedy this evil. Let each county send one delegate, and the populous counties more than one, in proportion to the estimated population.

I shall try to hold the question of President where it now is until we know where we are. I am willing to agree to an *armed neutrality* on that matter for sixty days; and I trust, if annexation shall fail, as I fear it may, that our candidate will be able to furnish evidence that it was not owing to any want of friendship to the measure, on his part, or of exertions to effect it. * * * * * * *

Yours, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

[*From Hon. I. Van Zandt.*]

LEGATION OF TEXAS, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
Feb. 27th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—In great haste, I write you to inform you of a most awful calamity which occurred to-day on board the war steamer Princeton, which was making a pleasure excursion down the river, with the President and Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, a number of members of Congress, and an immense crowd of ladies on board. In firing for the third time one of the large 225-pounder guns of the Princeton, it burst, killing dead Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, Com. Kennan, Mr. Maxey, Chargé d'Affaires to Belgium, and Mr. Gardiner. Many were mangled and wounded seriously, and some perhaps fatally. I was on board, and not far from the gun, when it exploded. Capt. Stockton had nearly all his hair burned off, and Col. Benton was very much stunned. Others are said to be missing; but the confusion was so great that it is difficult to speak with certainty. I have not time for comment. The sad occurrence happening so sudden and unexpected, in the midst of the greatest conviviality and flow of social entertainment, it is impossible fully to realize it. *Confidential*,—I will write you soon officially. The occurrence will have, I fear, an unfavorable influence on our affairs here. Texas has lost two of her best friends in this country: their places it will be difficult to fill.

Your most obedient servant, I. VAN ZANDT.

HON. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c., Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

HOUSTON, Feb. 28th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I can not only not believe that annexation is "almost certain," but am, bitterly against my will, compelled to assent to the opposite conclusion, that it is *almost hopeless.* That a treaty may be made and ratified on our part, and presented by President Tyler to the American Senate, I have no doubt; but that the Whig majority in that body, which is certainly from four to six, can be so overcome as to give a two-thirds majority in favor of the measure, is entirely out of the question, unless some assurance can be given, and relied upon, that Texas will not throw her vote in the electoral college for Mr. Van Buren, and even if that were done, a favorable vote would not be certain. * * * * *

Yours, very truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—The prospective *vote* of Texas for President of the United States can have but a small influence, as it appears to me, on the question of annexation.—A. J.]

[*From Col. G. W. Hockley.*]

MATAMORAS, 29th Feb., 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been busily engaged this morning in collecting newspapers and arranging for our departure to Galveston, and upon my return find Mr. Neill ready to mount. I have before me your esteemed letter of the 3d. With this you will receive a copy of the armistice, *as proposed;* the first proposition we considered as closed, and send these for the acceptance or rejection of his Excellency the President.

As to annexation, I always have been, and always shall be, *opposed to it.* With all its horrors and *difficulties, I prefer war.*

I wish that your letter had been received at Sabinas; it would confirm the position that I assumed, when the letter closing the negotiation was received, or limiting the time to the 1st March. When Gen. Woll, in private conversation, spoke of it, he was convinced that annexation to the United States was the inevitable consequence. This produced some spirited letters of remonstrance from him to the Government. * *

We addressed our official letter from Sabinas to the *Secretary of State,* because being commissioned by him, a report to him was considered necessary; and a copy, or another to the Secretary of War, would swell our bundle to such a size as would create suspicion; *for we sent a copy of all to Matamoras to be forwarded to Mr. Doyle, which we hear has been received by him.* Please present me most respectfully to Dr. Hill. I will say present *us*, as Col. Williams is not present. To Mrs. Jones, to the General, and Mrs. H., I beg you to say, I look fondly and anxiously for the moment when I shall present my respects personally; to them, to yourself, and my friends, I send my warmest regards.

Sincerely yours, HOCKLEY.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Col. Andrew Neill.*]

BEXAR, March 10th, 1844.

SIR,—You will by this same mail receive the despatches from our Commissioners; and I have thought proper to say to you by this, that as I am very busy attending court, having arrived late in the session, that I shall seize the earliest day to give you all the news of which I am in possession. Not having had an opportunity of going into the interior, I did not get time to attend to my own private business, to my entire satisfaction. One thing, however, is certain, that with all the news at this place, there will be no advance of Mexican troops this season. As to the matter of sheep, I have made a partial contract, but will advise you more fully hereafter. Address me at Gonzales of any thing important.

My trip was a very hazardous one, and I had high waters and bad weather. I only took one Mexican from Corpus Christi with me, and on my return I had three Mexicans and two Americans,—one of which is John W. Mays, one of the Mier prisoners, who was left on the Rio Grande, and was turned over to the Commissioners, who sent him in with me; he is from Columbia, Colorado county. I met with no difficulty either there or on the road. Colonels Williams and Hockley come by land to Corpus Christi; thence to Galveston by water. They were to leave on the 2d inst., but might not get off for one or two days longer.

There are two prisoners of Mier still in the hospital at Matamoras; three having died there, to wit, M. McCauley, Lyn Bobo, and James Barber. The two who still live send a letter, which I enclose to you, to hand to Dr. Hill to read and forward for them. Accept my respects, dear sir,

Your obedient servant, A. NEILL.

[*From Col. Henry F. Fisher.*]

GALVESTON, March 12th, 1844.

Dr. ANSON JONES, Washington:

DEAR SIR,—I am at last on board the brig Weser, bound direct for Bremen, and probably be on sea on the 15th inst. My desire to take something certain regarding our prospects for peace with me to Europe, and the hope of being able to embark on one of the French steam-frigates, delayed me until now.

E. Kaufman, Esq., of Galveston, I have appointed agent of the company, and the letters I have received from Germany are of the most cheering nature regarding emigrants, as well as the capital required. * * * I have learned with regret that the Senate did not take any action upon a treaty of amity and commerce between the Republic of Texas and the city of Bremen. There are not less than nine German vessels in this port at present, who came here under the impression that such a treaty had been consummated, and in return for their desire to cultivate commercial intercourse with Texas, equally beneficial to both nations, they find their interests entirely neglected, and are taxed not only 5 per cent. additional duty, but also 20 per cent. tonnage duty. I presume that the prospect of being annexed to the United States has been the cause of the delay, but the shippers suffer a heavy loss. I am afraid it will injure me some on account of procuring a sufficient number of vessels to ship the emigrants.

I have been frequently asked by Germans whether the contracts of Castro, Kennedy, &c., have been complied with, and whether they have been forfeited. Castro continues to engage emigrants in Germany—he makes them pay a certain forfeiture if they do not go on his grant; and notwithstanding the great promises he makes, it appears not that any preparations are made to conduct those immigrants to the Rio Frio. I shall come in competition with him on my arrival in Germany; and if he actually forfeited his grant, I should like to be informed of that fact by the State Department in my official capacity as Consul, that I may guard emigrants from imposition.

Immediately on my arrival at Bremen I shall write to you, and a few lines of advice from you will confer a great favor on me, and will be thankfully acknowledged. Please give my best respects to Mrs. Jones, and believe me,

Yours very respectfully,

Henry F. Fisher.

[*Self to Capt. Charles Elliot.*]

Washington, March 18th, 1844

My dear Sir,—We have just received, by express from Matamoras, the armistice as *proposed* by the Commissioners at Sabinas, and approved by Gen. Woll, a copy of which I have the pleasure to enclose you in the original. This is altogether different from the one which had been agreed upon by the first Mexican commissioners; and it does not appear that there will be a sufficient time for a commission to be despatched to the city of Mexico, and for it to accomplish any thing between this and the 1st of May next. Besides, Congress adjourned without making any appropriation for such a commission. Under all the circumstances, therefore, and taking into consideration the extreme uncertainty of any thing being effected under the stipulations of this armistice, it scarcely appears to me proper to appoint the commission. I have had a conversation with the President on the subject, and it appears to him that Gen. Santa Anna must be in favor of the annexation of this country to the United States, or he would have authorized his commissioners to agree to different terms; for such a result would appear to be the inevitable consequence of his course. There are other objections to the proposed armistice, which, as you will at once understand them, it is unnecessary I should particularize.

I regret to hear of your continued indisposition. General Houston requests me to enjoin it upon you to leave New Orleans *instanter*, as he thinks it so very unfavorable to your particular disease. I certainly agree with him in the opinion that New Orleans is the worst place you could be at with your affection. I am very solicitous to see you, and most sincerely hope you will find your health so far restored as to be able to visit Galveston immediately. General Houston will go down to that place with his family in a few days.

With my kindest wishes for your speedy restoration to health, and respects to Mrs. Elliot, I remain your friend and servant, ANSON JONES.

To Capt. CHARLES ELLIOT, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Judge Norton.*]

HOUSTON, March 21st, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Excepting that Gen. Houston has written to Reilly, nothing has been heard here from Washington for a long time: it is said Williams and Hockley were at Corpus Christi on their way home, some time since,—if that be the case, they are doubtless now at Washington. Your friends here are somewhat at a loss to decide whether you are so certain of annexation as to lose all interest in other matters, or whether you feel too sure of success in the coming elections to look much after them. It is certain your enemies are making untiring efforts in all parts of the country, and that their exertions should be met by some counter effort on the part of the Administration in due time. Annexation by treaty is now thought here to be unlikely. Shall we make the next move? and if that fail call a Convention, form a Constitution, postpone the Presidential and Congressional election for one year under that Constitution, holding on as we are, and apply under it to the next Congress for admission as a State? or shall we abandon the Union altogether if annexation fail under the present movements? This is a grave question, and I would like to know what you think of it.

You see by the opposition papers that efforts are making, and I can tell you with great success, to place the Government in the wrong in regard to the Mier prisoners. Is there any objection to laying the whole proceeding of the Executive on this subject before the world?—If there be not, I pray you will furnish me with the correspondence, and enable me to show that proper efforts have been made for the release and relief of these misguided men.

Most of our leading men here feel cold about the Presidential election; the defection of McKinney and Scurry, and other leading men, seems to discourage them, and it is said Mercer's contract will set the Red River counties against us; but of this I am unable to judge. Lawrence is just in from Liberty Court, and says they are all for Burleson in that county. * * * * Gen. Murphy is still here *waiting* to see Gen. Houston. If the President wishes to see him *very much*, I think he might be persuaded to return to Washington, and spend a few days with you and the President in a social way. Is there any thing which you wish urged particularly on public attention at this time?

Yours, &c. M. P. NORTON.

HON. A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Mr. McKinney's opposition proceeds from my having destroyed the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company," in which he was largely interested; Judge Scurry's from my having killed his *pet*, "the Eastern Supreme Court bill," in the Congresses of 1839–'40, and '41.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, March 22d, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you kindly for your letter of the 16th ult., and hasten to assure you that every thing you have been so obliging as to do for me was exactly what I could have wished. I would mention, however, that there are a few clerical errors in the names of the ships and commanders in the warrants, and perhaps you will have the kindness to forward me a brief authorization sanctioning the correction of any such errors by the proper officials in England. I think something in the following form would do, and not be objectionable to you.

* * * * * * * *

You ask me what I think of the state of feeling in the United States upon the subject of annexation, thrust forward by the Government of that country, so strangely out of harmony with President Tyler's complaints and apprehensions of undue interference on the part of Great Britain. My own opinions are worth nothing at all upon such a subject. But I have too much attachment for the President, and am too sincerely interested in the welfare of this republic, to conceal from you the deliberate conviction I have formed, founded upon much better judgments than my own, and VERY RECENT and TRUSTWORTHY information, that even if all other obstacles were removed, there is *not the most remote chance* of carrying such a scheme through the Senate of the United States. What the motives and purposes of that Government are I cannot say; but I hope they will not have the effect of breaking up your present negotiations at Mexico, and paralyzing the friendly purposes of Great Britain and France.

Late movements have compelled me to write in the sense you will see in my note forwarded herewith. But I make no doubt that the answer of this Government will be fully satisfactory, and am equally convinced that the President has not the least intention, so far as he or his Cabinet is concerned, of sacrificing the independence of the country and the well-founded hope of an honorable and early adjustment, to the exigencies of party spirit, and intrigue and electioneering trick in any quarter whatever. I greatly wish that I could have seen the General and yourself, but I dare not abide here, for I am sick—if not unto death, certainly unto the last degree of feebleness. You will hear with concern that I left my dear child at Natchez, where I had taken her for a change of air, in a state of great jeopardy, though I hope somewhat better than she had been.

I have written to Mr. Bankhead in very urgent terms about the release of the Mier prisoners, and I am sure he will represent the case in an equally pressing manner to the Government of Mexico. I think I shall be here till next Tuesday or Wednesday, and I have begged Major Cocke to send this by express, for it is very important that your reply to my note should accompany my own to London and Mexico. Pray give my regards to your family circle and all friends at Washington. I am sure you will not make the mistake of supposing that the opinion I have given you of the prospect of annexation is any other than my convictions,—convictions founded upon what I am well assured are very *trustworthy grounds*, and the latest INFORMATION.

I anxiously hope that the reply to my note may fortify the firm and most friendly intentions of the British and French Governments in your favor. The President will feel that a doubtful tone would be full of inconvenience and risk; and with a hearty conviction that there is no *doubtfulness of purpose* to maintain the independence of this country, I cannot but trust that the reply will be shaped in such plain terms as will effectually help the efforts of her Majesty's Government. The late movements in your Congress, and the state of feeling in the country, excited by the most exaggerated statements, and *every species* of pushing from a neighboring quarter, may have compelled the President to appear to move in the direction of annexation; but I am convinced that *his real intentions* are to uphold the independence of this Republic, and that he has no confidence in any other settlement. I have good hope that your Commissioners will return with something satisfactory, and a truce will be more than half way to a peace.

Believe me, my dear sir, ever very sincerely yours,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

P. S.—Excuse my very bad writing. I write with pain and difficulty.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter shows how far Capt. Elliot was mistaken in Gen. Houston. It is mournful and distressing to me to think so good a man should have been so badly used. I have the satisfaction, however, to know, from Capt. Elliot's own lips, that he attached no blame to me. At our last interview in January, 1846, he expressed his perfect and entire satisfaction with my whole conduct; and assured me that M. De Saligny was equally well satisfied.—A. J.]

[*Judge Norton to Gen. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, March 29th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I called to see Col. Reilly this morning, who has been confined to his room some days by indisposition, and he has desired me to write you, and to say that there are very urgent reasons for desiring your presence at Houston at this time. He says that he should write you himself, but that you do not reply to his letters. I do not know, sir, how far you may find it convenient, or think it desirable, to make a visit here at this time; but it is certainly important to the interests of your political friends, as well as to those of Dr. Jones, that you or himself shall make us a visit, or otherwise devise some mode by which we may confer with you confidentially, as the present movements of your leading friends do not promise much unity of action in regard to the approaching political canvass.

I am, sir, very truly yours, M. P. NORTON.

His Excellency SAM. HOUSTON.

[*Endorsement.*—Treason in camp.]

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, March 26th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I can no longer disguise from you that there is a settled determination among many of your leading friends in all parts of the country, so far as I can learn, to have a new candidate in the field for President,—either Hemphill, Henderson, or Rusk,—if the President and yourself can be satisfied with it, and you can be satisfied to withdraw. Should it so turn, and if the rumor be correct that Mexico has agreed to recognize a diplomatic commission from this Government at the city of Mexico, might it not be advisable, for many reasons, that you take the appointment, with an understanding that you will have some mission or appointment that will be more satisfactory, perhaps, under the next administration, with other objects connected with such appointment; and one that will give great satisfaction to the public will, doubtless, be the carrying out the law of the last Congress for the relief and release of the Mier prisoners, and under that law, I suppose, an appropriation may be found to pay the expenses of the mission.

I have given you this information because I believed you should be advised of it in season, either to suppress or accede to it as you might think best calculated to meet the interests of all concerned in the measure, and shall use my best efforts when the exigency arrives, to meet it as well as I can, be it what it may. It is now feared here that the "Civilian" will ultimately come out for Burleson, as the "Northern Standard" has already done. Even your friend [?] Henderson told me yesterday that he thought Hemphill would command more votes than any other candidate if he were run. Letters and communications are said to have been received from Eastern Texas, and other quarters, which strongly recommend running one of the candidates named. If circumstances would allow it, I should come and see you, and say many things connected with this matter which I do not wish to put on paper.

In regard to the feelings of those who are considered the friends of the Administration here, I know I cannot be mistaken. Col. Reilly will probably visit your place soon on his way to Austin, and can doubtless give you more information on the state of public feeling, and in regard to the prospects of the campaign generally, than I can; and although I believe he may think he has some personal cause of complaint against you, in some way connected with his late mission to the United States, is yet, I believe, as strongly anxious for your success, if it can be accomplished, as your other friends. [?]

I wish you to write me by next mail, if only to acknowledge the receipt of this, as I do not like to have such communications afloat. You can reply to it in as far only as it may seem to require attention. Perhaps I give too much importance to indications which may have some other object than an indisposition to give you a hearty support. You can perhaps judge better of this than I can.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—More treason.]

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

CITY OF WASHINGTON, March 30th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived in this city on the 27th inst., having been delayed on the road by waiting for boats at two or three points, and by slow boats, at least ten days; but still I arrived before Mr. Calhoun got here on the 29th, consequently no time has been lost by my delay. I found upon my arrival here that I was anxiously looked for by our very many warm friends, and that my appointment was as well known here *publicly*, as it is known among our members of Congress. It was in all the newspapers, and several letters from Texas to gentlemen here spoke of it not secretly. Therefore I found it useless any longer to attempt to conceal it. I am compelled, too, to talk to the members of Congress here, and they are, I find, as good hands, generally, to keep secrets as our own. I have seen and conversed with many members of both Houses, and find that all of the leading Whigs are anxious to postpone the subject of annexation until after the presidential election, and then I fear that many of them who will not now vote against it, if urged upon them, will give it the "go by." I have said to all that this is the *third* time that Texas has urged the measure upon the United States; that it is now brought up at the instance of the United States Government, and that it cannot be postponed without finally and forever defeating it; that the situation of Texas is such that she must now seek safety in some quarter by annexation, alliance, or other engagements, which will secure her peace and immediate safety; and that any delay at this time on the part of the United States will be fatal to her hope of annexing us in future, if she indulges in such hope. Some of the leading Democrats, too, wish to postpone action on the subject at this time, and it is said their reason is, that they fear the measure, if successful, will give great strength to Mr. Calhoun, or perhaps Mr. Tyler. But I am well assured that *every* Democrat in the Senate will vote for the ratification of a treaty should it now be placed before them, and our most knowing friends believe that a sufficient number of Mr. Clay's friends will also vote that way to carry the treaty through. I doubt it myself, however, unless Mr. Clay comes out in favor of the measure previously. But inasmuch as it must be, and it is now, known to the British Minister here, that negotiation has been opened on this subject, and inasmuch as the chance of a ratification is *good*, and for the further reason that we are assured that it can and *will* be done (by our consent) by an act of Congress, should the treaty be rejected in the Senate, we have determined to form the treaty, and take their action on the subject. Should the treaty be rejected, a bill will be ready to go before the Congress to authorize the President of the United States to take possession of Texas, with our consent, as soon as it is expressed in a legal way.

I have not presented my credentials, as Mr. Calhoun only entered upon the duties of his office to-day. I will do so on Monday. Friend Van Zandt and myself agree perfectly on all points. We avoid all distinctions of party, and treat it, and ask them to treat it, exclusively as a national matter, although we see who are our real friends. We must *cultivate* the Whigs, and not let them know that we regard them as less our friends than any other party. I wrote Gen. Houston from Cincinnati, and will write again in a few days, and often.

Yours very truly, HENDERSON.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, Washington, Texas.

[*From Hon. Wm. S. Murphy.*]

HOUSTON, 4th April, 1844.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—Gen. Houston and family arrived here last evening, in good health and spirits. I have shown to Gen. H. a letter from Capt. Tod, dated 15th March, the day of his arrival in Washington City. Capt. Tod informs me that Mr. Henderson and Mr. Miller were expected to be in Washington by the 20th March; and from what Capt. Tod states in relation to his conversations with Mr. Nelson (the acting *ad interim* Secretary of State,) I infer that my Government or Mr. Nelson himself is not exactly satisfied with the guaranty I made in my note to you of the 14th February, of the protection of Texas pending the negotiations. But Capt. Tod says that my conduct is not disapproved of. Yet it seems to be Mr. Nelson's opinion I was over enthusiastic, &c., &c. I had had a full and satisfactory conversation with Gen. H. on the subject, and we fully agree upon these questions. I send you some newspapers, the last I got by the "Neptune." Wishing you good and uninterrupted health,

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

W. S. MURPHY.

[*Endorsement.*—The United States are recovering a little from their alarm. I will have to give them another *scare.*

One or two doses of *English* calomel and *French* quinine will have to be administered, and the case will be pretty well out of danger.—ANSON JONES.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, 6th April, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—I have opened and considered the accompanying despatches. I will go to Galveston and see Capt. Elliot, as he is yet at the Island.

Rumor says the Government of the United States will not *avow* the acts of Gen. Murphy in relation to the pledges given antecedent to our Commissioners entering upon the negotiations with that Government. I presume, when they see Henderson's orders, or learn their contents, they will readily see that the game is to be a two-handed one.

If the United States should interpose any difficulty at this time, you will find that my action will be prompt and my purposes resolved. We have done enough; and if they expect us to place ourselves out of the pale of all probable security to this nation, they are most wofully mistaken. So soon as they assume a ground adverse to what has been the understanding, and official notice to that effect is received, it will be an easy matter to say, "Gen. Henderson, your mission has terminated, because we cannot submit to *unreasonable* and *unjust sacrifices!*"

Already the subject of annexation has caused the failure of our negotiations with Mexico. I have seen Hockley and Williams. They will not go up at present.

I think the subject of the letter which I bore here will be at rest for the future. All was *smoke*, as I believed. I send an express to the Indian treaty, and will take instructions to the Commissioners. I may be detained longer than I expected, but will be up so soon as I can. Van Zandt wrote to me, and despatches were sent to me from the Island, but by some means they have not reached me. I hope to get them. * *

Truly thy friend,

SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Stephen Z. Hoyle, Esq.*]

Washington, 6th April, 1844.

Sir,—I last evening received a note from the President, in which he states, "I received no despatches from the city or the United States. I learn that such reached Galveston; if so, they must have been mislaid, or some mistake has taken place."

The accompanying letters came under cover to Mr. Shaw, from the Collector, Galveston. As they may contain important information, I transmit them for your action.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

Stephen Z. Hoyle.

Hon. Anson Jones, Secretary of State, at Home (Cooke's).

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

Houston, April 6th, 1844.

Dear Sir,— * * * * I believe we can give you a majority in the county, perhaps in the city; but it cannot be made up by men who act on their old attachments. Ewing, McAnelly, and a long list of others, I am told, will go for Burleson, but it may not be so. I never did suppose you particularly ambitious, but I did suppose that the office of President would be to you, or any other man, a matter of more interest than you seem to consider it in your letter.

* * * * * * * *

Yours, M. P. Norton.

Hon. Anson Jones.

[*Endorsement.*—If I have written that I care nothing about holding office, I have written just as I felt. Office should neither be sought nor declined.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

Houston, April 11th, 1844.

Dear Sir,— * * * * As soon as we learn that annexation has failed, which I fear it may, we shall dig ahead. You are having some strong articles in the *Vindicator*, which, I think, *you* know something about. It is assuming a character which much helps our prospects. Do write oftener, and let me know as much as you can afford to about our prospects in different quarters. I shall now feel safe about our foreign relations as soon as I hear that Henderson has signed the treaty.

I think the course taken by the Government on that matter will result in great credit to all concerned, whether annexation occur or not. * * * * *

Yours, M. P. NORTON.

Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*From Col. Hockley.*]

April 12th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret exceedingly that it is not in my power to see you, but circumstances require my immediate return.

Mr. Shaw will show you the letter. No doubt is now entertained but that Murphy has in his pocket a censure for his propositions, perhaps a refusal. Mexico obtains fifteen millions of dollars, if she will admit cotton, (English) cotton goods, &c., &c.

Elliot has gone off miffed, and I don't wonder at it; that error must be reformed.

Yours most truly, G. W. HOCKLEY.

Dr. ANSON JONES, Present.

[*Endorsement.*—I cannot help Capt. Elliot's being "miffed," nor can I admit there has been error in consenting to treat for annexation. We must take care of ourselves. The British Government is too slow for their own interests.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. W. S. Murphy.*]

GALVESTON, Texas, 17th April, 1844.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I choose for many reasons to make this a private note, although the subject matter of it is of a public character. The Department of State of Texas has received (as I am credibly informed) a protest from England or France, or perhaps from both the representatives of these powers, against the negotiations on foot for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Mr. Jones is well aware that I would be very glad to have copies of these protests, and if Mr. Jones will furnish them to this legation, he may lay me under any injunction of confidential privacy he deems proper, and the injunction shall be scrupulously observed.

The undersigned has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Jones's note of the 7th April, and he sends to Mr. Jones by this mail divers newspapers, which he hopes will be acceptable to Mr. Jones. He tenders to Mr. Jones the assurance of his high regard and sincere esteem, and begs that Mr. Jones will present his great respect to Mrs. Jones.

Most sincerely your obedient servant,

W. S. MURPHY.

[*Endorsement.—Our* American Minister partakes of the common feeling in the United States, *jealousy* and fear of *England*, to say nothing of France. He ought to have more sense than to suppose that matters have been so blunderingly managed by Texas, as to give England or France, or both of them, any *right* to protest, and they would not do it unless they had the *right*.—A. J.]

[*From Judge Norton.*]

HOUSTON, April 19th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,— * * * I do not wish to bring forward a single article in relation to the Presidency, until this matter of annexation shall be settled, as it may be soon; but I wish then to be able to show how little the great mass of the people have had to do with the proceedings of Congress. * * * I may be obliged to leave here before the election comes off, if any opportunity offer by which I may be able to get back into the country, which I shall prefer to starving here. But I shall not at any time make any such movement without giving you timely notice, and shall hold on, at any rate, as long as I can, hoping that something may turn up to relieve me. The President is disposed to carry out, on his part, as I think very fairly, all such measures as may be likely to help forward the business of annexation (and in doing this he is fulfiling the wishes of the people), and leave us. And this course will help us in the election, if the measure fail. I intend the *Democrat* shall be the last paper that abandons it—get back, at least, if I can, what was lost by its early opposition. But when we do give it up, we must give it up *forever*—if England take such course as will sustain us. * * * Can you not persuade him [the President], when all hope of annexation or other assistance shall have failed, to withdraw Van Zandt, as well as Henderson, from the United States? It will certainly place us on better grounds with Great Britain. I mean, if the pledges of Gen. Murphy are repudiated, and when all action on our case shall have ceased in the United States.

Very truly. M. P. NORTON.

A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Gen. Houston, despairing of annexation, is thinking of entangling alliances with European powers, and through the writer of this, wishes to commit me on the subject.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, 14th April, 1844.

MY DEAR JONES,—I have read all the despatches you will receive by this mail. I have answered our agents at Washington City. I will send, by the first opportunity, a copy of my letter for your information. My instructions are to this effect: "If annexation is not effected at the present session of Congress, or if a treaty should fail, and the action of Congress be ineffectual, and they refuse to form an alliance with us, to call upon the English and French ministers, and ascertain the prospect of those Governments giving us a guarantee against further molestation from Mexico, and an indefinite truce." We cannot be trifled with in the present crisis of our affairs.

I saw Capt. Elliot, and so far arranged matters that I hope we shall suffer no serious detriment, at the same time I did not commit myself or nation. * * * It is rumored here that the Government of the United States have disavowed Gen. Murphy's pledges. This is hardly the case. If so, it is very queer, and by their not giving instant notice to us, they have incurred the heaviest shame, and trust, if they have in this way attempted to deceive us, that Henderson and Van

Zandt will make them sensible of the light in which such conduct should be regarded by this Government, and all others who may learn the fact. * * * * *

Thine truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

DR. ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

CITY OF HOUSTON, 20th April, 1844.

MY DEAR JONES,— * * * The "Neptune" was to be in to-day, and I do not care to leave here, until I know what news she brings. I am weary of waiting upon good news from Washington. I am curious to know what move we will next have to make on the chess-board.

I send you the answers which I wrote, and sent by the "New York." You will keep them until I can get home. By them you can see what I deem proper, if movements are not soon made and made, as I think they ought to be. Our situation does not allow us to trifle. I write myself for the reasons given. Our course is plain and straightforward.

Mr. Saligny is at the Island, and I hope will come up by the boat. I wrote to Gen. Murphy to come if he can. I fear he is in a bother, and will not know how to get on smoothly with his matters. Moreover, I wish to get a copy of Mr. Upshur's letter to him. We don't want it, but I would like to have it, if it should become necessary, hereafter.

Politics are at a stand here, until we know what is to be done about annexation. I hope we will soon know. * * *

I am truly thy friend, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

24th April.

The acts of Gen. Murphy, as you see by Mr. Van Zandt's letter, have not been disavowed by his Government.

Attend to the matter of the armistice, if you please, and send such a letter as you would not care to see published. * * So I must wait for the "New York." I will write something by the "Neptune," and send you a copy.

I have written to Gen. Murphy that no protest had been received by this Government from England or France, nor did I apprehend one.

Thine, HOUSTON.

JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Letter to Henderson and Van Zandt. There was by Gen. Houston about this time, an officious interference with my department, (with the view of ultimately defeating annexation,) which was productive of no benefit to our public affairs; and by which he disgraced himself and the country.—A. J.]

[*From Judge Norton and Gen. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, 24th April, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—The publication of the [commission of] armistice is doing great mischief to the cause of annexation in the United States and here, and if not properly met, will place the President in a false position. The only way now left, since it is published in the *Civilian*, is to publish the commission or letter of instructions to Messrs. Williams and Hockley, and to send a copy by the next boat to the United States if it can reach here. * * * * * *

Yours very truly, M. P. NORTON.

Hon. ANSON JONES.

P. S.—DEAR JONES,—It will not be necessary to send anything but a copy of the original instrument from the War Department to the commissioners, with the first draft proposed by our commissioners to those of Mexico, and for you or the Secretary of War to state that the agreement of the commissioners was "not approved" by me, but "rejected," and ordered it to be so endorsed, and that it is so endorsed and filed in the office.

[V. p. 260.] Thine truly, HOUSTON.

[NOTE.—The great mistake of the (our) commissioners was, that when they found they could not make an agreement with the Mexican Commissioners, within the range and scope of their instructions, that they had not declined to make any. A mere failure to come to an understanding at Sabinas, would have done us little injury—but in exceeding their powers and acknowledging Texas to be a "*Department of Mexico*," they committed a serious and double error, which was well calculated to do us great harm.—A. J.]

[*From C. H. Raymond, Esq.*

WASHINGTON CITY, April 24th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—The treaty was sent to the Senate on the 22d inst., and that body was in session from one to three o'clock hearing it and the accompanying documents read. Action upon it will probably be postponed until after the presidential conventions. I have now scarcely any hope of its ratification, but believe that delay will strengthen the question. Were the vote taken to-day, in my opinion, the treaty would be defeated. Several causes are operating against it, some of which I will briefly enumerate. Since it was concluded, the *Globe* has spoken, and its voice, though favorable to annexation, is for delay, and a desire is expressed to have the subject fully discussed by the *people*, and its disposition left with Congress. There is evidently a wish to waive final action for the present, and to give Tyler as little credit as possible in its consummation. This is a very different course from the one we had reason to suppose the *Globe* would pursue.

Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations, is understood to be preparing a report recommending the measure by joint resolution. So if the treaty fails, there is a prospect of such an action, but even the success of that I now deem doubtful.

I have just been informed that Mr. Calhoun has, in his letter to the Senate, placed the question almost solely on the ground of British interference with the institution of slavery, and presents this as the grand argument for the measure. Such a position may answer with the South, but it will only create and strengthen opposition North and West. Indeed I heard this morning that the views of Mr. Calhoun had brought the Ohio Senators into the opposition. They say if this Government rest the policy of the measure upon the alone fact, as Calhoun's letter does, of the question of slavery, they cannot, in justice to the State they represent, and the interests of even the whole confederacy, vote for the treaty. I cannot suppose, however, that the Senate will be restricted in their views, when deciding upon this treaty, to the arguments of Mr. Calhoun or the President, yet they may be influenced adversely by them.

Mr. Clay is expected here this week, and it is currently, and I believe, correctly reported, that he has written a letter here which will be published to-morrow, in opposition to annexation. One thing is certain, viz.: that his influence will be against the ratification of this treaty, at this time.

Mr. Tyler, very injuriously to this measure, has recently hoisted his flag for the Presidency, his motto is, "Tyler and Texas."

All these causes, so unexpectedly existing, will, I apprehend, prove fatal to the treaty, and although the question may not be lost, yet it will be involved in uncertainty and delay.

Almonte leaves for New York to-day, and if the treaty should be ratified, will, unless otherwise instructed, demand his passports. It is understood that a messenger was despatched to Mexico by this Government on the 22d inst., with some proposition to Mexico relative to her claim upon Texas—it is said, to offer $6,000,000 for California and the recognition of the independence of Texas.

I called yesterday on Mr. Pakenham, and had a long conversation. He said Capt. Elliot would not likely leave Texas at present—that he wished this question of annexation might be immediately decided—that during its pendency he thought Texas might make favorable terms with Mexico—that if the treaty should be rejected, the fact of its having been made would not change Great Britain's friendly policy to Texas, knowing, as his Government did, the condition of Texas, and the causes which gave rise to the treaty—that Santa Anna was well convinced he could never resubjugate Texas—that last spring, had not the difficulties in Yucatan occurred, Santa Anna would have made a serious invasion, with at least five thousand men—that he never could bring an army of over seven thousand troops to Texas. He believes that the treaty will not be, and I have *understood* that he has told Senators it *ought not* to be ratified.

We have dates from Galveston to the 6th inst. I see very little said about the September election, I suppose on account of expected annexation before that time. But I feel satisfied we will have another President, and it becomes all your friends to be up and doing. I shall do what I can from here; and as I am now over the press of business, I shall devote some time to the matter. We have received your last despatch, enclosing the correspondence between Capt. Elliot and yourself, and I am highly pleased with the manner in which you treat the subject. Mr. Van Zandt has just written to Hon. A. Smith, at Paris, and sent copies of that correspondence and of the armistice.

The opponents of annexation seize upon the terms of the armistice as showing we are willing to denominate our Republic as "The Department of Texas," and that we thereby acknowledge the sovereignty of Mexico.

Mr. Van Zandt and family, Gen. Henderson and wife, and Mr. Miller, are all in the city, and all appear exceedingly anxious for a termination of the annexation project.

Allow me to say a word about my money matters. I have never realised more than fifty cents in the dollar for my salary of last year, and Mr. Van Zandt and Gen. Henderson have been paid a portion of their salaries in par funds, or drafts on the Custom House, which are the same. I have never asked for any thing but exchequers. It is ruinous to me to be compelled to lose half of my pay by sacrificing exchequers; and as I understand there are now par funds in the Custom House at Galveston, will it be too much to ask a draft on the Custom House instead of exchequers, at least for one quarter's salary? A favor of that kind would relieve me from embarrassment, and save the necessity of a sacrifice, which I would be otherwise compelled to make.

Please present me kindly to the members of the Cabinet, and my particular regards to the President and his lady. I have the honor to be truly your friend and obedient servant,

CHARLES H. RAYMOND.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq., Secretary to Commission, &c.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, April 28th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—Both Clay and Van Buren are out against annexation *in extenso*. I send the elaborate essay of the latter to Gen. Houston, which you will see. You may now be fully assured that the treaty will be lost; I verily believe it will not receive ten votes in its favor. Mr. Tyler's strength amounts to nothing, and with the exception of two or three friends who are fully identified with the measure, both of the rival parties, Whigs and Democrats, will be united against us. There will be some efforts made by the friends of Mr. Tyler, united with some few real friends of the measure, to get up an excitement for political partisan effect. But you may rely upon it that we shall *never* be annexed to this country,—they will never receive us. Every thing here goes according to party organization, and no party will probably ever be able to command two-thirds of the Senatorial branch of Congress to ratify a treaty. It cannot and will not be done by law, for that will be deemed unconstitutional, or at least irregular.

This project then having failed, we must of course look to ourselves, and to some line of policy which may best suit our condition. What that is must in a great degree depend upon circumstances. But whatever is done must be done quickly, for the present Administration is drawing to a close; and unless something is done which may give the people hope of better times, it will close with great unpopularity. In this you will of course be materially interested, not only as a citizen looked to by a large portion of the country as a suitable successor to our present Chief Magistrate, but as one of his advisers during the whole of his administration.

It need not be denied that we are in a bad predicament; the only good result of which will be a settlement, and I hope a *final* settlement of the whole question. It has distracted us too long already.

Hoping that you may have every success in the management of our affairs at this critical period, and that a high reward may crown your efforts for the public good, I am, faithfully,

Your friend and servant; in haste,

W. D. MILLER.

TO HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—If I should live and be elected to the Presidency of Texas, I will falsify the predictions of this letter in regard to ultimate annexation.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, 29th April, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I send you the treaty; you will read it. It had as well been made in Texas, though I presume it will do very well. All we had to do was to dispose of ourselves decently, and in order. If this is done, it is well done.

I regret that the impetuosity was so great on the part of our agents as not to require some security to indemnify Texas against the consequences of a failure of annexation. I cannot see that it has been alluded to. It was regarded in the instructions from your department as a *sine qua non* to entering upon negotiations. You will see that Mr. Calhoun has jockeyed; and if our commissioners have ever presented the matter, he has clearly outwitted them.

Precautions not sustained by subsequent action are always useless. I hope all things will turn out well. The United States will have to sustain us in future, if not annexed, or take water most shamefully.

The "Neptune" starts to-morrow. I will write by her, and transmit to you a copy of my commission. Times are yeasty, and we must keep stirring. You would not have time to write, though I would be truly gratified if you were here to meet emergencies. I may wait for the return of the "Neptune;" the roads and waters are impassable from here to Trinity.

Truly thy friend, SAM. HOUSTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

P. S.—Come down if you can, if but for a few days. I may have to remain here a month. Write, and inform me.

[*Endorsement.*—Treaty of annexation. I cannot see that Mr. Calhoun has "jockeyed" in the least.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. W. H. Daingerfield.*]

PARIS, April, 22, 1844.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—For *officiality* see my despatch of equal tenor and date. This is only to say—how do you do, and God bless you. Castro will hand you this; and as he desires a fair chance with you and the Old Chief, I have told him that he may rest assured of a fair and impartial hearing as to all the deeds he has done, and all that he has left undone. So you are to be the next President of the Republic, provided always, and on this condition, that it remains a Republic.

You will have Bourgeois d'Orvanne, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Solms, to see you in June.

Whatever Bourgeois d'Orvanne's private resources may be, he has managed remarkably well to bring to his aid all these German princes, &c., who have a great quantity of cash, and moral weight and influence enough to transfer the whole population of *Faderland* to Texas. * * * *

I hope to be able to bring you a treaty with Belgium. That little power was disposed to play the coquette with me, so I left her to her own cogitations awhile. Of course, as long as the question of annexation remains undetermined, or rather in its present position, nothing can be done.

By the terms of the convention with the Hanse towns, the powers of the German confederation become parties by merely filing an official declaration. I am about arranging all this, so as to enable us to appoint consuls at all the more important places in Germany. This is of importance for the purpose of giving the requisite information to persons desirous of emigrating. God bless you, my dear Doctor. * * *

Yours most truly,

WM. HENRY DAINGERFIELD.

DR. ANSON JONES.

[*From M. C. Hamilton, Esq., Acting Secretary of War.*]

WASHINGTON, 2d May, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Hall has shown me your note of this date, as also the letter of Mr. Norton of 24th ult., requesting copies of certain papers.

In accordance with Gen. Houston's request in the P. S. to Mr. Norton's note, I have made copies of the original instructions to the commissioners, and the *rough draft first* prepared by the Mexican commissioners. As to the certificate required by His Excellency, that the agreement of the commissioners was "*not approved*" but "*rejected*" by him, you will have to append it, for the document is not so endorsed, nor did he ever authorize it, so far as I know. To you, doubtless, he expressed his views freely upon the subject—to me he said nothing. He does not seem to wish a copy of the agreement, but simply a statement that it was not approved. I can very easily believe that his disapproval was unqualified,—mine would have been in his place, that's certain. (V. p. 255.)

Yours truly, M. C. HAMILTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.
(At home, Cooke's.)

[*Endorsement.*—It had been better that our commissioners, both at Sabinas and Washington City, had not exceeded the limits of their instructions. No *final* result in relation to the destiny of Texas was immediately anticipated from either negotiation; consequently it would better have subserved the honor, interests, and the ultimate decision of the questions of independence and annexation, if the commissioners in each instance had exhibited less intemperate zeal in bringing their respective negotiations to a close, *outside* of their powers. The fact that the negotiations were on foot in Mexico and in the United States, answered every purpose in reciprocally exciting the zealous rivalry of opposing nations, which was the object aimed at by me; and the sacrifice made in each case was injudicious, unnecessary, and rather hurtful than otherwise.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. C. H. Raymond.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, 3d May, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, * * * * It is my intention to prepare several communications for the press bearing upon our Presidential election; and I do it the more cheerfully, because I believe I cannot better promote my country's interest than in advocating your elevation to the highest office in the gift of her people.

Truly your friend and obedient servant,

CHARLES H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

8th May, 1844.

DOCTOR JONES,—If the treaty is not ratified between Texas and the United States, I will require the negotiations to be transferred to Texas. You and myself can manage them tolerably well!!!

Thine truly, HOUSTON.

[*From Judge Norton.*]

HOUSTON, May 22d, 1844.

DEAR SIR, * * * * We must establish the conventions of free trade by law before Gen. Houston goes out, if not effected by treaty before. * * * Dr. Johnson said when here, you were willing to be run if you were beaten. I cannot believe this.

Yours, M. P. NORTON.

DR. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—If Judge Hemphill have any principles at all, they are those of the opposition; and Judge Norton admits he is the only man we can elect. It will be worse than folly to give up a fair prospect of success to ourselves and our principles, for a certainty that the latter would be defeated by the election of Burleson or Hemphill.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, May 8th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter this morning, and am concerned to learn that you are not in health, as I expected you might be down here, and take a look for yourself of the state and condition of parties; as I have feared for some time past that you might have been deceived, in the indications of public opinion, touching the approaching election. I cannot write you what I could say on the subject if I could see you, and I can best convey my meaning by saying, that if I were myself in your place, and understood the matter as I now do, I could not be persuaded to hold on as a candidate; and still you may have better means of judging than I can have. I feel so sure of annexation that I hope you may not move any way in the matter until that question shall be settled, any further than to be prepared to act in case that matter fail; or rather let your friends be prepared, if you shall incline to give up the contest, to give a letter from you to this effect. Gen. Houston has come, I think reluctantly, into my view of a change of candidate, if he has written you to that effect. Should you not come down, and conclude to go out of the canvass, Gen. Houston suggested it had better be by a letter to some one—perhaps to me—that all may be ready to take some other course the moment we get news of the settlement of annexation against us; but let every thing in relation to any change remain a secret until announced —and for ever, if we get annexed; and in the mean time let us do every thing on earth to carry that measure, for every [thing] depends upon [it], as far as I can see, for the success of our party. * * * * * * *

I am very truly yours, M. P. NORTON.

HON. A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Requests and advises me to decline. Gen. Houston does the same—*traitors* discovered—viz., H——n, smoky H——n, and R——y.—A. J.]

[NOTE.—Twelve months ago I earnestly sought the consent of my friends to decline being a candidate, but in vain. I hesitated, and held the matter under advisement six months before I yielded to their wishes. I then told them that, should they think best, I should withdraw at any time—I should be willing to do so; but in the present critical posture of public affairs I think such a step would have a disastrous effect. I do *not* think *my friends* WISH me to resign the candidature, or that they deem such a course best for the country. I know nothing of *party* in the matter, nor should a corrupt clique in Houston control this proceeding, and I will not yield to traitors.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

HOUSTON, May 16th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—If you have written me every mail, your letters have not reached me, for I have received but two since Gen.

Houston came here. I do think it of the utmost importance that you should be here. Gen. Houston will be back from Galveston this evening; he has sent his wife to the Trinity. He is about to take some strong measures, and has probably recalled Henderson; and if there were ever a time when he needed the aid of all his friends, it is now. He expected, without any doubt, to meet you here on his return, and I am sure will be greatly disappointed. You say nothing in your letter about coming down. * * There are so many things I wish to see you about, that I am much disappointed that you are not here. * * No one here is disposed to give one copper to help matters along—hardly to subscribe to the paper. So far as I can learn, the election is *given up* by our friends throughout the Republic. I have not heard a man intimate the belief that we could succeed for the last two months.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Treason at work—but I can and shall be elected notwithstanding.—A. J.]

[NOTE.—Judge Norton is perfectly honest, faithful, and honorable himself, and, naturally enough, thinks every body else so; but he is timid, wavering, and nervous. He does not bear sufficiently in mind that, "fear admitted into public councils betrays like treason."—A. J.]—(*Vide* various letters from Judge Norton, *not* copied); (also Vol. I., p. 51, and original Memorandum Book, No. V., pp. 14, 15, 16, and 17.)

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

HOUSTON, 17th May, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—This will reach you before I can. Don't say any thing about the *matter alluded to*, until I can see you! I was surprised at your letter, which I read to-day. What I do with my friends is done face to face, and not by halves. I am a *little mortified*. If a man cannot be open with his friends, to whom will he be honest? I intend to return by Trinity, and hope to be at Washington by Thursday or Friday next, if the condition of Madam and Sam. will permit. I want to see you!

Salute your lady for me, and be assured of my constant regard and good faith.

You may hear from Galveston. That was all well enough!!!

Thine truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington, Texas.
(Pr. Dr. Johnson.)

[*Endorsement.—Crawfishing* about, trying to defeat my election, in proposing to bring out Hemphill at Houston.]—V., p. 242.

Gen. Rusk, Gen. Henderson, Judge Lipscomb, and K. L. Anderson, had all declined the candidature for the Presidency. See letter of J. W. Henderson of 20th June. I was told Hemphill was the man by persons who knew, and it could have been no other.

[*From Gen. W. S. Murphy.*]

GALVESTON, 23d May, 1844.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * The "Potomac" frigate, Commander Conner, of the Home Squadron, went up to Vera Cruz the other day. Yesterday the "Vincennes," Capt. Buchanan, arrived off this harbor, where she will remain under my orders. The fleet is here, and two more men-of-war are coming down here. The war steamer "Poinsett" is at Vera Cruz. All these ships are guarding the Texan Coast under and in pursuance of the arrangement between us prior to the appointment of Gen. Henderson, &c., &c.* * * * * *

Your obedient servant, W. S. MURPHY.

P. S.—All the signs of the times, movements amongst the people and politicians in the United States, confirm me in the belief, that the treaty will be ratified. Congress will probably adjourn on the 27th inst., but the Senate, it is said, will set for the final decision on the treaty. The people of the United States are all for it, and public meetings are all the rage. W. S. M.

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* God save the mark—protecting and guarding us against whom? Mexico! A common Texas "dug-out," with half a dozen men, could do that. It is either fear of England and France, or some ulterior object, not yet apparent, which has brought all this array of armed ships upon our coast.

[*Endorsement.*—I have never believed the Senate would ratify the treaty of annexation, but the measure will be accomplished notwithstanding. The storm is up, and nothing but the alliance will now allay it. Mr. Murphy, his Government, and his "people," are too well frightened for any other result to happen, if the game is played right by Texas.—A. J.]

[*From D. S. Kaufman, Esq.*]

SABINE TOWN, May 25th, 1844.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State:

DEAR SIR,— * * * Our annexation being despaired of, people are beginning to talk about our own Presidential election. Your prospects throughout all Eastern Texas are very flattering indeed. Your majority here will be heavy, although Gen. Burleson is the strongest man that could have been started against you. It will afford me pleasure to throw my mite of influence in your favor. I should be happy to hear of you by return of mail, and your prospects westward. * *

Remember me to Mrs. J., and believe me ever, with sincere regard,

Your friend, DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

[*From K. L. Anderson, Esq.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, May 30th, 1844.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—This will be handed you by my friend and partner, Col. Wheeler. Any attention you may find convenient to show him, will add another to the many obligations I am now under to your kindness.

W. R. Scurry, of Red River, wishes a history of the contract made with Gen. Mercer, the facts as to the President's veto of the bill, &c., &c. He is a candidate for Congress in that county, and desires to possess himself of all the facts. Will you please request some of the young gentlemen to furnish him. We have nothing in the East that you will not be able to learn from our friend Judge Ochiltree. I shall be at Washington, I think, before the summer is over.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours, K. L. ANDERSON.

[*Endorsement.*—A cautious, prudent, and characteristic letter from my friend, the candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with me.—A. J.]

[*From Judge Norton.*]

HOUSTON, May 18th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Yesterday morning Gen. Houston sent for me, and showed me your letter, and it was finally determined to act on your suggestions, and take measures for a change of candidate, [I made no "suggestions" authorizing *a clique at Houston* to take any such measures,] and in consequence of this, had written letters to Stuart of the *Civilian*, and Lewis, and Chas. B. Stewart of Montgomery, notifying them of the fact; and in the evening, Dr. Johnson arrived with your letter, and saw the President, and I have succeeded in getting back my letters, and, as I now understand that the matter is to rest as it is until Gen. Houston reaches Washington, when the conclusion is to be come to, which will settle the question, so far as we are concerned. I learn from Culp that Gen. Houston supposes you came to the conclusions adopted in your letter to him from my writing to you that he had "reluctantly come to the conclusion, from conversing with the friends of the Administration here, that you could not be elected, and that it was better to take up Hemphill." * * * Dr. Johnson has entirely different views on the subject of the election from any other man that I have seen. He says that in Washington, and some other counties, you would even beat Gen. Houston. I think he is deceived. * * * You may now expect to see the *Democrat* and *Civilian* out in favor of free trade, and a tax on salaries from top to bottom of fifty per cent. * * * Free trade with all countries that will take our cotton, sugar, beef and pork on the same terms; and doing it all by a law that can receive Sam. Houston's signature as President. I believe we are to be left by all nations to take care of ourselves.

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

HON. ANSON JONES.
(Pr. Dr. Johnson.)

[*Endorsement.*—Detail of the treason of Gen. Houston, J. W. Henderson and James Reilly. Through Dr. Moses Johnson, the bearer of this, whom I sent down, it stands *reproved* and *defeated*.—A. J.]

[NOTE.—The *Irishman*, understanding that a *stove* would save one half of the wood usually consumed in a fire-place, proposed to get *two*, and so save the whole. This appears to be the view of Gen. Houston, as mirrored by Judge Norton in reference to salaries of the next Administration. The exchequers save *half*, the tax would save the *whole*.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, June 2d, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Baltimore Convention, you see, has nominated James K. Polk for President, and George M. Dallas for Vice-President. They are both out for immediate annexation, and the Democrats are well pleased with the nomination and their prospect of success. The Convention passed resolutions, before they adjourned, unanimously in favor of annexation. The contest is now fairly opened, and the question of annexation is now a party question, forced into that shape by the Whigs. Van Buren has been defeated by his opposition to Texas, and I hope Mr. Clay will share the same fate. The appearance is now strong against Clay. From all parts of the United States the evidence in favor of annexation is strong. I still think Gen. Cass is a stronger man than Polk; but the majority of the Democrats think otherwise, and, of course, they know better than I do. Congress has resolved to adjourn on the 17th inst., and even now it is uncertain whether the treaty and McDuffie's joint resolutions will be rejected, or laid upon the table, with the view, on the part of the Whigs, of making the impression that they have not rejected the measure, but delayed it until the people can be consulted, and some *pretended* obstacles removed. I received Gen. Houston's instructions of the 17th ult. a day or two since, directing us to press the question no farther, and commanding me to take my leave and return to Texas, and, of course, I am no longer acting in the business. I shall, however, not leave here for ten days. I regret that Gen. Houston has come to that determination, as I think our friends could elect Polk, provided the question of annexation remained a pending question, to be decided by the result of the Presidential election. Whether the President of the United States will assemble Congress again before the regular session, or not, will depend upon the views of the President of Texas, together with some local considerations. If our representative here, Mr. Van Zandt, requests him to do so, I think he will call both Houses together in about sixty days, and force the question upon them for a final decision. Mr. Tyler is very anxious to be elected President—too much so for the good of Texas, though he does not think so. I think Mr. Clay's friends are considerably alarmed at his position, and if he could recall his letter on the subject of annexation, I am satisfied he would not write another such. Our friends say, that if Texas will only await the result, they will surely succeed and annex us. We are daily gaining friends in the North and Northwest. Benton is completely dead. Walker answered his extraordinary speech most successfully. All of the speeches will be published, and I will get a copy of each and send them to you before I leave. Present me kindly to Mrs. Jones and the *little ones.*

Yours very truly, HENDERSON.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, &c.

P. S.—Gen. Murphy has been rejected by the Senate as Chargé to Texas, and I presume Gen. Howard, formerly of Tennessee, and now of Indiana, and an old friend of Gen. H——, will be appointed, &c.

[*Endorsed.*—I decided to *wait* the issue before the people of the United States. Gen. Houston takes opposite grounds, so we are at issue.—A. J.]

[*From Wm. Kennedy, Esq.*]

H. B. M. CONSULATE, GALVESTON, June 3d, 1844.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—Your letters of 2d and 19th May are before me, and demand my warmest acknowledgments for the kind and cordial spirit in which they have been written. I still continue to regain firmer health, and am pursuing my accustomed avocations as of yore.

The nature of my position here at present, now forbids my taking the contemplated journey to Washington. Capt. E—— says that he is destined to some "northern part of the United States" to seek "restoration of health." His superiors and mine inform me that he is "compelled to return to Europe" for the same purpose. On that point I presume not to speculate; but in the mean time, *I* am to remain at my post, being directed to undertake certain new duties in relation to correspondence. I am thus precise in explanation, lest you should, for a moment, conceive that either an unwilling mind or an indolent body had any share in the further procrastination of my "progress" to the forest-girded capital of Texas. Now, as the matter stands inevitably thus, may I not hope that, in your visit to Brazoria, you will make an endeavor to touch at Galveston? As you have been so recently an invalid, might we not reasonably anticipate an exchange of friendly sympathies under circumstances the most favorable for their development.

As I suppose that, by the time this letter reaches Washington, you will, at least, be ready to *start* for Brazoria, I do not send up the parchment for the certified copies of the colonial contract, being desirous to have them honored with *your own signature.* They will be transmitted as soon as you return to your official residence.

For your attention in recommending Mr. Grieve and party to the good offices of Major Hays, I pray you to accept my best thanks.

I trust your lady has not been visited with indisposition as well as yourself. Mrs. K. fortunately has experienced no climatic attack. It was her intention to have accompanied me to Washington, and she writes in expressing a lively sense of the hospitable offer you were so good as to make to us, and in the hope that Mrs. J. will, ere long, enable us to manifest equal good-will at Galveston.

I shall be anxious to see the news that will arrive here, in about a fortnight, from the United States and Europe. It is devoutly to be wished that the minds of statesmen may not be quite so charged with heat as is the present weather.

Come to Galveston, my dear Doctor, and inhale breezes freshened by the influences of Neptune. With sincere wishes for your health and happiness, and the welfare of all who share your affections, I am, as always,

Faithfully yours, WILLIAM KENNEDY.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From C. H. Raymond, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, June 5th, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Mr. Castro is about leaving for Galveston, and I will avail myself of the opportunity to send you a few lines, although I have no important or interesting information to communicate.

The session of Congress is drawing to a close, and I do assure you there is scarcely any prospect of a favorable action upon the annexation question.

It is very generally believed that Mr. Tyler will convene Congress some time in the month of September next, and recommend a joint resolution for annexation. Many of the members would like the fun of coming back, after a few weeks' visit home, and I am not sure but many of the warmest friends of Texas would thank the President for such a course. Some desire to consult their constituents; others fear responsibility; and others think Tyler would withdraw from the Presidential canvass upon a called session being convened. The Whigs are disposed to delay the matter, and say it will never do to go contrary to their great leader's dictum; so that between them all, Congress will adjourn on the 17th inst., without any action upon the subject, save a rejection of the treaty.

If there should be a called session, *if* Tyler should withdraw from the canvass, and *if* the members of Congress shall discover that the people are in its favor, why then there will be pretty fair grounds to hope the measure will be carried this year.

The Democrats, as a party, are pledged to the measure, and their candidates (Polk and Dallas) are its warmest advocates. Should this party prevail at the ensuing Presidential election, annexation might be considered as certain to take place, unless Texas in the mean time withdraw her consent, and adopt some adverse line of policy. The Democratic nominations seem to be well received, and will doubtless harmonize and unite the party. To-night a great ratification meeting is to be held in New York city, at which Ex-President Van Buren is to preside. 'Tis said that all of the old Jackson men in New York and Pennsylvania, &c., who went over to Gen. Harrison, will come back into the ranks, now that Van Buren is out of the way, and Gen. Jackson's bosom friend the candidate. Col. Benton's course upon the treaty has brought down upon his head the curses of a large portion of the Democratic party. It is a very able speech, and sustains Clay's position admirably. The Whigs have ordered 300,000 copies of it for circulation, and are showering compliments and praises upon Benton in the richest profusion. I said it was an able speech: it is; but at the same time, in my opinion, his premises are false, and his whole argument has been demolished by Mr. Walker's reply. Walker is worth his weight in diamonds. I can't tell you how highly I prize that man.

Mr. Miller left here about ten days ago for Texas. General Henderson speaks of leaving in the course of two weeks. Should there be a called session of Congress, Mr. Van Zandt will probably conclude to remain here and await its action.

I have not yet heard from you in relation to my salary, but I feel confident, under the circumstances, you will use your influence to have it paid in par funds.

I perceive the *Northern Standard* has hauled down its opposition colors; and from all I can learn you will obtain a heavy vote in the East. I have written several letters to my friends in Robertson county and elsewhere, urging them to be at their post and do their duty at the September elections.

Please accept assurances of the great respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be your friend and obedient servant,

CHARLES H. RAYMOND.

DR. A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Texas will not "adopt some other adverse line of policy," *if I* can help it.—A. J.]

[*Self to Judge Norton.*]

AT HOME, June 6th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * But the *Democrat* is not alone. The *Vindicator* now circulates about 900 copies.

They go into every "nook and corner" where the *Telegraph* can be found. Besides, there is the *Red Lander*, a paper of high character and great influence, with a circulation much larger than that of the *Telegraph*, the *News*, and the *Intelligencer* put together. There is also the *Harrison Times*, a well-conducted paper, with a circulation of some four or five hundred. The *Democrat* would probably gain at once and without any great effort as large a circulation as any paper in the country, if it would adopt the "credit system," as some of the other papers have done. But, for one, I like the "cash system" best, as in the end it is much the safest.

The news from every quarter is of the most favorable character in regard to the election. *I am not deceived.* I have it from men of known integrity and intelligence,—men who have no motive to induce them, nor object to accomplish, in attempting to deceive me. It is true there are a few of the opposition who make themselves busy in saying that Burleson will be elected,—two to one, three to one, four to one, and some six to one. But they are appointed and commissioned to do this, and no more. I know one in particular, who has taken his stand at a certain corner, and repeats over an assertion like this, to every one that passes, parrot like. There are also some pretended friends who (enemies in disguise) make acknowledgments for me, and say "I stand no chance," &c., &c., &c. *I know who these men are.*

I say once more to you,—I am a candidate, and shall continue to be so, and that, whether I get a vote or not. I expect the *support* of my friends, not apathy and discouragement. If you think the case a bad one, I ask you to go with me no step further than you choose. I wish, however, you would "define your position," and let me know what I am to depend upon. I wish this done at once; there is no time for delay.

Your friend, ANSON JONES.

Hon. M. P. NORTON, Houston.

[NOTE.—This letter was written at the time it bears date, but not sent in the present form, though the subject-matter was communicated to the Judge by a different channel, and much more in reference thereto. I thought and said, and still think, it would have been a species of moral treason to the country for me to have hesitated at the time. The best hopes of a proper and favorable settlement of our national affairs depended upon a continuance of the policy I had adopted, and so long pursued, and was at the moment pursuing, with a fair prospect of success, in reference to independence and annexation. The opposition were pledged, if brought into power, to change this policy, and would thereby, in all probability, have prevented the consummation I achieved. This *change* of policy was certain as it regarded Gen. Burleson, and probable as it regarded Judge Hemphill. But if I had declined the candidature after the rejection of the annexation treaty had become known here, as proposed by the Houston clique,—that is, after the middle of June,—there would then have been but ten weeks to the election; and it is not to be supposed that the Administration party, and my other friends, who had been organizing for more than twelve months under the banner of those principles with which I was alone identified throughout the length and breadth of our wide-extended country, could, in the face of an active and well-disciplined opposition, have broken up that organization; and, in the short space of time remaining, have remodelled their forces, and organized with new leaders and new or doubtful principles, with any, the least hopes of success, in the struggle with which they were so soon to engage with the enemy. Defeat would have been inevitable. Any other result would not come within the range of possibility or probability.—A. J.]

[*From John Manson, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, June 6th, 1844.

To Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I am happy to find we concur in the necessity of immediate exertion in the Presidential contest, for if we even were more perfectly assured of a larger majority than we anticipate, it is the most dangerous mistake that can be committed, either in war or politics, to undervalue a cunning and unscrupulous enemy. It is very evident, if they *mine*, we must countermine, for if it was possible that there were any chance of Texas being again cursed by the rule of the Lamar faction, I would sooner see her annexed to the United States, Mexico, or the Devil, than consent to be *particeps criminis* in the foul transaction.

Mr. Smith and I have had a long and interesting confab on the subject, and I have engaged to furnish one or more articles every week for the *Democrat*, either as leaders, or communications, offensive and defensive, until the election is over. No exertion will be spared on my part, and I feel perfectly assured of ultimate success.

We have been lately advised by the Postmaster that you were to pay us a visit here; I think it would be both advisable and politic; and it would strengthen your friends and weaken your enemies. There has been a report, originating with some who call themselves your friends, of your withdrawing from the contest, and although it was only a "weak invention of the enemy's" it still has effect on the waverers, which accounts for the fact mentioned in your letter, of this being the place from which you hear most discouraging reports. Your presence down here would put that at rest for ever. * * *

I am your obliged friend and servant,

JOHN MANSON.

[NOTE.—It is against all my principles, feelings, and practices, to go about electioneering for an office, and it is a sacrifice I cannot make in the present instance, for the Presidency most especially, is an office neither to be sought nor declined. This is a question the people must decide for themselves. I have counselled with my friends, when requested, and given them my opinion of the proper course to pursue. I have, and shall consider it my duty to repel attacks made upon my character as a man, and my acts as a public officer; but beyond these I shall not go. Besides, in consequence of the almost continual absence of the President and most of his Cabinet from the seat of Government, I am compelled to remain at my post, and administer the public affairs. Further than this, the policy I am now pursuing with the United States, England, France, Mexico, and other powers, in reference to a settlement of our national difficulties, is not ripe for an exposure to the world. A prudent and discreet policy requires I should keep silent for the present, which I could not do were I to go among the people electioneering. The Opposition must necessarily have the advantage of this circumstance.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, June 7th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have no matter of sufficient importance to make up a despatch, but as you must be anxious to hear from this quarter as often as possible, if you only hear that there is no news, I deem it best to write this. The Senate is much puzzled to know what course to pursue in regard to the treaty, &c., they do not wish to reject it, and the Whigs cannot ratify without disobeying Mr. Clay's commands. It has been rumored for several days that a runner has been started to Ashland for advice, and to get Mr. Clay's consent to certain propositions. In the mean time Mr. Rives has introduced into the Senate the following resolutions, viz.: "June 6th, 1844. Resolved, that the treaty for the annexation of Texas be laid on the table, and that the President be advised to cause an additional article to be negotiated, extending the period within which the treaty is to be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, so as to give further time for a full and deliberate expression of the opinion of the people of the United States on the subject, and also for a reasonable and amicable effort to obtain the concurrence of Mexico, in a conventional arrangement for ascertaining and establishing the boundaries which shall separate her adjacent territories to the west and the north, from those of Texas." This resolution was introduced in secret session, a printed copy of which (printed secretly for the use of the Senators) was handed me to-day by a gentleman, sent doubtless by Mr. Rives to ascertain how such a step would be received by Texas. I frankly told the person who came with the resolution, that whatever might be my individual opinion as to the step proposed, I could say to him that the Representatives of Texas here had no power to consent to the proposed delay—that I apprehended Gen. Houston would regard such a step as tantamount to a rejection of the treaty; and, moreover, that I presumed, from what I had heard, that Mr. Tyler would not consent to it. My own opinion is, that as matters now stand, Texas had better consent to the proposition, if passed by the Senate, as I believe there will be such a strong demonstration during the next fall elections in favor of annexation, as to *force* the measure through. I really do believe that Clay will be defeated. Many very important changes in favor of Polk have taken place already, in all parts of the United States. The old Jackson Democrats are all coming back into the old Democratic ranks, and our friends are confident of success. We have received Gen. Houston's instructions of the 17th May, from the city of Houston, directing us to press the question of annexation no further on this Government, and directing me to take my leave, &c. I will leave here accordingly in about ten days. I hope Gen. Houston will await the result of the campaign which is now fairly opened in our favor in the Presidential contest, &c.

Yours very truly, HENDERSON.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Gen. Houston is not willing to wait the result of the Presidential election. The instructions from the city of Houston were hasty, and not known of by me. I am in favor of following the advice of this letter. A. J.]

[*From J. W. Henderson, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, June 20th, 1844.

Hon. A. JONES:

SIR,—I am now canvassing this county for Representative, and have some opportunity of knowing what will be the result of your election so far as regards this county. I was in favor of Hemphill up to the time he was dropped, and then took my stand for you; and have invariably urged upon my friends the necessity of your election. *Some cause*, I know not *what*, has marked a powerful revolution in your favor. I have two opponents, Col. ——, and Col. Thruston; they are for Burleson. I shall very nearly get as many votes as both of them. *Some* say both are to be dropped, and some more prominent man is to be brought out. I shall make the Presidential election a *strong point* in the canvass. I say to you, as I always held to my friends, that I was in favor of Henderson, and urged upon him to run. I then urged upon the *friends* to take up Hemphill as an *available;* but as the issue is now made, and the time is come when it is necessary to work, I have taken my stand, and I start in the canvass as your friend. I believe you will get 500 votes in this county; the whole vote will be about 750 or 800. I shall be at Washington in a few days.

Yours, J. W. HENDERSON.

P. S. by JOHN GREEN, ESQ.:

SIR,—Your prospects are brightening here daily. I have recently heard several persons offer to bet on your prospects, but could not find any one reckless enough to take them up:—500 and 300 is generally admitted, but I think it will be worse than that. JOHN GREEN.

[*Endorsement.*—After trying to bring out, one after another, every *available* man in the country, the Houston clique finally, on the 20th June, finding I would be elected with or without their support, concluded to *take their stand* for me in preference to Gen. Burleson and the Opposition. How patriotic and magnanimous!!!—A. J.]

[*From H. G. Catlett, Esq.*]

CITY OF AUSTIN, June 23d, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

ESTEEMED SIR, * * * * Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you on the increased flattering prospects of your triumph,—the triumph of order, sound principles, and good government over mobocracy, misrule, reckless speculation, and air-castle building. All the news I can get from every part of the country is indeed most cheering; and the west, or at least the more candid portion, are compelled to admit that the country is in a most flourishing condition when compared with its situation two years since; and when the election shall be over, and unprincipled demagogues, desperadoes, and disorganizers are laid low, and the people have time for sober reflection, your day will come indeed; and when you have an opportunity of showing to the people of the west, and to all the country, that you are free from those absurd eccentricities which have made

Gen. Houston so many personal enemies, and that your whole wish is for the interest of the *whole* country, I predict that you will leave the Presidential chair with more universal popularity amongst the *people* than either of the other ex-Presidents have done. With a certain set you can never be popular,—they can flourish alone under misrule, and they are fully satisfied that they cannot wheedle or bend you to their purposes—therefore would have more use for any other man. * * *

With considerations of the highest esteem, I remain most respectfully, your friend and servant, H. G. Catlett.

[*From Col. H. F. Fisher.*]

(Mayence) Maine, June 27th, 1844.

Dr. Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—I had the pleasure of addressing you on the 17th March from Galveston, and on the 20th May from Bremen, but I am deprived of any favors from you.

The object of the present is to inform you of my having, after great troubles and labor, succeeded in procuring the necessary funds and emigrants to carry out the stipulations of our colonization contract, and that *I have associated* with a "Society" (previously formed here) "for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas." Mr. Wrede, the bearer of this, will be despatched to-day by the society, as an express to inform Prince Solms of Hanover, (now in Texas, and who is one of the stockholders of the society,) of that fact.

The "Society for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas" had previously entered into an agreement with Bourgeois d'Orvanne and Ducro to colonize their grant, provided they had not forfeited the same; and in order to ascertain more about the said grant, they sent Prince Solms with Mr. Bourgeois to Texas, and requested the aid of the English and French Governments to procure an extension of time for Bourgeois, if it could be done. Since that time I arrived in Bremen, and visited Count Castell, Count Leinengen, and other members and heads of the society, and after a great deal of exertion, and my having pointed out to them the impracticability of obtaining a new grant for Bourgeois, and our grant being now in full force and virtue, they concluded at last to enter into a contract of association with me, which was signed and sealed yesterday. They now desire much *to get rid of Mr. Bourgeois*, and that he may not succeed in getting any privileges from the Government of Texas, in order to be able to concentrate all their means for the colonization and improvement of our grant.

I shall leave here on the 1st August next *viâ* Liverpool, and expect to be in Texas by middle of September. The society has intrusted me with the management of affairs in Texas. On the 15th September next the first expedition of emigrants will leave Bremen. I shall settle in the colony this fall about four hundred families, who are required by the company to bring with them not less than 600 florins a family, and 300 francs a single man; but there are emigrants among them worth from 10,000 to 30,000 florins, so that the Republic will acquire by the introduction of these families alone a cash capital of about 400,000 florins, independent of what moneys will be expended by the company for the settlement of the same.

My time being at present very limited, I refrain from giving you more of the particulars; but so much I can say, that I have succeeded in making such arrangements with the "Society for the Protection of German Emigrants to Texas," which cannot but result to the greatest benefit of the Republic, and every one concerned in the enterprise. Therefore I hope I may rely on your friendly co-operation in behalf of

Your friend and obedient servant,

HENRY F. FISHER.

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

GRAND CANE, TRINITY, 11th June, 1844.

MY DEAR JONES,—I am here safe and sound. I hope on to-morrow to send you this note, which will reach you in less than four days. Since I left you I hope you have received no worse news than what I have to send you.

A gentleman passed here yesterday from San Augustine, Mr. Thomas, (an old settler,) who states that he did not see but one man in a travel of three weeks, (except one,) but what would vote for yourself and K. L. Anderson, and that *one* was

Judge Scurry, and he said he "had promised Burleson, and wished you elected!"

The gentleman stated that you would get nearly all the votes in San Augustine, Nacogdoches, and the counties around them; and in the Red River region he states from the best information, that you would get at least two-thirds of the votes. In passing through Montgomery I did not hear of one man that would vote for Burleson, nor do I think I saw one unless it was "Meggison." This county will vote about 500. * * You will not lose over 50, possibly 75. * * * So now you are in possession of all my news. You will now go on with all your skill and appliances, and you know what *licks*, and where to give and how to give them.

I may remain here until the last of this month, unless business should require me at home. * * * I hope we are pretty well through exciting matters; but should it be otherwise, we must meet. * * * * * *

Thine truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

Doctor ANSON JONES.

[NOTE, 1853.—It will be seen from Gen. Houston's letters and other documents that he was absent from the seat of Government nearly all the year 1844 and much of 1843, during most of which time I administered all branches of the Government.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

(Accompanying his despatch of 24th June from London.)

July 1, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your despatches and private letter of the 26th March have just reached me, barely in time to acknowledge their receipt, not to answer them.

In my interview of to-day week with Lord Aberdeen, I found on his part the most friendly tone and conciliating dispositions towards Texas. The purpose of his Government is, if possible, to prevent our annexation to the American Union. I have endeavored to give an accurate account of our conversation in my despatch herewith sent, drawing from that conversation no unauthorized conclusions. His lordship's manner toward me was marked with much kindness and seeming confidence. He appeared quite anxious that in case any "diplomatic act" be negotiated to settle our relations, it should be transacted at London. As I did not wish to say any more until I shall receive instructions from your department, I took leave of his lordship preparatory to going to Paris, stating at the same time that I would, on three or four days' notice, call on him at the Foreign Office if invited to do so.

Should any circumstances occur which may render annexation not desirable by Texas, I believe, nevertheless, the present occasion a favorable one for making advantageous commercial arrangements with Great Britain and France. We may also insist on a treaty with Spain in reference to our commerce with Cuba; for it is believed that the word of the king of the French is all potent with the Spanish Government. I have not omitted to urge the importance we attach to the commerce of Cuba in my conversations with these Governments. If deemed best to give me any instructions relative to this subject, I think no time should be lost in transmitting them to me.

On looking at your private letter, I note the close of it, in which you wish to know the opinion entertained by France and England in reference to the course of Texas on annexation. Extreme dissatisfaction was at first felt, especially by Great Britain. I flatter that I succeeded in removing this feeling *wholly* from Lord Aberdeen's mind, by a plain statement of the cogent motives that led to our adoption of this course. And I believe the feeling now at London is of some dissatisfaction that the "mediation" was not urged with more vigor. Mr. Addington, Under Secretary, who is well acquainted with Spanish character, observed to me that the Mexican is like a mule—if you spur him too much he will back off the precipice with you. The French Government appeared dissatisfied, but they care much less about it than England.

I requested a *congé* some time since. Should it be deemed best for me, in view of the present matter, to remain at my post, I would waive my request for the present.

I always write in haste, as I wait for the last moment before closing the mail, in order to give the latest information. * * * * * * *

I am very truly and faithfully yours, ASHBEL SMITH.

Hon. ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From A. Bourgeois d'Orvanne.*]

WASHINGTON, le 7 Juillet, 1844.

CHER MONSIEUR,—S. A. S. le Prince de Solms et moi venons d'arriver, pour avoir l'honneur de vous voir ainsi que S. Excellence Le President. Ne vous trouvant pas à Washington, et dans la crainte de mois croiser, nous venons vous prier de nous faire savoir si nous devrons nous rendre à votre habitation demain, ou vous attendre ici.

Recevez, Cher Monsieur, l'assurance de me sentiments tres affecteux, AL. BOURGEOIS D'ORVANNE.

To Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—The Prince is of the family of Solms-Braunfels, a step-son of Cumberland, King of Hanover, and by this marriage cousin to Victoria, Queen of England.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

GRAND CANE, TRINITY RIVER, July 8th, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—I had the pleasure to receive your letter by Dr. Hill. I believe I have nothing to suggest in relation to the despatches to Col. A. Smith, unless it be to ascertain the sum and substance of the correspondence between England and France on the subject of Texas and Mexico. Let him, so far as practicable, ascertain what they propose to do in our behalf, and let him refer the same to this Government. We are not in a situation to make any pledges until we know absolutely what they propose to do. We will try hereafter and keep the jockey word when we have got it. (What boot will you give us?) I enclose you a letter from Mr. Van Zandt, in which he announces having sent his resignation to you. You will accept it in the most courteous terms, and express to him the confidence of the Executive in his patriotism and integrity. You will direct him to hand over to Mr. Raymond the papers of the legation when he is ready to leave Washington. I also forward you a letter from Mr. Raymond of that legation, until we have an opportunity of meeting.

I have not heard of our man, Major Chenoweth, but what you tell me of him. I wrote a letter to the East yesterday by Capt. Beall. I also wrote a letter to Gen. Taylor, enclosing a copy of one from Gen. Murphy,—the original I send to you. I am exceedingly anxious to get to Houston and Washington. I will endeavor to see Gen. Murphy on my way up. Gen. Howard, the new Chargé d'Affaires, was Inspector-General of my staff when I was Governor of Tennessee, and we are particular friends. Until I arrive no appointment will be made to supply the place of Mr. Van Zandt. I would not have been unwilling to have gratified his desire to remain in the event of a called session, only that I am very much opposed to contingencies, and I am satisfied that his interests will be better advanced by his return, and I am led to believe that our Minister's leaving Washington City will have a favorable influence on the general concerns of Texas. We shall have to be as sharp-sighted as lynxes, and wary as foxes, for we are not yet out of the woods, and ought not to halloo. Our path is yet beset by many incidents. I do not exactly know what to make out of Gen. Murphy's letter, but am somewhat incredulous about Santa Anna's avowed designs. That he wants money, I have no doubt; that he will get it, I have some. That he will derive foreign aid, I think is an error. Hockley and Williams suggested it; and it may be consonant with the views of England to let the idea be propagated. It could not be afforded at a better time for Texas than when she has a guarantee of assistance.

I wish you to ascertain of the legation at Washington, whether the different legations of the several Governments were waited upon, and whether it was ascertained if they would act conjointly, or what two powers would, in bringing about pacification between Texas and Mexico. There are several points in my letter from Houston to that legation, which I do not see alluded to in their replies, nor in any of their correspondence. They may have placed a different estimate upon their value from what I did, at the time I wrote them, but that even would not justify an omission to notice them in any respect.

I will now drop into politics. I would remark, although it would appear such could not be the result of the election, that I have heard of but two men in the county who would positively vote against yourself and Anderson. One is said to be Mr. Branch, and the other a Mr. Bevans, an Englishman. Branch you know, and Bevans is a lawyer who never gets a fee. So far as I can hear or learn, your and Anderson's prospects are excellent. I will leave here for Washington the moment I am able, by the way of Houston. I have private business at San Augustine, which will require me there by the 5th of August, if it is practicable to get there. I find to-day that since noon the family are worse, and my own situation is so painful from a rising on my jaw that I will not attempt to describe it. From the incoherency of my letter, I fear I am slightly delirious.

Most truly thine, SAM. HOUSTON.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

[*Endorsement.*—See P.S. on another sheet. "Coming events cast their shadows before." Two weeks before this England and France had cordially united in the policy of defeating annexation, and made a proposal to Dr. Smith. This letter foreshadows such an event, (arranged perhaps between Gen. H. and Capt. Elliot, or Mr. Saligny, secretly,) and the Executive Order of September 24th to me to close with that proposal.—A. J. P. S.—I thank the Lord I had sufficient of the "lynx and the fox," as herein advised, to detect the scheme. Gen. Houston was calling my attention one way, while the *game* was running another;—but did not succeed.]

GRAND CANE, July 8th, 1844.

P. S.—DEAR JONES,—I have to desire that you will immediately address the British authorities at Mexico, or any that may be residing in Texas, (if you should think well of the plan,) to inquire of Santa Anna if he considers all the effects of the armistice proclaimed through the British authorities and recognized by this Government, as well as Mexico, at an end; for, indeed, there was no other arrangement ever made or recognized, save that proclaimed by the President of Texas upon information received from her Majesty's Ministers, and recognized by the Mexican authorities, as will be seen by their action taken under it. And, furthermore, to know of Santa Anna if he meditates another invasion of Texas or not, or within six months from the open declaration of his intentions; and also what are his intentions in relation to the prisoners, and what has delayed his action in regard to them? Would it not be well for you to publish your last letters to our Ministers, with the accompanying protest, written previous to our receiving the news of the armistice. If you have any doubt about doing this, don't do it until I see you again. I have but little doubt on the subject, though I cannot call every thing to mind in my torture.

Yours truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

[*Endorsement.*—Going over to France and England in a hurry. Mem.—I did not let him. (V. Order Sept. 24th, and my action on it.) This whole letter is a foreshadowing of the Order of Sept. 24th, same year, to close with the proposition of England and France, and pledge Texas against annexation for all time to come. 1846.—A. J.]

[*From Col. John C. Hays.*]

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, 21st July, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed communication by Mr. Castro, and assure you that I will do every thing in my power to enable him to effect his object (the establishment of his colony) as soon as possible.

The small force that I have under my command will not be sufficient to afford the colonists much protection in their new settlement. I think, however, if my force was increased to 15 or 20 in addition to my present numbers, they could proceed to the lands and commence their operations in safety.

Mr. Castro is now in this city, and will proceed immediately to the settlement. He has been detained a short time in consequence of my inability to accompany him, caused by a severe spell of sickness, from which I have but recently recovered.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN C. HAYS.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. C. Hughes.*]

THE HAGUE, 30th July, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your very kind letter of the 6th May; and I confess that your words—"The interest you have taken in the affairs of Texas, and your services rendered in Europe, in facilitating an acknowledgment of our national character, entitle you to my best thanks, and the lasting gratitude of every Texan"—have gratified me exceedingly. I certainly did work very zealously, and, I say it without any mawkish reserve, *efficaciously*, in your cause at Paris; and (let me go the whole hog at once) it is positively to my acting through my friend the Marquis de Rumigny, who secured for me the ear and the confidence of Marshal Soult, that *you owe* the recognition of your independence by the French Government. There is no political fact more true than that I never should or could have succeeded, but for the friendship and active support of Marquis Rumigny; and it is to him chiefly, and in the first place, that you owe your thanks. He was at the time (1839) Ambassador at Madrid, and at home (Paris) on leave. He is now Ambassador at Brussels, where again, at my instance and recommendation, he did every thing that could possibly be done by the most sincere and zealous friend, to support your cause, and to prevail upon the Belgic Government to follow the example of France, England, Holland, and other European States, in recognizing your Government. I repeat that it is to *him* that you owe your thanks and gratitude for his active and disinterested exertions in your favor, and for the open and manly support he gave to our worthy and clever friend Daingerfield. * * * *

I do not give in to the gloomy view of things implied by your words, of "not entertaining a reasonable hope of our ever meeting again." Now, I do not see *why* we may not have a hope of meeting again. I indulge the hope of seeing you and your illustrious chief, Gen. Houston, some day or other, in the United States, once more reintegrated in all your rights and identity as citizens of the old mother country, from which I have ever regarded your separation as merely ideal and temporary; for I never have conceived, nor ever can conceive, the possibility of some hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen being completely dissevered from the old United States; and I have always looked on ye Texans, notwithstanding your geographical removal, as still being an integral part of our population, and as my countrymen and brothers; and I believe there is that in our nature, as American citizens, which renders a complete separation as absolutely inadmissible to our hearts, and positively impossible. We must go through some political and legislative ceremonies and *flourishes*, on account of territorial and boundary, and *Mexican* considerations; but our population is and must be one and identical, whatever may be the delays, and the discussions, and the performances of our respective "Congresses" on the question of annexation. There is a power, far superior to the phenomena and exhibitions in legislative halls, which must and will, soon or late, settle the matter. THE PEOPLE, on both sides of the frontier, will flout and scout, and utterly cast from them, all schemes and notions of distinction and separation. We are of the same family, the same kidney, the same sympathies, the same blood. Nothing can keep us apart. Annexation is a mere form, where identity exists. In a word, I consider annexation, soon or late, (and rather soon than late,) as certain and inevitable. *No power on earth can prevent it.*

Col. Daingerfield, now here, has made a very wise use of his time since his successful negotiations with the Hanse Towns. He has visited, with the eye of a practical and observing traveller, several of the southern countries of Europe. * * * He had formed some vague project of going home, for a time, to Texas; and I believe has written to you in that sense, and to ask leave of absence. I have, however, rather advised him to give up all such notions, and to remain at his post, taking care of Texan interests; for it seems to me that in the present very extraordinary condition of your nationality, as regards the question of your annexation, and whilst things are so undecided, it might have an injurious and an undignified appearance and influence if he, who is now so generally known in Europe as a Texan representative, should leave his employment and go home. He will do much wiser and better by continuing in Europe, seeing to his country's interests, and waiting the developments of events. * * * * * *

The newspapers tell every thing. I have nothing of importance to write, and if I had, I am in no humor for writing to-day. My spirits are dejected; this sad tendency comes over me often, and leaves me listless and unequal to any exertion.

Our life here is very quiet; more like the repose of village life than what you might suppose to be the case in the capital of a kingdom and abode of royalty. We have none of the bustle and variety of most European towns; and there is so little movement and incident, that we are just as much occupied about, and just as anxious for the news from England and France as you are on the other side of the Atlantic.

I was thinking how your Government might, in some way, mark your sense of gratitude for the services rendered you by the Marquis de Rumigny, and thus do an act just and praiseworthy in itself, and honorable to the character of republics, which you know are generally charged with being ungrateful. Have you not some new town or county to christen in your great and prosperous region? If so, baptize it "*Rumigny*," and write a complimentary letter to the Marquis at Brussels, communicating the fact to him. Your noble-hearted General Houston will be the first to espouse and promote a public act of generosity, gratitude, and justice; and you may say to him from me, that it would be impossible to do too much to show honor and respect for the character and name of this excellent and noble-hearted Frenchman, who so zealously took up your cause in 1839, and by his influence and consideration with his own Government, prevailed upon France to recognize and admit the equality and independence of Texas, and to receive her into the family of nations. Talk this over with Gen. Houston, and I assure you both that such an act, on the part of your Government, will reflect the greatest credit and honor upon your national renown in Europe, and it won't put your *Treasury* to the smallest expense.

If it should be *the President of Texas* who opens this letter, my suggestion to pay this compliment to my valued friend, Marquis Rumigny, will reach, directly, head-quarters, and be the more likely to be entertained. I sincerely hope you may be elected, for I assure you I have ever cherished the recollection of our intercourse in the United States as among the pleasing incidents of my life, and to it may be ascribed, in a great measure, not exactly the existence, but the *activity* of my interest and efforts to be of some use and service to the cause and welfare of your new and promising country; to it, and to you, I heartily wish peace and prosperity. I pray you to read this dull letter with kindness and indulgence, and to believe me to be, and very sincerely,

Your friend, CHRISTOPHER HUGHES.

The Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State of Texas.

N. B.—I have seen your correspondence, and considering the "situation of circumstances," you have beaten him off the field—horse and foot! I think I know E——t. I knew his celebrated old father, Hugh Elliot, and his sister, Lady Hislop. Adieu. Yours, C. H.

[*Endorsement.*—I have endeavored to carry out the very proper suggestions of this letter in regard to Rumigny, and also to have a county named after Mr. Hughes, but have not been seconded by Gen. Houston, and could find no one to assist me, nor could I awaken any feelings among our legislators on the subject. France was so far off, they chose to know nothing about it.—A. J.]

[*From James W. Scott, Esq.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, August 18th, 1844.

DEAR DOCTOR,—I was surprised to hear from Washington that some one had charged that I had, in Houston or somewhere else, said that you were opposed to annexation. I never said any thing of the sort. I am too smart, I think, to assert a thing so susceptible of easy refutation; and had your enemies been equally so, the charge would never have been made, at least not so near home, where your archives, and all your public and private professions could be brought to bear to prove the falsity of the charge.

The only argument I recollect using in your favor—and this was in the presence of Gen. Burleson, and Gen. Harrison, who is now in Washington—was, that, having assisted Gen. Houston in bringing about the present state of things, you would necessarily feel a pride in perfecting the policy which had been begun. * * * * * * *

Yours truly, J. W. SCOTT.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From C. H. Raymond, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28th, 1844.

FRIEND JONES,—I drop you a few lines by to-night's mail, relative to the appointment of a Commissioner by the United States, to attend the Council on the 15th proximo, in hopes they may reach New Orleans by the next sailing of the steamship "Republic."

Mr. Calhoun has just informed Mr. Van Zandt that a Commissioner would be immediately despatched, with a suitable escort, to the place of meeting, where he will probably arrive in *forty* days from this date. It was supposed the Indians could be detained till that time, or even longer, if necessary. Your despatch on this subject did not reach here till three days ago.

Several despatches of July and up to the 6th inst.,—the last by express from your Department to Mr. Van Zandt and myself,—have been received, and I will write more fully about them by to-morrow's mail. Mr. Van Zandt has been waiting for his letter of recall, which did not arrive until last Saturday. He is now ill, and has been confined to his bed nearly a week. So soon as he recovers sufficiently to travel, he will take his leave of this Government. I consider it is fortunate he is here at this time, when important questions, growing out of the treaty of annexation, are being discussed, &c. But the mail soon closes, and I will conclude to-morrow. Mr. Van Zandt desires his respects to you.

With the highest regard, faithfully your friend,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29th, 1844.

FRIEND JONES,—I wrote a few lines on yesterday, informing you of the appointment of a Commissioner to attend the Indian

Council on the part of the United States. Up to this time Mr. Calhoun has sent us no communication upon this subject in reply to Mr. Van Zandt's of the 24th inst., but will do so soon. In the mean time, the proper steps are being taken, and orders issued, to effect the objects desired. Your despatch of the 13th ult. to Mr. Van Zandt, and of the 29th to me, were received on the 23d inst. They came over in the brig "Rover." That of the 6th inst., by express, reached here on the 27th inst., and the subject on which it treated was immediately laid before this Government, and they now have it under consideration. I cannot say what action they will adopt; but they have intimated their disposition to comply, most faithfully, with all their pledges of protection. The President has been very ill, but will be able to meet the Cabinet to-morrow on this subject, when they will probably determine how far they can, constitutionally, accede to our requests.

Mr. Van Zandt is better to-day, and, with proper care, will be able to leave his bed in two or three days. Mr. Calhoun calls at his room, usually, twice a day. As he has not presented his letter of recall, the business of the Legation is, of course, conducted by him. When we shall learn the determination of this Government in view of the anticipated invasion of Texas, and receive their reply concerning the appointment of a Commissioner to the Council, Mr. Van Zandt will make a despatch to your Department. In the mean time, I will keep you informed of what is passing, and the progress making.

Mr. Tyler has withdrawn from the Presidential canvass, and, desiring the election of Polk, he is averse to a called session of Congress, believing it would injure Polk's prospects. The Democracy were never in finer spirits, and they certainly have cheering indications of success from all quarters of the Union. Our Democratic friends in this country are anxious that Texas should await the issue of the pending election, before she resolves against annexation. It is the general impression in this city that Mexico will not, presently, attempt a formidable invasion of our country, unless she receive foreign aid, and that her present demonstration is the result of British influence and policy. My language to this Government is, that a hostile movement, of a formidable character, is actually about to be made by Mexico against us, and there are certainly very strong reasons to believe such will be the case.

I had the pleasure to receive, last week, your private letter of the 23d ult., and was much gratified with its contents. I hope that every thing will go right. * * *

Your devoted friend and obedient servant,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

DR. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—The reasons why the request for *protection* was made of Mr. Murphy, was, I had no idea the treaty of annexation proposed by Mr. Tyler would, or could, be ratified by the Senate of the United States. I therefore wished Texas should not be left in a worse situation, after the failure of the treaty, than she was before its negotiation; for by it we ran the risk of offending not only Mexico, but England, France, and other European Governments, our friends. V. Gen. T. A. Howard's "hair-splitting" answer to my note of the 6th inst.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31st, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—Mr. Van Zandt has just received letters from H. H. Williams and F. Dawson, Esqrs., informing him that the Mexican Government had succeeded in obtaining the loan of four millions of dollars from Rubio's, and some other house, and had secured them by a lien upon her customs. Under this arrangement, the two houses are represented to be making heavy purchases of cotton domestics in New York and Boston for the Mexican market.

Mr. Brower has just written that the Mexican war steamer "Guadalupe" was to sail this day from Mexico, *via* Havana. 'Tis reported the "Montezuma" will not leave New York under two months, but Mr. Brower thinks it quite likely she will sail sooner. The above information we have communicated to Mr. Calhoun, as corroborative of the opinion of our Government that Mexico is about making a hostile movement upon Texas.

Mr. Brower states that they shipped no American seamen, but manned their vessels entirely with Mexicans, Spaniards and

Italians. Also, that he had understood the Mexican Government has recently contracted with Bell & Brown, of New York, for the building of two vessels of war.

Owing to the illness of the President, there has been no meeting of the Cabinet this week, and consequently no determination has been had, in relation to the measures this Government, in view of its solemn pledges and assurances, will adopt for our protection against the contemplated Mexican invasion. Mr. Calhoun said this morning that there would probably be a meeting of the Cabinet to-day, when the subject would be considered. He is in favor of bold and decided action at once, but I fear that all of the Cabinet do not agree with him in opinion.

Mr. Van Zandt is recovering, but does not yet leave his bed.

We are looking daily for a mail by the "Republic." It is nearly a month since she left New Orleans for Galveston.

With the highest esteem, truly your friend and obt. svt.,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, Sept. 13th, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—Gen. Duff Green leaves to-morrow with despatches to the United States Minister at Mexico, and will touch at Galveston on his route. He bears the communications alluded to in my despatch, No. 131, protesting, &c., against the war; also further instructions to Gov. Shannon, directing him to say to the Mexican Government, that the protest proceeds from no unfriendly spirit, but that, in the event of annexation, this Government stands ready to adjust the boundaries in a fair and amicable way.

Mr. Calhoun informed me on yesterday, that Gen. Howard would have been instructed to renew the assurance given to our Government in April last, relative to the disposition of the army and navy of the United States for our protection during the pendency of annexation; and that, in his despatch to Gen. Howard, he had so directed him; but, when it came to be submitted to the Cabinet, the gentlemen at the head of the War and Navy Departments preferred its being omitted, in order that it might not appear that any new arrangements or orders were made, but that the return of the naval force to the Gulf, and coast of Texas, which they had only left on account of equinoctial storms, should seem as a mere continuation (as it was in fact) of the April orders, which had already stood the test of the most rigid scrutiny on the part of Congress. I was assured that a continuation of those orders had been made, and that their vessels of war would be on the spot before any danger could approach us. I believe this Government will do rather more for our protection and support, if necessary, than they desire should appear. They don't like to leave themselves open to an attack by Congress, especially Wilkins, Mason and Nelson. Mr. Calhoun is case-hardened. When he thinks he is right he will go ahead, no matter how great the responsibility; and had he the power, the army would doubtless be ordered right into Texas, to repel any attack upon her. It is the general impression here that thousands of volunteers would march into Texas at a moment's warning; 20,000 were encamped at the late Democratic festival near Nashville, armed and equipped for the defence of our soil; and I believe the whole Democratic party would come to our rescue if we were in danger of being overcome. Maine gives over 5,000 Democratic majority. Polk's prospects are flattering. Both parties are sanguine of success. In my opinion, Polk will be elected; perhaps, however, the wish is father to the opinion.

Probably you will have heard by this time of the result of our Presidential election. I feel the greatest anxiety on the subject, because the best interests of our country are involved in the contest. * * * * * *

Most truly your friend, CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Thomas Johnson.*]

LAGRANGE, Sept. 20th, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I presume you have by this time certain intelligence of your election. Gen. Burleson is here—he says you are elected by some hundreds majority. Cushney states that your majority is some 1,500. Be this as it may, you are *elected.*

The impression here is, that you will be led in leading-strings by Sam. Houston. This I know to be false. That while you will carry out many of the leading features of Gen. Houston's administration, because this is the *true* policy, but that your whole movements will be emphatically your own, I am as sure as that you are elected President.

This I have endeavored to impress upon the people of this valley; I think with some degree of success. I have told them that they, under your administration, might be assured that all the disposable means of the Government would be employed for border protection; that your opinions on this subject are as liberal as they can ask. Gillespie has done much to impress this truth upon the minds of the people. I know your determinations on this subject, and presume you will evince your policy on this subject as soon as possible. The people here, now under defeat, will expect nothing at your hands; hence, a firm, decided action is necessary, on your part, to prove to this people that they are mistaken. This will at once change the feelings of this people, and insure a liberal support to your administration. Your liberal policy will, of course, embrace the whole country, and if there be any difference or partiality, it ought to be evinced for the support of the weaker and most dependent portions of our country. Every encouragement ought to be given to emigration westward. Protection will insure this. One company located above Austin, to operate between that and the Brazos, will be sufficient protection against Indian depredators, who will never molest us except in small bodies, for the purpose of stealing horses, or some other object of that kind—occasionally to kill a citizen; all this a company will protect us against. * * * My paper can be issued this week. I sent means from Austin. Let there be no rejoicing or gratulation—success is glory enough without crowing about it.

Your friend, THOMAS JOHNSON.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—"An honest man 's the noblest work of God."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Wm. B. Ochiltree.*]

San Augustine, Texas, 24th Sept., 1844.

My dear Doctor,—I suppose that we may safely congratulate you on a majority of fifteen hundred votes. A result alike honorable to yourself, and to the people of Texas. The East, Middle and North, did their duty gloriously.

I rather think that Gen. E——d returns to the West in no very good humor, with the "gentlemen who brought him out." I do not like the complexion of the next Congress, so far as we have heard. Our people have been lamentably wanting in calling out their candidates for a full exposition of their political tenets.

I suppose that we are ahead of you at this season of the year in getting news from the United States; there is nothing, however, of any great import from that quarter. Mr. Tyler has withdrawn from the canvass. I imagine, however, he will be scarce missed. Mr. Clay has come out emphatically denying his opposition to annexation. There is a strong showing, I think, on the part of the abolitionists, to cast their vote for an independent candidate; if they do, it may seriously affect Mr. Clay's prospects; as a very slight waver in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, would produce most important results. I will not tire you. My best respects to Mrs. J. and the two young gentlemen. Charley, I suppose, may now be styled, the Duke of Red River.

Yours, most truly, W. B. Ochiltree.

Hon. Anson Jones.

[*From Gen. Duff Green.*]

Galveston, 30th September, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I have this day written you an official note, enclosing my commission as Consul. I enclose you herein a copy of my letter to the officer commanding the naval station at Pensacola, that you may be apprised of the energy with which the Government is acting in your behalf.

From my own private advices from Mexico, I have no fear of a formidable invasion by land; but I do apprehend that

Santa Anna, after so much bluster, will send his steamers here, to bombard this place. Should there be any danger of this when I arrive at Vera Cruz, I will despatch the "Woodbury" to Pensacola; and, unless I am very much disappointed, our fleet, now there, will be off Galveston, prepared to forbid or punish any attempt to do so.

I am not authorized to speak for the Government, but I took the liberty to make the suggestion in the proper quarter, and believe it will be acted on. I will communicate with you from Mexico, by the "Woodbury," when she returns, and when I come myself, will have much to say to you on matters and things. Yours truly, DUFF GREEN.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From J. H. Cocke, Esq.*]

CUSTOM-HOUSE, GALVESTON, 1st October, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * The U. S. steamer "Union" is at anchor off the bar. Gen. Green, special Minister to Mexico, and United States Consul for Galveston, came on shore with letters for you and others. He leaves this evening in the "Woodbury" for Mexico, the "Union" having some of her machinery damaged.

I received a letter from Mr. Van Zandt by Gen. Green, complaining bitterly of the Government in regard to his pay. Since, however, he must have received $1,000, which I presume must have eased him in his difficulties.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES H. COCKE.

[*From Dr. J. Æ. Phelps.*]

OROZIMBO, October 4th, 1844.

DR. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Permit me the pleasure of paying the tribute of my congratulations on your election to the Presidency of our Republic, which I do sincerely.

Your political enemies in this county are mum! Those who say any thing, say they would have supported your election had they not been thoroughly convinced that you were, positively, politically, and personally, opposed to annexation. Others, who are opposed to the present Administration, say there will be no hopes for any thing good under yours; and some who were violent, now say they will *tolerate* all your good executive acts. The whole, however, are excruciatingly disappointed. *So mote it be.* * * * * * * *

I am, dear sir, your friend and obedient servant,

JAMES Æ. PHELPS.

[*From Stewart Newell, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, October, 1844.

Hon. ANSON JONES,
Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas:

DEAR SIR,—I had occasion to address you some days since, in relation to the manner in which Gen. Duff Green has acted relative to the transmission of documents to this Government, brought, as I understand, by him from the United States. I did not intend my letter as an official document, but thinking it might be so considered, I beg leave to correct the impression it may have borne.

Upon Gen. Green's arrival, he acted so hastily in demanding the services of the "Woodbury" to convey him to Mexico, as bearer of despatches, and that without having said a word to me upon the subject, although said vessel was entirely under my orders, and which I had tendered you the use of, to carry any despatches you might have to go to the United States, and waiting for the same, I did not sanction *her* going to Vera Cruz.

Gen. Green made no communication to me, other than his having been appointed *Consul* to this port, but did not exhibit to me even a letter upon the subject; and without further communication appointed Col. E. A. Rhodes, Vice-Consul; and in forty-eight hours after his arrival, sailed again for Vera Cruz. This unusual course, and want of courtesy towards me, without other reason than the influence exerted by the members of the Galveston Secret Society over him, and of which I am told E. A. Rhodes is a member, and whose object, no doubt, was to impress him with their political influence, and perhaps aid in forwarding his political views in Texas.

Feeling rather hurt than otherwise at this apparent and studied insult, I addressed you; and hope you will consider the letter referred to, and this, as merely private, and such friendly letters as our former and friendly acquaintance would have, under other circumstances, freely permitted.

I still retain possession; and am doing the business of the Consulate, until advised by the Government of the United States if the appointment of Rhodes will be permitted; *he* having been reported by Mr. Green, deceased, to the Department; and Gen. Green having made the appointment in direct violation of his Consular instructions, without first obtaining his *exequatur* from this Government.

With highest regard and esteem, I remain,

Most respectfully, your obedient servant and friend,

STEWART NEWELL.

[*From Major Ira Munson.*]

NEW YORK, 15th October, 1844.

Hon. ANSON JONES, Sec'y of State:

DEAR SIR,—If it may not be regarded as an unnecessary encroachment upon your valuable time, I desire to express to you, through this vehicle, my cordial and heartfelt congratulations upon the occasion of your triumphant success in the Presidential contest of 1844. No event could have transpired which would have excited so much joyous pleasure in my breast as your elevation to the Presidency of the most lovely country upon the continent of America. I rejoice in the fact that the tongue of slander has been falsified, and that the * * clique, whose hired minions have circulated the basest calumnies against the able and patriotic Houston, hoping thereby to destroy you through him, have been consigned to the political obscurity which their actions have merited. May your administration be glorious to yourself, and beneficial, as I am sure it will be, to the interests of our beloved and beautiful Texas.

I may not omit here to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favor of the 1st of June last, answering my inquiries of a former date; for your prompt attention, and for the feelings you express towards one who could necessarily occupy so little of your thoughts, accept, sir, my lasting gratitude. And may the Supreme Power guide the State under your control to happiness and high renown; and order your name to be enrolled among those dear to fame, and who are justly claimed as the benefactors of mankind.

I have the honor to be, sir, with sentiments of high regard,
Your faithful friend and obedient servant,
IRA MUNSON.

[*From Col. Barnard E. Bee.*]

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 24th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * * You are called to the Government of Texas at an interesting moment. I cannot but hope, however, it will be less arduous than anticipated. Santa Anna has neither the power nor the inclination to invade us; indeed, he would have been delighted had we been *annexed*. That this is our *destiny* is inevitable. Mr. Clay would carry it out were it only to thwart Mr. Webster, and Mr. Polk is *pledged*. Whether the one or the other will be successful, is still doubtful. Silas Wright *writes* Gen. Hamilton that they have every thing to hope; and New York, you know, decides the question. It is thought that, at the last moment, the abolitionists will abandon their own candidate, and rally upon Mr. Clay. This may elect him; but all is uncertainty.

I haven't heard recently from Dr. Smith. I presume he will remain at Paris, and that you will send Gen. Houston to England. He would be delighted with that wonderful country, and make a decided impression there.

Mr. Calhoun speaks in warm terms of Mr. Van Zandt. I have never met with him; he hopes Mr. Donelson will be very acceptable to Texas. I presume he will soon be with you.

I am, with great esteem, respectfully yours,
BARNARD E. BEE.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[I should like to oblige Gen. Houston, but cannot trust him so far from home.—A. J.]

[*From Col. James Morgan.*]

NEW WASHINGTON, 26th October, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to congratulate you on your success —the termination of the Presidential election in your favor. I presume, from the returns so far seen, that there can be no doubt of such result, and that in December you will mount the throne! Nothing would give me more pleasure than to be present at the inauguration; and I may be there, but it is somewhat doubtful. It is particularly gratifying to your friends to see with what calmness the Opposition stand up under their defeat; indeed many appear as good-humored as if the election had terminated differently! Every thing has settled down into perfect calmness and tranquillity; and those of the Opposition whom I have heard speak on the subject, do not hesitate to express themselves as of opinion, that you will use your utmost ability for the public good and prosperity of the country. Their courtesy and apparent good feeling has become a subject of remark; so that you will not meet with that hostility from any quarter which your friends at one time anticipated. Dr. Moore, of the *Telegraph*, has not returned from the North yet, but is daily expected. I will see him on his return, and hope to find that your administration will be sustained by his paper.

A hint in your message at a reduction of the tariff will create a favorable alarm in the United States; and, in fact, if it should be reduced *one half*, the revenue would, in my opinion, be much larger for it; if not, and a loan should have to be resorted to, you will find no difficulty in obtaining one or two millions without going to Europe for it. I speak knowingly on this subject. * * * The last Indian treaty appears to give great satisfaction where I have heard it spoken of, and I hope will do much good; though these Comanches are said to be a faithless race.

With every respect, dear sir, your friend and servant,

JAMES MORGAN.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Thomas Johnson and Col. Wheelock.*]

WHEELOCK, October 27th, 1844.

DOCTOR JONES,—Conner and Shaw have passed this place exceedingly angry with the officers of Government, Houston, and all. They say that the Government has refused to compensate them for their services. Now this will never do; even if their demands are unreasonable, they must be met. They have done immense service. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the project of the pacification of the wild Indians could ever have been effected without their aid. They are all-important to keep up the friendly relations, and it would be better, rather than offend them, to keep them continually under pay; at all events, they ought to be paid promptly for their services. If they please they can sow the seeds of discontent among the wild Indians, and re-enact all the horrors of border warfare. *You*, of course, see the thing as it is. We have urged them to return, with a pledge of our influence to see the thing righted.

THOMAS JOHNSON,
E. L. R. WHEELOCK.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State, Washington.

[*From Charles, Prince of Solms.*]

HOUSTON, November 2d, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of the opportunity of Mr. Miller's leaving for Washington this morning, to give you the news,—that Mr. Henry Fisher has at last arrived in this country, and that we are now instantly beginning our operations for the reception of the four vessels, which I expect from the 18th of November to the 1st December. Mr. Fisher, in whom I found a very quiet and able man, and at the same time a man of great activity, will see you at Washington, and request personally the aid and help of the Government for our enterprise.

By the last steamer from Galveston I got despatches from home, by which I see that the Association is very anxious about the annexation question, stating, by good sources, that it would be a case of war between the European powers and the United States—as I am sure you, my dear and honored sir, are best aware of. The Association requested me to write to the Government, and especially to you, dear sir, whose favorable disposition and feelings towards the Association I duly reported, to get, as far as it is possible for you to give, a slight notice whether the probability is for the independence of our beautiful Texas; whether we may flatter ourselves with the hope of a man with enlightened views, like you, dear Dr. Jones, at the head of the Government, or whether Texas should fall into the condition of a territory of the United States.

Now, my dear sir, let me beg you to send me a few lines answer by Mr. Fisher, in order that I may report home good news, and a good prospect for the future.

I remain, dear sir, yours sincerely,

CHARLES, PRINCE OF SOLMS.

To HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Mr. J. P. Willis.*]

LA GRANGE, Nov. 8th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I was one of your supporters in this county, and from an article that appeared in the last *Vindicator*, I am induced to believe that should annexation not take place, or peace with Mexico, that the course of your Administration would be to carry war into the enemy's country, and offer the conquered country to the victors. Knowing that the United States would not allow the direct interposition of any other Government, I conceive a war of aggression would be the true policy of the country. The whole West would sustain you in an invasion of Mexico, and nothing could or would redound so much to your popularity in Texas as a war against our enemies on the west of the Rio Grande. I hope and trust you will allow no sectional feeling to govern you in this matter, but sustain and avenge properly the rights and independence of your country. Your enemies in the West say that you will be governed by the course dictated by Gen. Houston. I have pronounced all such accusations false; and should we not be annexed to the United States, or Mexico not immediately recognize our independence, carry "war," as Cato said, "into the enemy's country." We have no fear of an invasion from Mexico; but the injury they have inflicted on our citizens should admonish them (the Mexicans) that they have every thing to fear from us. We have the ability to avenge our wrongs, and nothing would or could render a President so popular as a war of aggression against our enemy. I hope you will not allow any sectional interest to control you in the administration of the Government, but pave out a course that will render you popular, and redound to the interest of the whole country. The people in Texas are all in favor of annexation first, peace with Mexico next, and should neither be accomplished, "war west of the Rio Grande." It is only necessary for the Executive to sanction an invasion of Mexico, and money and men can be procured to any amount to carry out the expedition successfully. I am no military aspirant myself, nor have I any wishes in that way, but a plain farmer of the country, and address you this letter without any acquaintance to authorize it, but presuming solely on the fact of being a citizen of Texas.

I should say that you open the expedition to the volunteers from the whole world, and no doubt of the numbers being equal to the undertaking, without cost and without price, compelling them under all and every circumstance to observe the rules of war, as recognized by the most civilized nations. I prefer annexation, not peace with Mexico; but should both fail within the next six months, then, I say, carry the war into the enemy's country, and make them feel the potent arm of the Anglo-Saxon. As I remarked before, I hope you will not allow any sectional feelings to influence you in the administration of the Government, but let your acts be for the good of all Texas, and make it a truth that the citizen on the banks of the Sabine and the San Antonio is equally under the safeguard and protection of the First Magistrate of the country.

This letter is dictated by a feeling of good-will towards you, and a confidence of a just administration of the Government when under your charge. I have barely had the pleasure of an introduction to you, but hope to become better acquainted with you.

Yours respectfully, JOHN P. WILLIS.

[*From Hon. Wm. H. Daingerfield.*]

HAMBURG, 8th November, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The long and *confidently* expected intelligence of your elevation to the first office in the gift of the people of Texas, has just reached us. To every friend of the country it has brought joy and *confidence*. *To me* the result of the election not only affords all the gratification which a patriotic heart ought to feel at a success which ensures the steady and successful prosecution of a line of policy eminently calculated to develop the immense resources of a young and glorious republic, but it sets the seal of truth on all that I have *confidently* predicted in my many and various conferences with the authorities of the several States to which I am accredited. If I add to these motives of joy on my part, those of sincere friendship and high personal regard towards yourself, which commenced with the first day of my knowledge of your character, and has constantly and uninterruptedly increased ever since; you will have the full measure of the *proud* satisfaction with which I hailed the intelligence of your being the President elect of Texas. It is not only as being productive of positive and substantial good in the prosecution of an established line of conduct on the part of the Texan Government, that your election is to be hailed as the happiest and truest omen of future prosperity, but as an earnest that all ruthless and reckless change will be studiously avoided by one who for the last three years has stood at the helm of state, guiding, directing, commanding. Your elevation is, to every thinking friend of the country and its institutions, the boon which, with all the fervor of a patriot's prayer, he would have most earnestly sought at the hands of an all-wise and overruling Providence. My residence in Europe, apart from the turmoils and distractions of domestic politics, has enabled me to view with a calm and unprejudiced mind the blessings and the evils of that noble form of government which is made up of republican institutions. Those blessings are innumerable; the evils are limited in number, but powerful and alarming from their intensity: among them all none stands on so "bad an eminence" as the want of steadiness of purpose and fixed policy. Your election guarantees the State, at least for the present, against this master evil. But excuse me; I commenced this letter with the intention of pouring out before you all the gratification which, in my inmost heart I feel, at your success, and I have wandered into a digression, or rather rehearsal of evils, of which no one can be better apprised than yourself, and against which no one will take better precautions. * * *

My visit to this city has had for its object the counteracting of certain intrigues set on foot by the Mexican representation at this residence, for the purpose of preventing the ratification of the treaty which I concluded at Paris with the Hanseatic towns. Of course I cannot leave here until the matter is brought to a close. As soon as that is done the Belgian negotiation will be taken up, and I hope speedily carried through, as every thing tends at present in that quarter to induce the belief that the difficulties which have heretofore existed will be easily removed.

In concluding this letter, I must be permitted again to congratulate you and the *country* on your elevation to the Presidency, and to express a hope, which I am sure will be fully realized, that your Administration may be full of glorious *success*. Accept the assurances of the most distinguished consideration, and very sincere friendship, of

Yours, most faithfully,

WM. HENRY DAINGERFIELD.

To the Hon. ANSON JONES, Secretary of State.

P. S. * * * As soon as the Mexican Consul-General here found that my treaty would be ratified by the Senates of the Free Cities, he entered a protest, and for a time declined signing manifests for cargoes bound in Hanseatic vessels to Mexico. This was alarming in the extreme to the Hamburgers, who have a large commerce with Mexico. They feared that Santa Anna, who had just been playing such antics with French subjects, might take still greater liberties with *their cargoes*. The Senate became alarmed, the Secretary of State affrighted,—they had gone too far with Texas to be able to go back, and they were too much afraid of Mexico to have the courage to go further. I deemed it my duty, while I expressed my *contempt* of the power which could thus bully an unarmed people, for they have not a single vessel of war, (the Free Cities,) to concede to their earnestly expressed wishes of patience and temporary quiescence on my part, the promise that it should not be considered as offensive on the part of the Texan Government, but that we should amicably and quietly await the lapse of time to bring all things to their proper places. Thus you see I am brought foot to foot, and hand to hand with the enemy. But I have every assurance of success. The Germans are a slow, but very *proud* people; and as soon as they are fully apprised of the extent of the indignity which has thus been offered them, they will resent it. In the mean time the rest of the civilized world consider the gross conduct on the part of Mexico as another proof of its barbarity, and as an additional evidence of the danger of entertaining commercial relations with her, or, as I express it, of bartering with the lion for pelts. Your future communications had better be addressed to the care of the *Consul-General at London.*

Believe me, truly yours,

WM. HENRY DAINGERFIELD.

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HAMILTON, Ohio, November 10th, 1844.

DEAR SIR, * * * * The papers have afforded me the gratifying intelligence of your election. This is the only item of news I have received from Texas since my departure, as I have been favored with no letter or communication from any one whatever. So far as opinions are to be predicated on rumors and information as regards Mexico in the journals of the United States, I am inclined to the belief, and very strongly too, that we shall never again be disturbed, but am strong in the hope of either an armistice or speedy recognition. A few days since, when I wrote Gen. Houston and Mr. Shaw, the prospects of Mr. Clay were very bright, but now they are much beclouded. Pennsylvania and Virginia have both declared for Polk, and rumor says that New York too. If New York has so done, Polk is elected. My opinion is that the effect upon Texas will be, in case of the election of Polk, to induce Great Britain to obtain from Mexico the immediate acknowledgment of our independence, and thus endeavor to prevent annexation. I must confess, however, that I have but little expectation of annexation at all, at least for several years, if ever, as parties now stand. The Whigs, by the election in Ohio, secured a United States Senator. This secures a Whig Senate of 27. As a party, they have and will oppose annexation; and although there may be a Loco Foco President, yet annexation could not be carried by joint resolution, much less by treaty. This calculation is based on the supposition that the Whigs will receive no support in their opposition from the Northern Locos. This will not be the case, for if you believe me, the Northern Locos care but little about Texas; and I believe, now that the election is over for President, we will be dropped, having served as a hobby. These are my impressions, gathered from observation and conversation. Perhaps they are worth nothing—*Nous verrons.* The prospects of Texas I consider now bright; and her independence, if she chooses it, indestructible, and look forward every day to the arrival of the news that Mexico has, herself, proposed the establishment of an armistice, or a recognition. You will be able, during your administration, to say that peace is proclaimed between us and our foes. * * *

Your sincere friend, JAMES REILLY.

HON. ANSON JONES.

P. S.—One reason why I distrust the sincerity of the Locos in reference to annexation is this:—A short time before the Presidential election, some of the leading journals (Loco) announced that Texas herself had decided against annexation by the election of Jones (anti-annexation) over Burleson (pro-annexation), and still keep up the cry. I have told them that no question of the sort was made, but that Jones was elected on his own merits. I take it as declaratory of the intention of the Locos not to attempt the policy. I feel satisfied that Texas will assume a position which will prevent her from being made the plaything of parties, and if negotiation for annexation is again opened, it will be under guarantees equivalent to independence. The Whigs have the Senate, and none of them go out till 1847. Ohio will send a Whig also in place of Tappan.

[*From Stewart Newell, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, November 9th, 1844.

HON. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—Your esteemed and highly appreciated favor of the 1st inst. was received this day, and I assure you no one of your friends, political or social, could feel more pleasure to see you than I, upon your expected visit to Galveston; and I hope, sincerely, your health will be sufficiently restored to permit your friends the pleasure of a hearty welcome to Galveston, the real interests of which, as well as of all Texas, having in *your* election been secured to both.

In my communications to you relative to the course pursued by Gen. Green, I merely intended to give you some idea of his future by his present course, and I fear he has arrived with such views of personal interest as may meet a severer disappointment than he anticipated; and in the short, but rapid course pursued, left him no time to practise that courtesy due as a gentleman if not an officer;—but, as you justly remark, Mr. Calhoun must be the arbiter, and I have addressed him fully on the subject—and, I trust, on the arrival of the "New York" in three days hence, to have some despatches from Washington that will settle the matter, and, in future, prevent such conduct. * *

Most respectfully and sincerely your friend and obt. servant,

STEWART NEWELL.

[*From Gen. G. W. Terrell.*]

GALVESTON, Nov. 12th, 1844.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * * * I have ascertained, since I have been here, that there is an organization going on among the Opposition members elect to play the same game on you that was played on old Sam, to wit: to pass another retrenchment bill before your inauguration. Their principal object is to cut down your salary as President. I am convinced the attempt will be made, and your friends ought to be on the look-out. It was stated to me the other day by one of their leaders (Col. Love), that arrangements were making to defeat Reilly's nomination. *He said* he had heard no objections urged to my appointment; that may pass for what it is worth. I think our friends ought also to be on the alert.

Since my arrival here I have seen in a Havana paper that the old "Prince of Peace," after a banishment of nearly forty years, has returned to the Court of Spain. This, I presume, has been brought about by the interposition of the French Court; and I think very probable has some reference to Texas, as you are aware that Texas was once ceded to him by Charles IV. It is possible something may be made out of it.

Major Donelson, the new Chargé from the United States, is here. We spent a very agreeable evening together—discussed annexation, and all the other exciting topics of the day. You will find him a very agreeable and intelligent *gentleman;* one with whose plain, unpretending bearing you will be much pleased.

Mr. Kennedy has shown me extracts from his despatches to Lord Aberdeen, as far back as May last, in which he spoke of me in terms of high commendation,—that, at a time when nothing was known or suspected of my going out there, will, I hope, at least place me "*rectus in curia*" with his lordship. Pardon me for the use of a Latin phrase, which, I assure you, is very uncommon. You discover that I write not as a Minister, but in the familiar manner of a friend, and this I shall continue to do until I arrive at the Courts to which I am accredited. * * * * * * *

Your friend, G. W. TERRELL.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

PARIS, Nov. 14th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have learned, with the liveliest satisfaction, your election to the Presidency. I believe you know my feelings and opinions so well as to be sure of finding in me an active and decided supporter of your administration. It was my strong wish and intention to have reached Texas in time to be present at your inauguration. The absence of Mons. Guizot, who accompanied the King to England, and his indisposition since his return to Paris, have delayed, much against my will, my leaving here. I shall set out in a *very few* days.

Your election has given much satisfaction, I know, to the Cabinets of France and England, as the guarantee for the continuation of a pacific course towards Mexico, and of the sound general policy which has been pursued under Gen. Houston's administration. They have much confidence in dealing with a Government of which you are the head. I am informed that Mr. Addington, on a recent occasion, expressed these opinions in a marked manner, naming you, and speaking for his own Government. It would be but sheer justice to these Governments to say that, in my opinion, they have not any afterthought or desire in this matter, except for the general interest they have in the maintenance of peace everywhere, and the development of the resources of Texas, with a view to its commerce, in the benefits of which they wish to participate, in an open and honorable manner, in common with other nations.

I am now confidently expecting to set out on my return to Texas in less than fifteen days. To save time, I shall sail by the steamer from Liverpool to Boston, probably by that of the 4th of December. I shall, without accident, soon reach you. Should it be your wish for me hereafter to return to a foreign post, or to take any other situation, I shall be subject to orders, otherwise I shall go on my plantation. Do not, I beg of you, consider this an indirect way of asking for a place. I shall leave political life without regret. Besides, I may be unpopular in the country; others of my fellow-citizens may have greater claims, or be better qualified, than myself. You must act in such a way as will best sustain your administration, and promote the interests of the country; and be assured you may count upon as active and decided support from me, living on my plantation, and with the prospect of ever remaining a private citizen, as if I were holding office under you.

Among my motives for wishing to see you is, that I may present for your consideration and judgment some facts and opinions concerning our relations with European powers, our standing here, and about the foreigners who come among us. This I can do more accurately in conversation than on paper.

Congress, in my opinion, should pass no act disavowing our public debt. It should say nothing more about annexation, nor the good offices of foreign powers in mediating between us and Mexico, except that we should, in the most becoming manner, express the opinion that we have ceased to look for any results from either of these courses of policy. The Treaty of Mediation, negotiated in London by my predecessor at that Court, engaged us in a policy which, at best, was useless. Texas had the air of being unable to maintain itself against Mexico, and of supplicating for foreign aid. But I will not occupy your time, for I believe our opinions on these matters are identical.

As I am about to return home, allow me to indulge in a feeling of pride, so far as to say, that I leave behind me, at the Courts to which I have been accredited, a reputation for capacity and conduct of which I am not ashamed.

In the success of your administration I feel a profound interest as connected essentially with the prosperity of the country. I feel a very deep interest in it as connected personally, with yourself, the chief under whose and the "Old Chief's" orders, I have had the honor to serve the country for nearly three years. I feel, too, a very warm interest in it as connected with our private personal relations, independently of any political considerations. May great prosperity attend your administration and yourself. * * * * *

Very truly yours, ASHBEL SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Mr. J. H. Winchell.*]

MILAM, SABINE CO., Nov. 16th, 1844.

ANSON JONES, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—After a long absence, I have, at length, returned to my adopted country, not richer, but somewhat older, and I hope wiser than when I left. You will probably recollect when I parted with you at Austin in August, 1840, I was then recruiting for the humbug Federal Army. A few weeks thereafter I left for Mexico, and our concern breaking up some short time after my arrival at the Rio Grande, all who chose to remain in the country had permission to do so. I, among the rest, availed myself of the opportunity, being actuated by a desire to become better acquainted with the language, manners, customs, &c., of the natives. With this object I travelled from the Rio Grande to the Pacific (almost), and thence to the Capital, and so on to Vera Cruz,—sometimes teaching, sometimes fighting, and other times practising medicine; noting every thing, and endeavoring to lay up a store of information, which might, at some period or other, be a benefit to me and to Texas. And I truly can say that very few persons who have travelled through that delightful, but unfortunate country, have had as good an opportunity of acquiring the information I sought, as I myself had. I mixed while there with all classes, from the palace to the jackal, freely. But here I am talking of *myself* all the while, when I merely sat down to congratulate an old friend on his being elevated to the highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens. Doctor, you recollect the toast I gave at Houston, November, 1837? I assure you that the sentiments I then expressed were those of a grateful heart; and nothing in life has ever given me greater satisfaction than beholding my fondest anticipations so fully verified. And that Texas may flourish under your administration, and that you may be blest with health of body and mind to conduct the ship of State safely through whatever storms, to the haven of prosperity, is the sincere desire and hearty prayer of your friend and well-wisher,

J. Harvey Winchell.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

You are aware, from the present complexion of the United States Senate, that the idea of immediate annexation is not to be entertained, and that at least five years must elapse before that body can have a majority that will sanction the measure. This premised, let us consider what is best to be done *ad interim* for the good of the country. The question itself has distracted the Union, from Maine to Louisiana, and will so continue to distract it, widening the breach between the unprincipled, cold-blooded, *calculating* Abolitionists of the North, and the hot-blooded Southrons, until it will ultimately result in the destruction of that beautiful fabric which our fathers fought so hard and suffered [illegible]uch in rearing and sustaining; and which to perpetuate is [illegible]uty of every free-born, patriotic American, (*you for one.*)

And now is the time for the name of Anson Jones to descend to posterity in the highest niche of fame. Now is the time, the accepted time, for you so to immortalize yourself by a single act, which will benefit, not only your adopted, but also your native country, Mexico, and the world,—and that act may be easily and speedily accomplished. I *do assert positively* that peace may be easily had with Mexico on the most favorable terms, with but one single exception, and that is the boundary question, which may be easily waived at present, as it would be the height of folly to attempt to enforce it. Let time work that; and take my word, that Texas will have more western territory freely offered her than she will want, or know what to do with, especially if affairs continue much longer in their present state in Mexico. "I speak by the card." Let time work out that, I say.

I know that three-fourths of northern and eastern Mexico heartily desire *peace* with us. They know it would be to their interest. They long to be friends with Texas. Then we should have their hard money continually flowing in. Then would the excitement be allayed in the United States. Then would all parties rejoice, except perhaps a very few selfish landholders, who think more of a few dirty acres than of the general welfare. I have conversed with a great many, both in Louisiana and Texas, and a large portion concur with me that immediate peace with Mexico will be far more beneficial to all interested than the procrastinated question of annexation.

But it may be asked, How is this desirable event to be obtained? The question is easily answered. Send two or three discreet commissioners quietly to Mexico direct, and through Gov. Shannon get permission to enter into the necessary preliminaries, which he can readily accomplish, if he possesses half the tact, management, and influence that a diplomatist ought to have. I assert again, as my firm conviction, founded on what I know of the Dictator's character, and the minds of the people generally, particularly of the officers of the army, with many of whom I was on terms of intimacy while there, that peace may be had, almost on our own terms, if the affair be managed discreetly. And in such a case Texas is bound to take a stand, not the lowest, but among the highest nations of the earth. I am aware that some of our short-sighted politicians fear greatly the effects of foreign influence at the polls—

nonsense! There will always be twenty, aye fifty, influential and intelligent American voters to one foreign; and besides, we know that a majority of the European emigrants will always side with the true Texan or American interest. This has inevitably been the case in the United States, and will be in our Republic. And so I think, with many, that independent Texas is bound, in a very few years, to become one of the prettiest Republics (as well as one of the greatest) the world ever saw. That is my opinion—one which I have freely expressed before some of the highest functionaries in Mexico; and I hope to see it verified. I am sorry that my limited time and sheet will not, at present, permit me to enter more largely into my views, as well as to explain myself more coherently; and perhaps I ought to make an apology for thus thrusting myself forward unsolicited, to give what might be termed counsel, to one older, with a better and more experienced judgment; but, I pray you, pardon my presumption, which proceeds from a sincere friendship and esteem for yourself, as well as from an earnest desire to see my adopted country flourish under your administration.

Yours, with the greatest esteem, J. H. WINCHELL.

P. S.—* * * I did, when I started to come to Texas, intend to proceed westward, but I lost my horse, and have to take it afoot, and when I arrived here my feet were so sore I could proceed no further. I am doing a little business which will keep me two or three months here, and as soon as I conclude my present little professional engagement, I shall make a professional tour, teaching the folks to speak the Castilian language, preparatory to the opening trade with our neighbors—now enemies—the other side of the Rio Grande.

[*From Hon. G. W. Terrell.*]

NEW ORLEANS, November 22d, 1844.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—* * * I have had a long interview with Mr. Saligny; he has received despatches from his Government on the subject of annexation. She is *ready* to give the guarantee spoken of by Dr. Smith, *provided* Texas will pledge herself to hold no further negotiations on the subject of annexation.

He is awaiting some further instructions, which he expects in the course of a week, and he will be over on the "New York" on her next trip, and will come directly to Washington. Mr. Saligny said to me, *in private conversation*, what he would not say to the Secretary of State, viz.: that his Government looked upon itself as having been *very uncandidly* dealt with by ours, and will be very cautious in interfering further in our behalf.

It is my candid opinion, as I believe I have often expressed it to you, that annexation never will take place. But if it ever could, it is clear that it cannot be done at the approaching session of the Congress of the United States. The Whigs of the Senate, smarting under the mortification and chagrin of their late terrible defeat, will not vote for it; it being the short session, the State Legislatures cannot instruct them, so as to coerce them into measures. In this state of things, how long are we to remain subject to the whim and caprice—to be taken up, or laid aside—as may suit the party purposes of the American Congress? How long are we to follow this *ignis fatuus*, this Will-o'-the-wisp conjured up by the distempered brain of wild and reckless speculators? I fear, until it plunges us into the bogs and marshes of confusion and chaos; and there will leave us to work our own way out, abandoned by all the friends upon whose aid we might have calculated, had we not given them up, to chase this wild chimera, which I fear will yet lure Texas to her ruin. Had we not better, Jackson-like, take the responsibility at once—give the guarantee, and make a finish of it? Texas, free, independent, prosperous and happy, will ratify the act; and annexation, as it should, will slumber forever in the "*tomb of the Capulets.*" This is, at least, my opinion of the matter.

It is really amusing to a Texan, who is not known, to stand in a crowd here, and hear the politicians, viz., the Whigs, talk of Texas. Sam. Houston is a traitor—his Cabinet no better—and as for the President elect, he is bought in advance by British gold: so the country is gone. I got a *fair* chance at several of them at one time, and I "*raked them some*," as the saying is. * * * * * * *

Your friend, sincerely, G. W. TERRELL.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Dr. George A. Smith.*]

HARTFORD, CONN., Nov. 25th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—* * * The Annexation of Texas to the United States was making a good deal of stir when I first came on; the Democratic party, as a mass, being in favor of it. From all accounts, it was made a great humbug with them. The Whigs, in their transparencies, had many witty allusions to Texas. I find many strong friends to Texas in this country, although they have very erroneous ideas as regards Texas as a country, and its inhabitants. They appear incredulous when you tell them the laws are observed and enforced there, as here—that there is good order, and as strict an observance of what is right and just, as in any of the States of the Union; and that we are not a fighting, drunken, set of vagabonds, as we have been represented. * * * * *

Your friend, GEORGE A. SMITH.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. C. H. Raymond.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, Nov. 26th, 1844.

DEAR JONES,—It is now ascertained beyond a doubt that Polk and Dallas are elected President and Vice-President of the United States. This result I have all along anticipated, and I am strongly of opinion that Texas will be greatly advantaged by it; for there cannot be a question that the views of the Democratic party are much more favorable and liberal towards us than those entertained by the Whig party. "Annexation" is the great measure now before this country. The defeat of Van Buren and Clay is mainly attributable to their opposition to it. President Tyler will bring the subject before Congress in his Message, and will probably advise the passage of a joint resolution, embracing the provisions of the late treaty. This will doubtless meet with opposition from Col. Benton and his clique, and I should not be surprised if a disunion in the ranks of the Democratic party, as to the "*modus operandi,*" should defeat any definite action until after Mr. Polk's inauguration. The chances are largely in favor of the final success of the measure; but whether it will be carried in a shape acceptable to Texas, remains to be seen.

Mr. Calhoun will very likely remain in the Cabinet. There is much ill-feeling existing between him and Col. Benton, as well as a wide difference of opinion in regard to the best mode of accomplishing annexation. So far as the measure would affect slavery, Benton's bill is designed as a sort of compromise between the slave-holding and non slave-holding States. The President's Message, which will be sent to Congress about next Wednesday, will develop his and Mr. Calhoun's views on this subject, a copy of which I will immediately forward to your Department. * * * * * *

I congratulate you most heartily in your elevation to the highest office within the gift of our people, and hope you may long live to enjoy the honors so justly conferred upon you by those among whom your lot has been cast. * * *

Your friend, and most obedient servant,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

HON. ANSON JONES.

[*From the Prince of Solms, Braunfels.*]

GALVESTON, Dec. 3d, 1844.

DEAR AND HONORED SIR,—I send you these lines to express to you the regret I feel at not being able to witness your inauguration as President of this Republic; but my emigrants having just arrived, my presence on the La Bacca Bay is indispensable.

I saw Gen. Duff Green, the United States Consul at Galveston, to-day, and by our conversation I immediately judged what the intention of his mission here is. He threatens with Mexican invasion, and pushes annexation forward. Now it is my duty to tell you, honored sir, that by my last despatches, recently arrived, I am repeatedly told that annexation will and must be a case of war between England and the United States. Gen. Green pushes this country to war with Mexico; he promises the help of the United States. Then we shall have all the old thing over again, and a large number of adventurers from the United States, and this country falling back into the old state of uncertainty and poverty. Sir, as well as it is my duty to represent all this, once more, to your noble mind and reflection, I think it my duty too, to put myself wholly at your disposition. I will, if you think it necessary or profitable, proceed myself to Mexico and see Santa Anna. I cannot prove more my feelings for this country in whose welfare I am so deeply interested. I shall be at Washington in the beginning of January, at the latest. If you want me earlier, send me an express to Port La Bacca, where Mr. Ewing will know exactly the spot where I am to be found.

With highest regard, dear sir, sincerely yours,

CHARLES, PRINCE OF SOLMS.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

P. S.—I reccommend Mr. Fisher, and the modification of his bill to your kind consideration.

[*From the Hon. Chas. H. Raymond.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 17th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—* * * Three different bills for annexation have been introduced into Congress—two of them based upon the late treaty—the other is Col. Benton's plan. Members of Congress, and others, are continually making inquiries and seeking information of me relative to Texas, and I am thus kept continually employed. I am frequently asked, what are the present views of our Government in regard to annexation? I answer, that having been repeatedly repulsed and rejected, we do not feel disposed to place ourselves in a condition to be similarly treated again. That we have not, however, interposed any obstacle to the measure, but, on the contrary, avoiding all entangling alliances, have kept the question open and free for the action of both countries; and that when the necessary provision for an admission into this Union has been made, then it will be time for our Government to declare its disposition and mark its course.

A resolution was passed in the Senate on yesterday, making inquiries of the President relative to the public debt and lands of Texas; probably I shall be called upon to respond to the inquiries.

There is a rumor in the city that the President will soon send a war message to Congress advising hostilities against Mexico. I think it not so. Mexican affairs, although attracting some attention, appear to produce little excitement. A great calm appears to be upon this country. It is perhaps the relaxation consequent upon the great and nervous political struggle through which this nation has just passed. * * * *

Trusting that your administration has opened auspiciously, and will progress successfully, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your faithful friend and very obedient servant,

CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Gen. Sam. Houston.*]

GRAND CANE, 21st Dec., 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—On the 19th I had the pleasure to reach home, and found all well, and gratified that my probation had passed. It was, indeed, a joyous meeting, and strange to say, I find my mind falling back into a channel, where the current flows in domestic peace and quiet, without one care about the affairs of Government, and only intent upon domestic happiness and prosperity. In great part, this arises from the assurance that you will administer the affairs of Government with equal ability and capacity with which they have been conducted for the last three years, and I hope you will receive from the Representatives of the people, a more cordial and honest support than any accorded to me by them, during my administration. That you may not only be successful, but more glorious in your administration than any predecessor, is my ardent wish and desire. As a citizen, I will not only be gratified, but a beneficiary of the result, should I live to witness it, and if not, I hope my posterity, and those endeared to me, will enjoy the gratification.

Many were the kind and respectful inquiries made for you, and it afforded me the greatest pleasure to respond to them. If I can judge of any thing rightly, my opinion is, that you will derive from the people the warmest support and confidence. With this, you will, I trust, be enabled to advance our country at least one quarter of a century in three years, to what it would have been had your successor been taken from his "colt train-ing." What a pity that would have been! I hope, for my country's honor, such an act of cruelty will never be inflicted upon poor "Ned."

It is possible that I may be at Washington during the session of Congress, and will enjoy the pleasure of seeing yourself and the dignitaries of the nation again. An incident occurred as I came home, which I must tell you, and the cause of it. Capt. Black asked me "if you were going to appoint Pierpont Collector of Galveston." I told him I had never heard a suggestion of the kind. He replied that he knew Pierpont to be dishonest. I promised to say this, and it is done. Had I solicited the continuance of any officer in the Republic, it would have been Major Cocke. This I would have done with regard to his own merit and qualifications, as well as a desire for your success. The revenue arising from Galveston is the source and stream of the Treasury; without this, the Government cannot be supported. I solicit you to hold on to Major Cocke. Take my word for it I will not annoy you with applications. Money matters gave me more trouble in my administration than all others. With them right, you can have no trouble of serious character. * * * * * * *

Please write to me by Houston, to the care of Capt. Snell, and he will send by some private conveyance. Salute Col. Anderson, your Cabinet, and particular friends.

Thine, truly, SAM. HOUSTON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

P. S.—I thank you for the company of Col. Payne, as it affords me an opportunity to write directly. I commend him to you, as he is truly your friend and admirer. I hope it may suit you to promote his interest.

Thine, truly, HOUSTON.

[*From Ammon Underwood, Esq.*]

COLUMBIA, Dec. 23d, 1844.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES,
President of the Republic of Texas:

DEAR SIR,—We had a mass meeting at Brazoria on Saturday. Resolutions, not such as I approved, were passed. Being on the Committee of thirty to draft them, I done all in my power to change the objectionable portions of them. The meeting was a large one, for this county—being fully 200 persons present. It was often and repeatedly asserted that you and Gen. Houston are, and long have been, opposed to annexation. This I as often and repeatedly contradicted; referring to your sentiments, often publicly, as well as privately expressed. They are not disposed to believe your words, or acts, if plain as demonstration can make them; but, my dear sir, the splendid results of annexation, which there is high hope among your friends here your administration will speedily achieve, will confute all their slanderous falsehoods; and they will stand self-convicted of having been governed by little-minded prejudice.

I feel convinced that your own discrimination, your own knowledge of the people, as well as their future happiness and the glory of the achievement, will secure all your eminent abilities and energies in its favor. So that, if this great end is possible to be obtained, it will be arrived at.

If deemed impossible to attain this great end, no opposite course could be taken without producing great dissatisfaction throughout the country, until sufficient time elapses to convince the nation that annexation is without hope. I hope you will not deem it presumptuous in me for thus having presumed to address you in this hasty manner, as I will assure you, that the honor and success of your administration is what I most heartily and earnestly desire. * * * * *

Truly your friend, and obt. svt., A. UNDERWOOD.

[*From the Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

December 24th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I reached Boston three days since in the "Acadia," from Liverpool. After resting some three or four days longer, to recover from the effects of the sea voyage, which was very tempestuous, I shall continue my route for Texas, where I hope speedily to present myself to you.

My former letters, private and official, have been so full, that not much remains to be said, except to allude to my last interview with Lord Aberdeen, on the first inst., reserving a detailed account of it until my arrival in Texas. I will first mention, that latterly M. Guizot seemed less ready than formerly to take any decisive course in relation to our affairs, being impressed, as I believe, by Mr. King, American Minister at Paris, with the apprehension that such a course would give umbrage to the American Government. Lord Aberdeen, on the other hand, although he will do nothing that can justly give offence to the United States, is still decided to take such measures as will bring about peace between Texas and Mexico, provided we will give satisfactory assurances of our determination to remain independent. Lord Aberdeen expressed himself in clear and decided terms; and intimated that, for reasons he then mentioned, the French Government would act in concert with the British Government. I believe the delay has been occasioned partly by the chariness of France, and for the purpose of learning the result of the recent elections in our country. He will now act promptly. He requested me to communicate fully with Capt. Elliot, to whom, he added, he would transmit instructions and powers.

Lord Aberdeen said the British Government had enjoined on Mexico in the most earnest and explicit terms, to abstain from any attempt to invade Texas, and they had assured that country they would afford it no aid or countenance at all, in case of such attempted invasion, whatever might be its result or consequences.

In the course of the conversation Lord Aberdeen expressed great and entire confidence in your administration.

In the expectation of soon presenting my regards to you in person, I remain, very truly and sincerely yours,

ASHBEL SMITH.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President of Texas.

[*From the Officers of Government.*]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30th, 1844.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES, President, &c., &c.

The undersigned, officers of the Government, understand that Gen. Duff Green, United States Consul for the port of Galveston, has grossly insulted your Excellency, the President of this Republic, by threats that should you, as Executive, not sign and approve certain bills which he already had, or intended to introduce into Congress, he would call a convention of the people and revolutionize the country.

We accordingly respectfully *demand* that the Hon. Secretary of State be instructed forthwith to issue to the aforesaid Gen. Duff Green a passport out of the limits of the Republic, allowing him the time necessary to carry the same into effect.

EBB. ALLEN, *Att'y Gen. and Secretary of State* ad interim.
M. C. HAMILTON, *Acting Secretary of War and Marine.*
JAMES B. SHAW, *Acting Secretary of Treasury.*
CHARLES MASON, *Auditor.*
JAMES B. SHAW, *Comptroller.*
MOSES JOHNSON, *Treasurer.*
DAN. J. TOLER, *Bureau Gen. Post-Office.*
THOMAS WESTERN, *Superintendent of Indian Affairs.*

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, Jan. 14th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—This letter will be handed to you by my worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Eaton, for whom I will claim your kindness and assistance, which I do the more readily, because I can assure you that every facility you can give him will be good service to the Republic and its *unborn generations*. He is anxious to speak to you about the means of helping education, and I know how willingly you will hear him, and help him, if you can.

I see by the papers that Gen. Green is singing another verse to the old tune of British influence. Till I read his letter, I was not quite sure of his position here, but he has made it manifest, and therefore I owe him thanks. He speaks of his expectation "to encounter the combined influence of the British Minister, and the President of Texas, acting in concert for the purpose of defeating the wishes of a majority of the people of Texas and the United States;" and again, "I am aware of the powerful odds against me, but I am not dismayed." It is plain, in short, that he has some official mission *behind* Major Donelson's chair, which I do not believe you knew of till this confession. I wish you could have acceded to my wish, and left him just where he was. If he and Mr. Calhoun do not blow up annexation, it is *fire-proof*, that's all. All accounts from the United States agree in representing the scheme as dished for the present. I do wish that the two Houses of Congress would pass becoming resolutions, and lower the tariff down to 10 per cent. *ad valorem* from the 1st of January, 1846. That course would settle the whole question without further difficulty. In haste, to save Mr. Eaton's time, believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours, CHARLES ELLIOT.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—I think it was not Gen. Duff Green's wish to defeat annexation. He wished, however, to make vast speculation out of it, and if I had acceded to his wishes, it very probably would have resulted in great danger, if not defeat to the measure, I therefore did well not to leave him at his post "behind Major Donelson's chair."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

WASHINGTON, TEXAS, Jan. 21st, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—On the annexed sheet I send you the memorandum referred to in Gen. Houston's letter to Mr. Miller. The only use I have made of it is to suggest confidentially to Mr. Calhoun that the provisions it embraces ought to be inserted in the bill annexing Texas to the United States.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

A. J. DONELSON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President of Texas.

[Memorandum above referred to.]

Confidential.—Full community of interests.

A territory.

Assumption of national debt, or not. If not assumed, we to retain our public domain.

Texas hereafter to comprise as many States as the United States may think proper.

In running the line between the United States and Texas, where lands fall into the United States by misapprehension of claimants in their locations, that they are to be reimbursed upon the same principles of equity, that citizens of the United States falling into Texas were reimbursed by the latter.

Public debt not to exceed 10,000,000.

Public liabilities to be redeemed *at the price at which they were issued.*

If the above points should be set forth, and guarded specially in the joint resolution to be passed by the Congress of the United States in the bill for the annexation of Texas, I have no doubt that it would add greatly to the satisfaction of the people of Texas, and secure their ratification of it.

(Signed) Samuel Houston.

Washington, Texas, Dec. 13th, 1844.

[*From the Hon. G. W. Terrell.*]

London, January 21st, 1845.

My dear Doctor,—I have been in London now nine days—had a most tedious voyage of more than forty days from New Orleans to Liverpool, and consequently was later arriving here than I calculated on being. I should have written earlier, only that I was unable until yesterday to obtain an audience of the Earl of Aberdeen. The reason was that the Queen was making a round of visits amongst the nobility previous to the meeting of Parliament, and the most of her Cabinet ministers (the Earl of the number) being with her.

On my arrival I had addressed a note to the Earl of Aberdeen, which I presume he did not receive until his return to town on Saturday evening; his lordship immediately sent me a note, appointing 4 o'clock on yesterday (Monday) for my reception at the Foreign Office. For the particulars of my interview with his lordship, I beg to refer you to my despatch of this date to the Department of State; it is addressed to Dr. Smith, as I suppose, of course, he fills that department.

I was certainly received as the representative of Texas with great kindness. The Earl continued to converse with great freedom, and, as I believe, with much frankness, about Texas, the country, her institutions, the character of the people, yourself, Gen. Houston, &c., &c., until I rose to leave him, fearing that I might be trespassing upon his time, as there were several others in waiting to see him. He then gave me a general invitation to call at any time when I could make it convenient, that he would be glad to see me, &c. I made the acquaintance of the Austrian Ambassador rather singularly in the ante-room of the Earl's office; he immediately entered into conversation with me, (speaking good English,) on the affairs of Texas, and appeared to have some solicitude on the subject of annexation. I discover very plainly this is a very engrossing subject here. The Government evidently feel great solicitude as to its result, and are prepared to go any length to prevent the consummation of the measure. You will see from my despatch what they propose to do; and if Texas is not blind to her own interest she may, within the next three years—yes, my dear Doctor, during your present term of service, she may become one of the most prosperous little communities on the face of the globe. I pray Heaven in its mercy, and our rulers in their wisdom, to avert the evil of annexation, with all its concomitant dire calamities, insignificance, degradation, oblivion and annihilation, which must follow in its train.

I am very anxious to see your inaugural address, together with both the messages and Old Sam's valedictory, none of which have as yet reached us.

Texas is the subject of very general conversation here in all circles, and it is astonishing to discover the information they appear to possess—I mean the body of the people—with regard to the country. Until I was received at the Foreign Office, it was not known that I was in the city; during that time I walked about a good deal, and frequented the hotels and coffee-houses, and in all companies,—Texas, the beautiful country, her fine soil, climate, &c., were the subject of conversation.

I was very kindly received by Mr. Everett, (the American Minister,) who immediately offered me his services in any manner in which he could be useful to me.

Mr. Rate showed me a letter a few evenings since from Col. Daingerfield, in which he seems to express the apprehension that he has, by some means, fallen into disfavor at home. I immediately wrote him that nothing of the kind existed when I left Texas, and I supposed he must have been misinformed on the subject. I understand that he has been laboring under many difficulties in the management of his negotiations, thrown in his way by the Mexican Minister at the Hague and at Hamburg; but that he has fought the diplomatic battle through manfully, and his efforts are likely to be crowned with complete success.

I find no archives here belonging to the legation. I presume Dr. Smith left them all with the Consul at Paris, whither I set out in two or three days, and whence you shall hear from me again shortly.

With very great regard, yours sincerely,

G. W. TERRELL.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

[*From Hon. C. H. Raymond.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1st, 1845.

DEAR JONES, * * * * The Diplomatic Corps waited on the President this morning at the "White House." He says he looks forward with pleasure to the time when he will be relieved from the arduous and harassing duties of his office. He has had much opposition and many difficulties to encounter, and yet no President has closed his term with the affairs of the nation in a more prospering condition than they are at this moment.

Congress has done nothing of importance since Christmas. The annexation question will be on the carpet next week, and will doubtless create considerable interest and give rise to a very exciting debate. What it will result in it is impossible to tell at this time. Almost every member has a different plan to accomplish the same object; and unless they make a compromise of their views and wishes, nothing will be done this session towards settling the question. * * * *

With the highest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, truly, your friend and obedient servant,

CHARLES H. RAYMOND.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

HOUSTON, January 23d, 1845, (Friday.)

DEAR SIR,—I reached here by slow stages, a good deal improved by the exercise, but still greatly enfeebled by the effects of the attack at Washington.

The mail from the United States brought nothing definite on the subject of annexation. Resolutions in favor of the measure have passed the Louisiana Legislature with great unanimity, and also that of New Hampshire and Missouri. Mr. Niles, from Connecticut, has submitted a bill in the Senate; and Mr. Tibbatts from Kentucky, and Mr. Dromgoole from Virginia, have each a project in the House. Out of all this variety of plan to give effect to the recent decision of the people of the United States, my opinion is that some form of action will be agreed on that will be acceptable to the majority; or if it fails, it will be for such causes as can be obviated by the newly elected President.

I will write you from New Orleans, where I shall, doubtless, obtain fuller information on the subject. In the mean time I shall state *confidentially* to Mr. Calhoun that you will remain in *statu quo*, ready to act according to circumstances as the Executive of Texas, and give to your citizens an early opportunity of deciding upon whatever plan may be adopted by the Congress of the United States.

I send you one or two newspapers, which, after reading, please hand to Mr. Miller, who may not have the information they contain.

In the letters to me from my Government is one authorizing my absence for the purpose of attending to my business at home, whenever I think the business of the legation will not suffer. * * * * * * *

Very truly and sincerely your obliged servant,

A. J. DONELSON.

His Excellency, A. JONES, President of Texas.

[*From Hon. Wm. M. Gwin.*]

January 25th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Milton Brown's Texas resolutions have just passed the House of Representatives by from fifteen to twenty majority, and I consider their adoption by the Senate as certain. This is glory enough for one day. No one doubts here now but that Texas will be annexed this session. A majority of the Northern Democrats voted against, and a majority of Southern Whigs for the resolutions.

Yours sincerely, W. M. GWIN.

[*From Hon. G. W. Terrell.*]

CITY OF LONDON, Feb. 2d, 1845.

MY DEAR DOCTOR, * * * * Since I last wrote you I have had two interviews with the Earl of Aberdeen, the particulars of one of which I have communicated to the State Department in despatch No. 2, to which I respectfully refer you. The third time I met the Earl nothing material occurred more than I have stated in the despatch to which I have alluded, except that Sir Robert Peel, who was present, entered with much apparent earnestness into the affairs of Texas; and in allusion to the clamor raised in the United States about the ambitious designs of England in regard to Texas, he said, your Government may rest entirely quiet on that subject, for instead of wishing to acquire more territory and colonies, we have several now that we would be very glad to get rid of, if we could do so upon fair terms. To which I replied—that it would doubtless be better for her Majesty's Government if they could get quit of the burdens of the governments of their colonies, and retain their trade, as they must be a heavy tax upon the national treasury. He said such was the fact, and those were the reasons why the British Government would not wish to colonize Texas, even if they had their option in the matter; all that they wanted was a liberal trade with Texas, and this upon the broad basis of reciprocity between nation and nation.

This being a private conversation between the Premier and myself, I did not think it proper to embrace it in a despatch to the State Department. You are of course at liberty to make any use of it you may think proper.

In the course of the conversation I remarked jestingly to Sir Robert, that if Great Britain had Texas, she would be very soon glad to get rid of her, for she would find her as troublesome a possession as the Irishman did the Tartar he had caught. At this he laughed heartily, for he is a man of great good humor, and said he understood we were rather a restless set, and rough hands to deal with.

I have been present at two diplomatic dinners,—one given by the Earl of Aberdeen, the other by Mr. Everett. Upon both occasions I was treated with *at least* as much attention as I deserved, and certainly with more than I would have had a right to require. At Mr. Everett's I was invited to the exclusion of several Ministers from States of much more importance than Texas, his rooms being small. This gentleman has shown me great kindness ever since my arrival, as he had done my predecessor, of whom he speaks in very high terms. All these things, in regard to myself, I attribute to the fact that Texas occupies at present a very interesting position in the view of other nations, and what has given her, perhaps, a factitious importance at this particular juncture.

I have seen nothing from home since I left, until two days since Mr. Rate put into my hands the two first numbers of Miller's paper, in which are contained some of the proceedings of Congress, the old hero's valedictory, your inaugural, Anderson's, &c., &c. Nothing of the kind could have pleased me better than the valedictory and inaugural. The tone of both on the subject of annexation, under existing circumstances, is just what it should be. I said to the Earl of Aberdeen (whom I have seen since) that I had no longer any apprehension that the restless spirit of our impatient Congress would hurry them into any imprudent action on this subject during their present session, which I had previously told him I much feared, and which I had given him as one of the reasons which influenced my Government in desiring that negotiations should be transferred to Texas. * * * * * * *

Very sincerely yours, G. W. TERRELL.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

P. S. * * * * If the great bone on the Nueces, of which the Lipan and Tonkewa Indians give an account, could be sent over, and some of those found on the lower Brazos, they would be prized very highly. * * * *

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, Feb. 2d, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this place, having awaited letters from the Government at Lexington for near two months. Receiving none, I started for Orleans, expecting to hear something definite there. However, at Lexington and New Orleans I received assurances of my rejection. Having received no funds, I resolved to come and *die decently* at home. So here I am, with my diplomatic head clean off. I have, however, met my fate very quietly, and with becoming grace,—I having nothing to say of the false grounds upon which the action of the Senate was based. The matter is over, and I am *quite well over it.*

All I can say about annexation is simply this. It is very much like the Millerite doctrine of the end of the world. It may be to-day—it may be next session—it may not be until the saints of the present day are dead, and the heart sick with hope deferred. The chances brightened after the introduction of Foster's bill from Tennessee. We shall soon learn, as Weller, one of the movers of resolutions for annexation, keeps me advised. I got a letter from him at Orleans, of January 16th. He spoke with great certainty of success. He will write me, and I will let you know. He was to inform me as soon as the Democrats had met in caucus, and determined upon the plan; whether to adopt one of the numerous propositions now before Congress, or adopt some other plan. * * * * *

Yours truly, JAMES REILLY.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Wm. G. Cooke.*]

WASHINGTON, 5th Feb., 1845.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—It is the desire of nearly all the citizens of Travis county, and a large number in Bastrop, that Alex. Coleman should be appointed to the command of the troops for the protection of that portion of the frontier. I have known Coleman for several years; for the last two he has been attached to Hay's command, and that officer will unite with me in saying that he never had a better soldier under his command. He is well acquainted with the frontier—is popular, bold, and energetic; and is possessed of good education, which is seldom met with in our frontier commanders.

His appointment, I am well convinced, would give general satisfaction to the citizens of Travis and Bastrop.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
WM. G. COOKE.

[*From James H. Cocke, Esq.*]

CUSTOM-HOUSE, GALVESTON, 10th Feb., 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * The last of your Exchequers have been sold at par, and which includes all, except those sold by McKnight and Klainer over a year past.

Truly your friend, JAMES H. COCKE.

[*Endorsement.*—1846. The Government currency attained a par with specie about this time, and so continued till the close of my term of office.—A. J.]

[*From the Hon. G. W. Terrell.*]

PARIS, February 13th, 1845.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I arrived here last night, after a journey of four days from London. I have not yet seen Mr. Guizot. I have addressed him a note, and expect a reply in the course of the day. In the mean time I have concluded to bring up my London correspondence, which is slightly in arrear.

The evening before I left that city I called upon the Earl of Aberdeen, for the purpose of opening to him the subject of a reduction, by treaty, of the duties on articles of commerce of Texan growth or production. I had scarcely taken my seat in his office before I discovered, both from his looks and manner, that something had gone wrong since I had seen him last. In each of my previous interviews with him, (which had been three,) he had been very cordial; his communications frank and free, and indeed I thought he had treated me with rather marked attention; now he was evidently distant and reserved in his manner,—to account for which I was wholly at fault. I determined, however, to enter at once upon my business, concluding that that would most probably bring his lordship out, as it soon did so. Upon my proposing some modifications in the existing treaty between the two countries, with a view to the object mentioned, he replied, with, I thought, rather a sarcastic sneer,—"It would be an awkward business to go to making new treaties with a nation that had been for some time endeavoring to subvert the one already existing, and which is, even now, probably on the point of consummating that policy that will abrogate the treaty entirely; for," said he, "I have just been informed,—I do not know that my information is correct, but the gentleman from whom it comes has good opportunities of knowing,—that your new President, Mr. Jones, is secretly in favor of annexation, and is doing all he can privately to forward the measure, while the Texas newspapers are holding out to the world that he is opposed to it. This is something I do not understand." Here then was the secret out; he had been informed, &c.

I felt the force of the first part of his lordship's remarks rather sensibly,—the latter aroused a little feeling; but being of opinion that it is not good policy in diplomacy to manifest temper on any occasion, I replied mildly, but with firmness of manner, that it was true Texas had attempted a measure that, if carried out, would make void the treaty between herself and England; but that she found her justification in the circumstances in which she was placed, (which circumstances I had explained to his lordship in a previous interview,) that our Government, both theoretically and practically, was emphatically the Government of the people; hence even her rulers could not at all times act upon their own convictions of national policy. As to his information in regard to the sentiments and to the conduct of our new President, I could assure his lordship, from my own knowledge of the facts, that it was incorrect on both points; that, as a general rule, it was unsafe to place implicit reliance upon the statements of American newspapers, it being too often the fact that they were made to effect some particular object, with more regard to the probability of subserving party purposes than the truth of the statements themselves; and that that was precisely the case in this instance. It was a fact, well known throughout Texas, that Dr. Jones was decidedly in favor of annexation; that as Secretary of State he had labored faithfully to accomplish the measure, as had all the members of the then Administration, except myself; that, notwithstanding this was the fact, when Dr. Jones's name was placed before the people as a candidate for the Presidency, the opposition press, knowing that a very large majority of the people of the Republic were in favor of annexation, labored to produce the impression that he was opposed to that measure; that he was in favor of what was denounced as British influence, and even of the abolition of slavery, and all this to defeat his election. This was the manner in which this statement obtained currency, for it had never been made by a single paper in the confidence of the Government, but, on the contrary, had often been contradicted by the organs of the Administration. Although such was the fact, and such had been the course of the President of Texas, yet, I could assure him that he was not doing any thing at present, either openly or secretly, to favor annexation. That I had the honor to enjoy the confidence of the President; we had served together in the Cabinet of the late Administration for the past three years; that during all that time a cordial intimacy and the most unreserved interchange of sentiments had subsisted between us; and that I knew, from the time of the rejection of the treaty of annexation by the Senate of the United States, he had concluded Texas must work out her own independence; but he hoped for the co-operation of England, France, and the United States. I could not say to his lordship, however, that if any of the propositions now pending before the American Congress should be carried, and the door be thus thrown open, that Texas would not go into the Union. All I could do was to assure him that she was not, at present, taking any action whatever on the subject, &c.

The Earl asked me whether I was sent upon my present mission by Gen. Houston or Mr. Jones? To which I replied, I was sent by both. Gen. H. was President, and of course appointed me, but that it met the hearty concurrence of the Secretary of State, and I believed, indeed, he had suggested the appointment to the President. He then remarked, "It does not look like either of them was very anxious for annexation, or they would hardly have sent you here; but he could not see any thing in the inaugural address of the new President on the subject; he had read Gen. Houston's valedictory, and liked it much." I said to him he might take that as proof that the present President was not engaged in any schemes for the consummation of annexation; if he had been he would have been certain to have mentioned the fact, as it would have pleased both the people and the Congress very much to have heard that such measures were in progress. I further stated to him that the object, at present, of both the late and present Presidents, was to keep down excitement on the subject; to lead the people to believe they were to rely upon themselves; to keep the present Congress from being hurried into any imprudent action on the subject; that if both the Texan and United States Congresses adjourned without doing any thing with the matter, we could in the mean time, before they would assemble again, carry out the measures now in progress in this country; that if our people saw a certain prospect of the recognition of our independence by Mexico without further molestation, there was a strong probability they might declare in favor of a separate national Government. That my opinion was that both Gen. Houston and the present President would contribute all in their power to produce this result. The Earl appeared to be satisfied with these statements and opinions. He became cheerful, free, and communicative as usual, and conversed freely for a long time. It occurred to me that it might be a favorable time to renew the subject of the modification of the treaty; and I did so, as an auxiliary means of defeating annexation. I remarked to his lordship that I could not, of course, ask him to enter upon negotiations at present for the alteration of the present treaty between the two countries; but if I were authorized to give my Government any assurance that that of her Majesty would consent to a reduction of duties upon articles of Texan growth or production, I thought that fact being made known, and especially when coupled with the prospect of a speedy adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico, would exert a very salutary influence on the question of annexation in Texas, and a good deal more to the same purport. His lordship seemed then quite disposed to entertain the proposition, but said it was a subject which pertained properly to the Board of Trade, the President of which is a member of the Cabinet. He could, however, give me this assurance, that he himself, and indeed all the members of her Majesty's Government, were in favor of granting the most liberal terms for the encouragement of trade and commerce; that it was more than probable that some important alterations, for the benefit of commerce, would be made in their existing tariff during the present session of Parliament; that as to Texas, they would extend to her all the advantages they could do consistent with their obligations by treaty with other nations; that they really felt much interest in the welfare of Texas; that he himself had labored much to procure the recognition of her independence from Mexico, and he had every reason to believe it could now be accomplished, if Texas herself did not throw away the boon that was offered her. If she did so, it was her own business, however; to be sure, it would perhaps be a cause of war, if either England or France, with whom she had entered into solemn treaty engagements, chose to make it so. Upon this point, however, he had nothing to say. To this I replied that it was a case not provided for in the books,—there being no precedent for it in the history of civilized nations: the law of nations was silent upon the subject.

A good deal of other conversation occurred, the purport of which I shall embody in a despatch to the State Department; that which I have here given having a more direct reference to yourself, I thought it not proper that it should be spread upon the records of the Department, but more appropriate to be addressed directly to you, that you could then make what use you thought best of it. There are many things which necessarily occur in negotiation, which, for obvious reasons, it would be unsafe (especially in our country) to be spread upon the public records—at all times subject to the call of our restless Congress—to the inspection of subsequent administrations, &c., but which are, nevertheless, very useful to the present officers, and who should therefore know them. For these reasons I have adopted the plan of transmitting to the State Department such facts and circumstances only as are strictly of a public character, and all other matters that I deem of a useful nature, I shall address directly to the Executive. This plan I shall continue, unless disapproved by yourself and the Secretary of State.

I felt myself not only justified, but called upon by the circumstances of the case, to make the communications above detailed to the Earl of Aberdeen; if in doing so, I have in any particular done injustice to your sentiments or opinions, please let me know it, and I will take the earliest opportunity to correct the error.

There was one part of the Earl's conversation—which I shall detail to the State Department—which I think might do good to be made known, and which I am very sure he would not object to, viz., on the subject of the ambitious designs of England in regard to Texas, her interference in our domestic institutions, &c. The reason I have for thinking his lordship would not object to their publication is, that he said to me he would like for the Government of Texas to make it known *officially* to the United States, that the Governments of England and France would act in concert throughout on the subject of the independence of Texas.

And now, my dear sir, let me impress upon you the important necessity of taking this matter into your most serious consideration. I am full of the conviction, that in it are involved the vital interests of Texas. Our affairs have reached a crisis in this country. Our friends (and they are really such) on this side of the water will not be tampered with any longer. The Earl of Aberdeen said to me that Gen. Houston had done her Majesty's Government no more than justice when he said the late negotiations for annexation had not abated their friendship for Texas—but, said he, if these negotiations are to be continued, it would be useless for them to continue their exertions in behalf of a people who refuse to profit by them.

From all that transpired at this interview—and I judge it even more from his lordship's manner than from his language—I am firmly convinced that should negotiations for annexation be again opened, we will certainly lose the friendship of England, and in all probability, that of France also, for they will act in concert throughout upon this subject. A great deal of correspondence has passed between the two Cabinets in relation to the matter; the result of the whole of which has been an agreement to act in conjunction, both here and in America, in whatever they do in the premises. In such an event, therefore, these two nations would cut loose our little bark, and let her drift whithersoever the winds and waves of adverse fortune may drive her. On the contrary, if we will only hold on to independence (for that is all they ask or wish), she will remain safely moored behind this mighty rock—against whose base the political tempests of all Christendom in commotion may fiercely drive. She is moored in a smooth harbor, and will ride out the storm.

I called this forenoon on Mr. King, the American Minister, (an old acquaintance,) and spent half an hour with him. He was very cordial, and expressed great gratification at seeing me here, but he has annexation much at heart. He advised me to take the earliest proper occasion with the King to *deprecate* any concert of action in regard to Texas, on the part of the Governments of France and Great Britain; that after I should be presented, he and I would *just drop in* to see his Majesty, some evening, when I could introduce the subject *casually*, and give his Majesty the opinion that it would be detrimental to the interests of Texas. And the reason he gave for the advice was his great friendship for Texas. Such a course on the part of these two Governments, he said, would look like a combination on the part of the European powers to interfere in the political concerns of America; and would probably lose us the friendship of the United States. Now, I am well aware I am a mere novice in diplomacy, but, green as I am, I cannot be entrapped with such chaff as this—the design is too shallow not to be seen through. I am very sure that the sole object the Government of the United States had in view in publishing the late letters of Mr. King and Mr. Calhoun, was to produce upon the public mind, both in the United States and in Texas, the impression that there was a difference of opinion between the two Governments on the subject, and that, consequently, there would be no joint action taken by them upon it; and this for the obvious reason that if it were known that France went the whole length with England, it would deprive the demagogues of America of their most potent argument with which to keep up the excitement there, viz., the selfish and ambitious designs of Great Britain in regard to Texas. I waived the matter for the time, but should he renew it, as he most likely will, since he proposes to accompany me, (I suppose, to be sure it is done,) I shall simply say to him, that my Government takes a different view of the subject, and therefore I cannot act upon his advice.

But this great *friendship for Texas!* The friendship of the lion for the lamb. Look at all the arguments of her statesmen and letter writers on the subject—from the venerable sage of the Hermitage, (God save his soul!) down to Felix Houston—is there one single argument in favor of Texas to be found in all of them? According to these gentlemen, Texas is to stand as an outpost to the great Union; she is to form an "iron hoop" to support the United States. Again, "it is necessary to the safety of the United States, that they should have Texas;" and if they once get their eagle talons fastened upon the country, they are prepared to adjust with Mexico "all questions growing out of annexation, *including boundary*, upon the *most liberal* terms," viz.: to surrender the territory from the Rio Grande to the Nueces. Where was the patriotism of our fiery and devoted members from the West, when these startling propositions became known in Texas? Their burning patriotism was all kindled into a flame twelve months ago, at the bare proposition of permitting Mexico to *occupy* that territory during the pendency of negotiations for peace, &c. Where now are the withering denunciations of that pink of consistency, the *Telegraph*, then so loud and eloquent in its denunciation of the perfidious Government that would dare to surrender any portion of that beautiful, fertile, and valuable country? All these gentlemen were startled and horrified at the bare mention of the surrender of any portion of the territory ever *claimed* by Texas. They would rather war with Mexico to their latest dying gasp, than yield *one foot* of our territory for a compromise. Where are they now? slumbering, I suppose, upon their patriotism, in order that when it shall burst forth afresh, it will be the more furious! "nursing their wrath to keep it warm."

Suppose a proposition of this character had been made by the British Cabinet, as a basis upon which they would undertake to settle the difficulties between us and Mexico, or suppose such a proposition in regard to slavery in Texas, as any of those now pending before the United States Congress, had originated in the British Parliament, would not the country been thrown into commotion from one end to the other, and all the angry passions of the human breast been aroused into hostile action against *British influence, and foreign interference* with our *domestic institutions?* Oh, consistency! thou art indeed a jewel!

But I have written enough for one letter, and so will close. If you deem it not improper, I should like you to send Gen. Houston a copy of this, as I would like him to know the sentiments of the British Cabinet on the subject.

My kind regards to Madam, and best wishes for your health and prosperous administration. G. W. TERRELL.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Gen Terrell has pretty correctly stated the case, except in one or two instances, where he might be misunderstood. In saying that after the rejection of the treaty of annexation, I had abandoned all hopes of that measure, he reflects Gen. Houston's sentiments, rather than mine; *Gen. Houston* "changed his front," *I* was willing to wait, and did wait the result of the issue before the American people, which was not determined when Gen. Terrell left Texas for Europe.

In saying I was doing nothing to favor annexation, he should be understood as saying I was acting in good faith simply, to all the powers interested, and was not engaged in *exclusive* efforts for annexation. I was certainly laboring for annexation and independence both at the same time.—A. J.]

[NOTE.—I did not think it good policy in 1844 to send a violent friend of annexation to England and France—nor a violent friend of separate independence to the United States, for reasons which must and will be obvious to every one, when my whole course of action, in regard to these two measures, shall become known and understood.

The principles inscribed upon my party's flag in the late canvass for the Presidency, and which stood at the head of the columns of the "NATIONAL VINDICATOR," the Jones and Anderson central organ at Washington, were:

"Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country."

"Never despair of the Republic."

"Annexation, or Unity, Independence, and Peace with all the world."

"Honesty, intelligence, devotedness to our institutions."—A. J.]

(*Vide* my two letters on Annexation, &c., to H. Stuart, Esq., published in the "Civilian" in 1847, and republished at Philadelphia, *with an Appendix*, in 1852.—A. J.)

[*From S. A. S., the Prince of Solms.*]

GALVESTON, Feb. 14th, 1845.

DEAR AND HONORED SIR,—Since I had the honor of meeting your Excellency, I have had much to do, landing my emigrants, and conveying them to a safe encampment on the Guadalupe river, where they will remain until a road, sufficiently practicable, is made to the upper country.

I would hardly have left the camp had it not been urgent business which called me to this place. On my arrival I found a packet of letters, among others one from Count Castell, dwelling on the importance of a commercial treaty with the Hanseatic cities, now negotiating at Hamburg, by Mr. Daingerfield. Count Castell further states to me that Mr. Daingerfield meets with much opposition through the agency of Mexico, and that to carry out his project all possible support from the Government of Texas is absolutely necessary. Another sufficiently important point is the acknowledgment of Texas by Prussia and Austria, which I think might be easily obtained by Mr. Daingerfield, if he had the necessary papers from the Texan Government, as Count Castell writes me he has not.

From good sources I have the intelligence that the gentleman who at present represents Texas at the Court of France, is going to resign; if so, I do not know a man who is more capable to fill the vacancy than Mr. D., with whom I became well acquainted before my departure from Germany for Texas.

I hope your Excellency will attribute the motive that actuated me in writing these lines, and what it really is, my sincere wish for the prosperity of the country.

With the highest regard, I remain your Excellency's obedient servant, CHARLES, PRINCE OF SOLMS.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Col. H. L. Kinney.*]

February 11th, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a translation of a letter from Gen. Arista, forwarded to me by Antonio Ramon, who was instructed to give me further private assurances of his earnest desire to make a favorable adjustment of the war; from which I am satisfied that, with your Excellency's permission, I could conclude an armistice for an indefinite period. This arrangement will be the more desirable, as the Comanches are now, in considerable force, committing depredations between the Rio Grande and the Nueces.

Should you give instructions for me to proceed to Mexico, with authority to conclude an armistice, it will be necessary that it should be done in the most prudent manner, and that no one else shall have the slightest knowledge of my going there on the purpose, as a publicity might defeat us. Whatever is done, should be done without delay.

In haste, I remain with due respect, your Excellency's obedient servant, H. L. KINNEY.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President, &c.

[*Translation.*]

MONTEREY, Dec. 31st, 1844.

MR. H. KINNEY:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I had the pleasure to learn by Antonio Ramon that you had received my last letter and the safe conduct that I sent you, so that you might come to see me, after fulfilling the important business which I requested of you.

Perhaps you delayed your journey in consequence of learning that the command of the *army* was taken from me; which is again under my order by virtue of the appointment of Commander-in-chief, which I have just received. I suppose you have heard of Santa Anna's attempt to crown himself, commencing by demolishing the Congress; but the nation arose in mass and destroyed that Government, substituting another truly liberal and magnanimous, and conforming to the age in which we live. Consequently the man in whom we had so little confidence has disappeared, and we now find a Magistrate governing the destiny of the country of whose good faith and capability no one can doubt, and this is the reason why it is indispensable that you should, without loss of time, come to this city, where I await you with the result of the business that I communicated to you in my last letter, already noted. Do not doubt then about coming, making use of the passport that you have already in your possession, it being understood that you will meet with no obstacle on your journey.

We must soon see each other, and for that reason I take leave of you.

Your sincere friend, MARº ARISTA.

P. S.—The news of this happy change for the Republic you can communicate to our friend, Mr. McKinney; and send me an express to notify me if you are coming or not, as I am very anxious to know that you are on the road.

[*Self to Col. H. L. Kinney.*]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15th, 1845.

HON. H. L. KINNEY:

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th instant, covering a translation of a letter to you from Gen. Arista. The information contained in the letter of Gen. A., relative to the political changes in Mexico, corresponds with the intelligence I have received from other sources, and there is now, by later advices, no doubt but the power of Santa Anna is completely overthrown, and he himself a captive in the hands of his enemies. What the character of the new Government of that country will be we have yet to learn, and whether they will listen to any overtures from us, or make any themselves for a settlement of the difficulties between Texas and Mexico. Until something definite in relation to this subject shall be known, I should not consider it prudent, under existing circumstances, to authorize any one to proceed to the enemy's country empowered to enter into negotiations on the subject, as we have been so often repulsed heretofore. But if, through your facilities of communication, you can ascertain the views of the Mexican Government in relation to this subject, any favorable proposition they may make to us shall be as favorably considered.

I would therefore suggest that, in the event you should visit Gen. Arista, or communicate with him, you impress upon him the necessity of some immediate action on this subject, and that the conditions under which Mexico will assent to an unlimited truce should be made known to this Government, so as to be considered, simultaneously, with the propositions for annexation, which it now appears almost certain will be made us by the United States.

The plan I should suggest would be a mutual cessation of hostilities between the two countries, and the appointment of one or more commissioners by each party, to meet at some neutral point, say Havana, in the Island of Cuba, there to treat, under the mediation of powers, mutually friendly, for an adjustment of all existing difficulties.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your faithful friend and most obedient servant,

ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. James Reilly.*]

HOUSTON, Feb. 21st, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 13th did not come to hand until this morning. I am under obligations to you for the honor conferred, for ministers in disgrace are most generally permitted to live in undisturbed retirement. It would gratify me very much to see your Excellency, and I trust that I shall be permitted to do so on my way East. I start in a few days, and shall endeavor to take Washington in the way. Should I, however, not see you before leaving Texas, rest assured you have my warmest wishes for your personal and political welfare.

Annexation has again been rejected. How now will the *faithful* feel? Must we again bow, again be scorned, and whilst hanging upon the promises of cold-hearted politicians, suffer our prosperity to be retarded, our glory postponed, and forever be victimized to the great and only policy of the United States, the policy of President-making? The question is, indeed, "*questio vexata*," as you justly remarked; and I would it was definitively settled. * * * * *

Yours truly, JAMES REILLY.

His Excellency ANSON JONES.

[*From Mr. H. A. Alsbury.*]

BEJAR, 23d Feb., 1845.

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Texas,
Mr. ANSON JONES:

SIR,—I arrived at this city a few days since, from Mexico, where I have been so long confined in prison. I came with a passport from Gen. Arista, granted me on conditions that I would see you, and bear you a message; but owing to my having been robbed of my horses on the route, I find that I cannot reach Washington, and have the satisfaction so much desired by me of conversing with you.

Since my liberation last year from chains and suffering, I have been with my family in the village of Candela, in the Department of Coahuila, and until the late change of Government, have not been permitted to leave that Department.

[PRIVATE.]

Should this letter be published, it will not only expose myself and family to much suffering, but probably endanger my life. I had many lengthy conversations with Gen. Arista upon the subject of the war with Texas. He requested me to say to you that Texas can get her own terms now, by sending commissioners to Mexico; he will pass them directly to the Capitol without awaiting orders from his Government, notwithstanding he had written to his Government for instructions what course he should pursue with Texas.

Should it be the wish of Texas to form an armistice, with a free communication between the two countries for a year or more, I believe it can be effectuated. Gen. Arista is now the right arm of the present Government, and will *probably* be President. He is popular and politic; and *I* believe that the present Government will settle down into a well-consolidated, wise, liberal federal Government. *The war between Texas and Mexico has forever terminated;* of this, there is no doubt. I have surer pledges of the fact than my own private opinion. The tyrant Santa Anna has fallen, with *all* his party and friends, *forever*.

I believe that the Government of Mexico will leave it discretionary with Gen. Arista, for the present, to pursue towards Texas the policy he may deem expedient.

I shall remain in this place until I see the Hon. Secretary of War, who is hourly expected here, and shall then leave for Corpus Christi, where I shall probably remain until about the 5th of next month, when I shall leave for Monterey.

Should it be the wish of the Government to send any communication to Gen. Arista by me, by sending it to Corpus Christi by the 5th of next month, it will be conveyed. I shall return by that route for safety, as large bodies of Indians, of all the tribes in the country, are concentrating on the Rio Grande for the purpose of making a simultaneous attack on the Mexican frontier villages. I crossed the trails of several parties on my way in, to the number of six hundred or more, who are concentrating on the head of the San Gertrudes,—of which I have notified Major Hays; as I was informed on the Rio Grande that when the Indians were in Laredo last fall they threatened to attack Col. Kinney's rancho this spring.

I am, sir, with the highest respect, your obedient servant,

H. A. Alsbury.

[*From Col. James Morgan.*]

New Washington, 1st March, 1845.

My dear Doctor,—As the United States humbug is over, or nearly so,—at least enough is known to satisfy every *Texan* that there will be no decision by the Congress now nearly over favorable to annexation,—no time should be lost for carrying into effect the project contemplated. I consider the annexation matter fairly at an end between Texas and the United States, and hope that we may never be humbugged again by any nation. The Mexican steamers may be again manned with *British seamen* and officers, and held *in terrorem* over us, as at one time contemplated, which is within the knowledge of Dr. S., for the purpose of *dictating* terms to Texas! Your Excellency will agree with me that there should be no delay in this matter, but a bold dash made at once.

I presume that Dr. S. and Capt. E. have had some understanding,—at least some correspondence of late, (as both are now at Galveston,)—on the all-important subject of *Independence.* I cannot but think, however, that Hercules would be more ready to lend a helping hand, if he were to see that we were determined to help ourselves, and did do it! The enemy has it in his power to thrust at us but in one way that might seriously injure the country. Paralyze or destroy the arm that can make that thrust, and we are in a situation, at once, to stand our ground and make our own terms.

I am anxious to be up and doing. Let diplomacy go on also! * * * * * * *

Faithfully yours, J. Morgan.

His Excellency Dr. A. Jones.

[*From Col. Ira Munson.*]

Austin, March 8th, 1845.

Dear Sir,—In obedience to your Excellency's request, although I have nothing to communicate which will, perhaps, be regarded as a subject of interest, yet fearing that you may think me remiss in my duty, I proceed to impart such trifling information as I have come into possession of. I am much pleased, so far, with my situation here; the place being entirely healthy, and every thing being entirely agreeable. The business of the General Land Office proceeds with the utmost regularity and harmony; in fact, the system of order which prevails throughout all its details has rather surprised me, although a long acquaintance with Col. Ward had previously satisfied me of his capacity; yet the clamor which had become somewhat general had almost prepared me to find a somewhat different state of things. Yet I am now perfectly satisfied that perhaps no other man in the Republic could supply his place, so perfectly acquainted is he with all that relates to the landed interest of the country as well as with the minutest details of the office.

If it may not be considered out of place, and as partaking of the too common practice of interested adulation, I would state to your Excellency, as the result of my careful and candid observation, that your administration is, almost universally, satisfactory to the people; and that it may continue so to its close, and that you may long live to enjoy the rewards of patriotic devotion to the best interests of the country over which you have been called to preside, I close, by subscribing myself,

Your Excellency's much obliged and faithful friend and servant,
IRA MUNSON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President, &c.

[*From Hon. Lot Clark.*]

LOCKPORT, N. Y., March 11th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * My youngest son, William * * has quite a notion to go to Texas. * * * Should he go there, it would be with a view of a permanent residence, unless Texas should be tacked on to the United States. Should that event happen, I would not advise any of my friends to make it a residence. I could imagine no worse curse to Texas.

I have seen some of the dealings of the United States with Florida. This would be much worse. Nearly every office under the United States Government would be filled with a low order of Virginia, Maryland, and Georgia and North Carolina demagogues, totally incompetent, pauperized upon you to make political weight in those States.

Again, four-fifths of New York, Ohio, New Jersey, all of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, a large majority of Pennsylvania, probably three-fourths, a decided majority in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, and New Hampshire, have a deep and abiding feeling against her admission. This arises from various causes: opposition to slavery, opposition to extending slave dominions, a belief that the constitution has been violated—and a much more extensive belief, that as you extend the territory you diminish the power of the Government to extend salutary protection to the people. Already it is believed that a radical spirit has seized upon the Government, vulgar, destructive, and jacobinical. These opinions are universal among the most thinking and intelligent; those who have contrary notions are the ignorant and the unthinking. You know how opinions are constantly stealing from the ranks of the intelligent to the unintelligent, so that it can scarcely be doubted that the deep feeling against this measure will be on the increase for years. * * * * * * *

New States, when they come into the Union, want much legislation from Congress, which is difficult to obtain in the most favorable state. With this feeling spoken of, how could they hope to obtain it?

But independent of all this, why fasten yourselves on the outskirts of this Government, so far from the centre as never to feel its influence? Have you fears that you cannot maintain your independence? You may have, but let me tell you, you would get quite as efficient aid from the United States without as with annexation. How did the Government protect Florida from the Indians?—a wasted and desolated region that will not be restored in twenty years will answer the question.

I have heard that you were opposed to annexation. I presume you will be if you can get sufficient support from your people. I fancy, however, it will be an up-hill business. The public like new things; if you can prevent it, you will deserve immortal praise. It is now so fixed in the United States that it depends on Texas. If Texas comes in, she is coming on intolerable hard terms; she gives up her revenue to the United States and keeps her debt. Eternal repudiation must be the consequence.

You may suppose, from viewing the results of the Presidential election on the surface, I am mistaken as to public opinion in the States I have mentioned. I am not mistaken. There is no mistaking it by any calm observer of the election. Had the Democrats taken the ground openly in any of the States I have mentioned, they would have been put down by their own party.

They did not mean, themselves, to have Texas. In all the farming towns they took the ground that Mr. Clay was as much for Texas as Mr. Polk. They told the people that it depended upon the Senate, and so they could with much plausibility. But I am taking up too much of your time. * * *

Most truly yours, LOT CLARK.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

[*From Col. James Morgan.*]

NEW WASHINGTON, 28th March, 1845.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—It seems that "the long agony is over," and Texas is to be tacked on to the fag end of the United States, a little behind *Arkansas*, or any repudiating State thereof, *nolens volens!* Worse than all, we shall be annexed with the curses of fully one-half of the people of the United States, who have been deriding and abusing us for cut-throats, villains, and bestowing upon us every other vile epithet during the whole time of the canvass between Mr. Clay and Gov. Polk, and at it yet!—just at the time, too, our independence was about being acknowledged by Mexico! I came up from Galveston with Col. Donelson, who was on his way and in great haste to get to Washington to see you. I learnt from him that it was expected in the United States that we should go into the Union, *not* by treaty, but under Mr. Brown's resolutions, or in fact on *any terms* that the United States might think proper to dictate? Will our people stand this? There is a decided majority at Galveston opposed to annexation on *any terms!*—but nowhere else, I fear; so that our Congress will settle the matter at once, (if called, and I suppose you will have to call them,) and we shall be involved in interminable difficulties, with the loss of our sovereignty! to satisfy the majority, who, not one in ten, have ever reflected on the consequences. Well, *Vox populi, vox Dei.* I do wish that it was convenient for me to visit Washington; I have some little suggestions to make that might aid in defeating some grand schemes which are on hand I see, and which will not be of much credit to the country.

I have received letters from the United States, and particularly from New York, where the people have ever had a friendly feeling for Texas, and have at times manifested it most nobly, deprecating the idea of Texas agreeing to terms so degrading to her honor as to go into the Union in the way proposed in Brown's resolutions. * * * Well, all my projects, I fear, are knocked in the head, and I shall die for want of excitement of some kind. God bless and prosper you. * * *

Faithfully, dear Doctor, your friend, J. MORGAN.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, April 3d, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—More good news! I have this day received despatches from Mr. Bankhead of the 20th ult., and a private letter of the 22d ult., by her Majesty's ship "Eurydice," commanded by my cousin, Capt. Charles George Elliot. These tidings announce the cordial adhesion of the new Government to the favorable dispositions expressed by Gen. Santa Anna, communicated to you in our late instructions; and M. Alleye de Cyprie, the French Minister, has written in the same sense to De Saligny. I shall, of course, proceed upon my voyage without delay, (that is, as soon as the "New York" has arrived,) and in the mean time this pleasing intelligence will strengthen your hands here. The country, my dear sir, is safe and sound, and most cordially do I congratulate you. You deserve the honor and respect that will ever be your portion, for you have steered the bark steadily and bravely through a very perilous navigation. I think you may look for decisive news within thirty days from now; and pray take care that you have some member of the Government near Galveston by that time. I hope Mr. Smith is by this time on his way to Galveston, and furnished with full powers to settle all things satisfactorily in Europe. I have put this letter under cover to him in case it should meet him on the road. * * Could not Miller *encourage* the people *safely* and prudently in the *Register*, without disclosing any thing that should be kept secret yet?

Ever your sincere friend and servant,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*From Ammon Underwood, Esq.*]

COLUMBIA, April 5th, 1845.

PRESIDENT JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you some time since, to which no answer has been received. * * * The public pulse is in a most feverish state here and throughout the country, pertaining to the great question of annexation. The door is now opened for effecting the union, and, as the people believe, much promptitude is desirable on your part to call an extra session of Congress, &c., &c.

By your opponents, and even some of your warm and stanch friends, doubts and fears are entertained relative to your views. My own (as you know) *very powerful eloquence*, has been exhausted in assuring them of your friendship and prompt action in the great cause, so soon as the subject is properly brought before you, but my assurances are not confided in. For my own part, I doubt not that before this reaches you, your proclamation will have been published convening an extra session of Congress. The consummation of this great measure will fill a glorious paragraph—a proud page in the history of your high career; and I know and feel that as you value your own fair fame, but more especially your country's welfare, that your highest energies will be devoted to the accomplishment of this most desirable and glorious result. From all sections of the country,—except Galveston, where, I learn, a majority is in favor of the measure, and the dependents of Government patronage composing your little town of Washington,—a universal voice of acclaim is raised in favor of annexation!—annexation on the terms of the joint resolutions of the Congress of the United States!

I know that your own sentiments and knowledge of the deep interest felt almost universally throughout the community for the speedy consummation of this great measure, will lead you to the most proper and speedy course to effect it; and I would merely add, that the feverish excitement of the community upon this great question exceeds any thing I ever witnessed.

A mass meeting and barbecue is to come off at Brazoria on Monday week; also an annexation ball here on the 14th, and one at Brazoria on the 21st.

Forgive me for this intrusion upon your attention, which I am aware must be heavily and constantly taxed, and permit me, very respectfully, to subscribe myself,

Truly your friend and obedient servant, A. UNDERWOOD.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—A true bill.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, April 5th, 1845.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT,—I have waited so long for the "New York," but she is not here yet, and I cannot keep the ships any longer. I am therefore off this morning. I shall go out in the "Electra," but *change ships out of sight of land*, and go down by the "Eurydice." By this means I shall be reported as gone to "Charleston" in the "Electra," and so hope to arrive unobserved. * * * * * * *

God bless you, my dear President. Rely upon my best exertions and best speed, and before many weeks are over I hope I shall have to congratulate you on the happy close of these affairs. And I believe so, too. Nothing can be more satisfactory than Mr. Bankhead's tone.

Ever your sincere friend, CHARLES ELLIOT.

His Excellency, A. JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*Endorsement.*—A man with a "*white hat*" arrived in Mexico a few days after the date of this letter, who became notorious as such all over Christendom. It was the writer of this, who in less than four weeks achieved an exploit of which history furnishes no parallel.—A. J.]

[*From the Count de Saligny.*]

GALVESTON, April 3d, 1845.

DEAR PRESIDENT,—I cannot let the express be off without adding a few lines to the letter written you by my friend. I too have received news from our minister *there*, and of the most encouraging nature they are. Be cheerful and firm at Washington, and my word for it, every thing will soon come out right.

I am very busy writing home, and *somewhere else*. I'll go to New Orleans by the next "New York." There, I hope soon to hear something good from three different quarters; as soon as it comes I'll let you know it. In the mean time, should any thing of importance take place here, or should you want to see me, drop me a line through Major C——, and I would, if necessary, be back from New Orleans on the next steamboat. Your friends are in good spirits, and gaining strength and ground every day. So I'll tell you again, be firm and cheerful. You must by this time have seen the *Old S*——, and trust you found him all we may wish. * * * * *

Believe me, dear President, to be truly your very humble and obedient servant. C. DE SALIGNY.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—Mr. De Saligny is too sanguine; his wish is too much the father to his thought. "Old S.," that is Gen. Houston, has been at his old game of lying—and with no good intent towards me.

This letter is one of the thousand proofs I have of the intense, the wild desire of European powers to prevent annexation. But my course lies straightforward through the angry billows. I'll "keep her steady," and be "firm and cheerful" too.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. M. P. Norton.*]

HOUSTON, April ——, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have no doubt that on the subject of annexation, as on all others, you have quite as many advisers as you need, and if I had a single feeling of unkindness or unfriendliness either to yourself personally or politically, I would not open my mouth on the question, but it does give me great uneasiness to see men in whose prosperity I feel so great an interest as I do in yourself, and at least in one member of your Cabinet, even *apparently* placed in an attitude of hostility to public feeling, and I believe to the public interest. I do not believe that you are sensible of the strong feeling that exists on this subject, growing, perhaps, more than any thing else, out of the course taken by the *Register*. I do hope and pray that you will convene a session of the Congress at the earliest possible moment, and relieve your administration from the increasing feeling of disapprobation which must otherwise cleave it to the earth. If it were even *suspected*, now, that Dr. Smith had gone to England, or elsewhere, to make commercial treaties, it would produce a burst of feeling, that could only end in revolution and dishonor to the country. I found a meeting, when I returned from Montgomery, appointed to be held on Monday, and was called upon to preside; with much effort I obtained its postponement until next Monday (21st), when it must come off, I hope in such a way as will lead to no bad consequences.

If your friends here, or elsewhere, hold back in this matter, both yourself and they must be politically crushed to the earth; and it seems to me that the instinct of self-preservation should not be lost sight of in this, more than in any other question, and it appears to us in much stronger force, when it accords, as this measure does, to my mind, with the prosperity and happiness of the country. * * *

Yours truly, M. P. NORTON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—A few months since I persuaded Judge Norton to "quit piping against annexation." I have *tried* to persuade Miller to do the same, but cannot succeed. The *Register* is Gen. Houston's organ, not mine, though I am held responsible for its opinions, widely as they differ from my own. —A. J.]

[*From Francis R. Lubbock, Esq.*]

HOUSTON, April 9th, 1845.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—Claiming to be a friend of yours not of yesterday, but since the year 1836, I take the liberty of stating to you, that from my observation, which has been very considerable of late, I find that a very, very large majority of your friends and the people of our county, are in favor of annexation, as proposed by the United States; that many of your former friends and opponents are now abusing you for delaying the important question, and asserting openly that you are opposed and doing all in your power to defeat it:—these assertions I have denied, it is true without authority, but from my own conviction that you were in favor of the measure. I trust, my dear sir, that you will see it as I do, and a large majority of your fellow-citizens and friends, and that you will lend your influence and aid in bringing about a measure that will redound to the prosperity of your country, and entitle you to the merit and praise of having consummated one of the greatest political achievements on record, and instead of receiving the thanks of 15,000 people, that of 14,000,000.

You may think me crazy in thus boldly approaching you on so important a measure; but, my dear sir, I claim to be your friend and well-wisher, consequently trust you will give my letter such consideration as a friend deserves.

I am yours, very respectfully, F. R. LUBBOCK.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter is from a true and worthy friend, who believes correctly. But it shows a strange phenomenon in politics. I have now been laboring incessantly more than four years to open the doors of annexation, and have at last succeeded, while others have slept. Now, noisy demagogues make the public to believe *they* are the friends of the measure, God save the mark! and *I*. (its chief author,) its opposer and enemy. —A. J.]

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

GALVESTON, Wednesday Night,
April 9th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I leave to-morrow morning for New Orleans. Since leaving Washington I have generally avoided conversation on annexation and collateral matters, as much as I could conveniently do without attracting notice by my silence. I find, however, everywhere, very great, *very intense* feeling on this subject; I quieted it as much as possible, by stating that you would at no very distant period present this matter for the consideration and action of the people. I am forced to believe that an immense majority of the citizens are in favor of annexation—that is of annexation as presented in the resolutions of the American Congress—and that they will continue to be so, in preference to independence, though recognized in the most liberal manner by Mexico. This last opinion is, however, I know more doubtful. But I cannot be mistaken in the belief that the tranquillity at present arises from a confidence in your favorable dispositions towards annexation, and the assurance that you will ere long present the matter in some definite form to the country, so as to enable the people to vote in favor of it. This I know is your purpose; but should a suspicion to the contrary arise, and should it be suspected that the matter was to be deferred till the European powers can in any wise be heard from or consulted, especially England, I am certainly informed that an attempt will be made to convene a convention, by calling on the people in public meeting, for the purpose of overriding the Government,—in other words, an attempt will be made to plunge the country into a revolution. The plan has been matured in Harris, Brazoria, and Galveston counties.

My coming down the country so soon after Messrs. De Saligny and Elliot, and so speedily after the arrival of Mr. Donelson, excited much notice, and a suspicion that I might be going to Europe, for a moment inflamed the mind of the public, until people settled down into the belief that I was going to the United States Government at Washington, on the Potomac. This is now *firmly* believed, but as I did not give rise to the report, I do not contradict it. When it is known I am going to Europe, as it will be when I sail from the United States, *I feel convinced that public opinion will be inflamed beyond control.*

Invitations will issue from meetings claiming to represent the popular will, urging the people without delay to elect delegates to a convention, for the purpose of exercising all the powers of Government. I have been told by persons who do not intend to mislead me, that I am considered very hostile to annexation in all forms, more so than yourself, and that I have warped your judgment on this subject. I need not say how unjust such an opinion is.

On looking over what I have written, I find I have understated rather than overstated the feeling on this subject, and the importance which will be attached to my mission when known. *I am sure its tendency will be to prevent the dispas-*

sionate consideration by the people of the grave matters about to be submitted to them; and I am really apprehensive that an attempt may be made to subvert our institutions. I beg you will not consider these remarks as the result of any momentary excitement on my part—the conclusion has been slowly and carefully come to.

Under the circumstances, I have ventured to take a step which will delay me four or six days in the United States, still allowing me to reach Boston in time for the first steamer, to wit, that of the 1st of next month; and this I shall do in order to receive any further instructions you may have to give me. I will go at once to Memphis, on the Mississippi river, (which is my direct route to Boston,) and there remain some five or six days at my brother's. Dr. Bauer, the bearer of this letter, will travel overland to the mouth of Red river, there embark for Memphis, and reach that place almost as soon as I shall. He will bring *in safety* any *verbal* or written communications you may have to send. Should you deem it best to delay my sailing for a short time, or to suspend my mission wholly and consider my journey a private one, or to proceed without delay to my post, I shall act accordingly, and in all cases I shall faithfully attend to the interests of the country. I am not undmindful of the understanding that I should undertake the mission, but I do not suppose its accomplishment would be desired, if likely to produce no beneficial results. As to our relations with Mexico, I think they will be brought to some definite shape for action, under the influence of counsels now or shortly to be presented to her.

I have written, my dear sir, until I am quite fatigued, having been very busy to-day in preparations for sailing in the morning. I trust, however, that the importance of the interests now about to be adjudicated, and the intense feeling and great susceptibility of the public mind at this time, will be a sufficient apology for my troubling you. If I do not hear from you, I shall go direct to my post without loss of time. I have yet lost none since leaving Washington.

Mr. Saligny sails in the "New York" to-morrow, and this accidental circumstance of our going on the same boat is gravely noted.

You have probably met Gov. Yell, a pleasant gentleman, said by some persons to be an unofficial minister accredited to our citizens in general.

Very sincerely and faithfully, your friend,

ASHBEL SMITH.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

P. S.—* * * Being bound by my promise, not only to yourself, but also to the Representatives of the foreign Governments, to repair to Europe, I shall do so; though, under the circumstances, with great reluctance, and faithfully present the matters intrusted to me to the Governments to which I am accredited. * * * Were there time to allow the appointment of another representative in my place, without, in effect, violating the promises already made, I should respectfully tender my resignation. After having performed the object of my mission, I shall at once return home, as I have your kind permission to do; and if the question of annexation be then open, shall use my feeble efforts to promote the same. Had I time, I would enter more fully into details, but the steamboat is ringing her last bell, and indeed I do not suppose explanation necessary, as I believe your opinions are not widely different from those I have just expressed.

Should you, under all the circumstances, deem it proper to delay my sailing, or to recall me; it can be done by means of Dr. Bauer, as mentioned in the preceding letter.

Very sincerely and truly your friend and servant,

ASHBEL SMITH.

[*Endorsement.*—Dr. Smith does not clearly understand the object of his mission—which is simply to explain to European Governments our true position on the annexation question, and at a proper time to take a proper leave of those Governments—and also to satisfy Capt. Elliot and Mr. De Saligny, who hope against almost a certainty that annexation will not be as acceptable as independence to our people, and that it will by that means fail. Dr. Smith has permission to return *if he wishes*, but will not be recalled or delayed by me.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Wm. B. Ochiltree.*]

HOUSTON, 11th April, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I find much excitement here on the subject of annexation. I think all parties will be satisfied with a call of Congress by the 20th June. I think that no time should be lost in issuing the proclamation convoking Congress. Henderson thinks that it would have a favorable influence upon the western delegation, in fixing the apportionment of members to the convention, and call Congress to Austin.

I have said here, unequivocally, that there would certainly be a called session, and that it would meet by the first or middle of June. Some letter writer, as you will see by the *Telegraph*, has made a gross misstatement of the facts connected with the reception of Major Donelson at our place. I would like if this could be corrected as from Major Donelson. Gov. Yell, of Arkansas, will visit Washington in to-day's stage. No particular news from the United States.

Very truly your obedient servant, WM. B. OCHILTREE.

President JONES, Washington.

[*From the Same.*]

GALVESTON, 13th April, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived in this place on yesterday morning. I was agreeably disappointed in finding that but little *excitement* prevailed among the body of the people on the subject of annexation; it is true, there is a deep and intense feeling entertained by both parties on the subject, but nothing I would call excitement. (Hunt, of course, is absent.)

The assurance that you would call Congress by the 20th of June, has, I am satisfied, given satisfaction to the annexation party. I feel well convinced, sir, that much, very much depends upon your convening Congress at Austin. Cazneau stands *uncommitted*, and would, I am satisfied, be powerfully neutralized by that step. It strikes me with great force, that you have every thing to gain, *nothing* to lose, not already lost, by going to Austin.

The position of Gen. Houston seems to be a matter of deep canvass between the parties; both claim him; all acknowledge the weight it would have in either scale.

The more I see of things here, the more strongly am I convinced of the truth of your suppositions as to the moving causes in this matter.

Yours, in truth, W. B. Ochiltree.

President Jones.

[*Endorsement.*—If I had called Congress at Austin, and not called the Convention, it would have tended to aid in preventing what I was anxious to accomplish, and did accomplish, *an equalization of representation.*

Gen. Houston is playing the "snake in the grass," but I do not intend to let him bite me.—A. J. May 5th, 1845.]

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

St. Charles' Hotel, New Orleans,
April 14th, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I reached this place yesterday, Sunday, and shall leave to-day, proceeding to Boston without delay, so as to embark in the steamer of the 1st prox., for Liverpool.

The night before sailing from Galveston, I had a severe chill, followed by high fever: I was bled copiously, and went direct from my bed to the steamboat. I am yet rather feeble, but gaining rapidly. I wrote a long letter the night before I left, to be handed you by Dr. Bauer. * * * *

I shall lose no time, nor omit any exertion in endeavoring to accomplish the object of my mission.

There is not, so far as I learn, any news of importance here; except that every one seems to be looking with interest to our country. The rumor from the Red River districts is that the people there are unanimous in favor of annexation. Mr. E. J. Forstall informs me that he has it directly from Mr. Arrangois, Mexican Consul, that Mexico will, without delay, acknowledge our independence; and further, that Mr. Arrangois believes the proposal or overture is *now* on its way from Mexico to Texas. Persons are continually dropping in to see me, so that it is impossible to write.

With the greatest regard, very truly and faithfully yours,

Ashbel Smith.

His Excellency, Anson Jones.

[*From J. C. Megginson, Esq.*]

Houston, 26th April, 1845.

To His Excellency, Anson Jones:

Dear Sir,—* * * My health is not good. I should be much gratified to see and converse with you on the more than important—the momentous crisis upon which our country has fallen. I feel for you in regard to this question, and the vast responsibility which hangs upon you, as a friend and a *true Texan* ought to feel, and hope soon to see you. What little influence I have, or may have, you can command in furtherance of your patriotic administration of the Government. And to convince you of my sincerity, know, that no office or station, no prospective unpopularity, shall or can influen cemy course. * * * * I have the honor to be, sir, with the utmost confidence, kindness, and respect, your friend and servant,

Joseph C. Megginson.

[*Endorsement.*—"Blow winds, and crack your cheeks, if room enough."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

Mexico, April 21st, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I hasten to send you the official paper of to-day, announcing the demand of this Government to Congress for authority to treat with Texas, upon the basis of the preliminary conditions, and Mr. Bankhead and the Baron Alleye de Cyprie think there is no doubt that Congress will accede to the proposal of the Government, and that the conditions themselves will be signed by the Secretary of State before the close of this week. They will be forwarded *direct* to Texas without delay, by a French vessel of war, and I will come on with Saligny by the first opportunity, after I reach New Orleans.

The first great difficulty was the necessity in which the Government felt itself to ask for the authority of Congress before they could treat upon any footing involving the alienation of any portion of the national territory; and of course it required several days to pave the way, and to provide duly for the support of their policy in Congress. But that hard step has been taken, and the ministers of the two powers entertain the opinion that the Government would never have risked an appeal to Congress, unless they had felt sure of success. Upon the whole, I am convinced you will be much satisfied with the tone of the Secretary of State's communication to Congress, for you well know how sensitive these people are, and how needful it is to manage their vanity. The mail leaves for Vera Cruz in an hour or two, and I have only time to congratulate you cordially upon the favorable and advanced state of affairs; and to assure you, by the desire of Mr. Bankhead and Mons. Alleye de Cyprie, that they will continue to use their best efforts for the speedy and happy termination of this business. They have had a very difficult and delicate task, which has only been accomplished by their hearty co-operation, and the exercise of great firmness, tempered by the utmost discretion and conciliatoriness of language.

I hope to be with you almost as soon as this letter can reach you. My best regards to Mr. Allen, if you please, and oblige me by writing a few words of congratulation to Gen. Houston, in my name. No man wishes you both joy with more cordial pleasure than

Yours, very sincerely, CHARLES ELLIOT.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c., Texas.

P. S.—This Government is certainly most favorably disposed, and you may be assured the great difficulty is passed.

[*Endorsement.*—Announcing the successful progress of the preliminary treaty with Mexico.

General Houston had the infamy, a few weeks (or months) after this, to boast, at a public meeting in New Orleans, that he had only been "*coquetting*" with Capt. Elliot; which was false in fact, or most disgraceful to Texas and to himself, if true.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

HOUSTON, TEXAS, April 29th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Judge Ochiltree suggested to me, on my way here, the propriety of your recommending to the people the election of delegates to a convention to be assembled about the time that Congress will meet, or earlier; and I learn here from Judge Norton, that Mr. Allen and others of your friends have expressed a similar wish.

Feeling that you might have some embarrassment on the subject in consequence of the intimation to me through Mr. Allen, that it was necessary to convoke Congress in order to have an apportionment of the elective districts, I have taken the liberty to write this note; and to say to you that I trust you will not consider any declaration yet made to me as a reason for not adopting such suggestion, should it appear otherwise proper.

The great object is to give effect to the public will of Texas, and if this should be already sufficiently expressed to show that the proposals from the United States are satisfactory, all that remains is to resort to the earliest practicable mode of obtaining the requisite change in the Constitution and Government. For this purpose, the call you have made of Congress might be confined to that feature of the proposals which anticipate the consent of the existing Government of Texas; while at the same time, the Convention might be in session framing the new Constitution.

The main difficulty, I suppose, in your mind, would be the apportionment of the representation to the Convention, which is a heavy responsibility, considering the jealousy which exists between the western and eastern portions of the Republic. But may not this responsibility be safely risked by you? Such a classification as you suggested to me, is doubtless a near approach to what would be adopted by Congress, if the duty of making it were left to that body; and it cannot be supposed that the people would be less willing to come to an agreement. The whole proceeding is at least but recommendatory, inasmuch as it is extra-constitutional; and your action, as well as that of Congress, could do no more than indicate a plan to the people, by which they could express their sovereign will with convenience and certainty.

Should your proclamation, therefore, after stating the occasion for its being issued, recommend the people to elect delegates to a Convention, to meet on day of June, and to choose one, two, three, or four members, as the case may be, on such a basis of representation as from your knowledge of the claims of all the counties would be right, giving due weight to population and territory—the Convention thus assembled to be the judge of the competency of its members, with power to correct what they might decide to be unequal or unjust in the classification for the counties,—it would seem to me that you might safely confide in the people themselves, and the delegates to sustain you.

But it is not my intention to do more than call your attention to the subject, for the purpose of assuring you, that if such a step is in contemplation, I trust you will not permit any thing official which has been communicated to me to interfere with it.

I feel a lively interest in your meeting the wish of the people of Texas; at the same time I am aware of the impropriety of my becoming to any extent the organ of these feelings. You will not, therefore, ascribe to me, in this communication, a departure from the line of conduct, which, as a representative from the United States, should keep me from all interference with the independent judgment of the Government and people of Texas on the proposals for their admission into the Union.

With my kind regards to Mrs. Jones, I am, very truly, your obedient servant, A. J. DONELSON.

His Excellency, PRESIDENT JONES.

P. S.—As well as I recollect, your classification was:

One member for every county.

One additional for every 200 votes and less than 500.

One additional for every 500 and over.

Perhaps an additional member to the two counties, Montgomery and Red River, that have 1,200 votes.

[*Endorsement.*—Received May 6th, 1845.]

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

SABINE TOWN, May 1st, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—Your interesting favor of 18th ult. came safe to hand this evening very opportunely; and I avail myself of the return of the mail to-morrow to reply. Your intimation that my remaining until after the special session would not be unacceptable to you, is at once gratifying to my feelings and that of all my friends, and shall be cheerfully complied with. I shall attend the special session, and it will afford me pleasure, as I can do it conscientiously, to vindicate your course, and put down, as far as in my power, any excitement that may have been raised for unworthy purposes.

Your letter is highly gratifying to me, not only on account of the policy favorable to annexation, which it indicates, but also on account of the friendly personal feelings manifested towards myself. I am sure I am not ungrateful, and it will be my duty and pleasure on all and every occasion to put you right before the people; and I really believe that, when your whole course of policy is laid before them, they will award to you the meed of an honest and patriotic statesman. Your convocation of Congress has already allayed all excitement, and entirely quieted the minds of the people.

* * * * * * *

Your obliged friend, David S. Kaufman.

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

Boston, May 1st, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I arrived here last evening, and shall sail to-day at two o'clock in the "Caledonia" for Liverpool.

I have noted with interest the intelligence from Mexico. I have seen a private letter from a high functionary in Mexico, whose name I am not permitted to mention, dated 31st March, which says the party of Gomez Farias is gaining ground, and that that party is opposed to the recognition of our independence; that Cuevas is accused by the Farias party of treasonable correspondence with the enemy—to wit, that he is working for the recognition. You must, however, have later intelligence, and on the receipt of this you will doubtless be informed of what Mexico will do at this juncture.

My present journey has caused much speculation in the American newspapers. Not having authorized any of their statements, nor being responsible to them for my conduct, I let them blunder on in their conjectures.

The American papers are full of speculations, too, on the chances of a war between the United States and England. I do not think there is any likelihood or prospect of a war to grow out of the Oregon question.

It appears to me, from such observation as I have had, that it is expected by the people of this country that the measure of annexation will be ratified by the next Congress, if acceded to by Texas. I have nothing from Col. Daingerfield or Gen. Terrell. Some despatches from Gen. Terrell have this moment been handed me. Having read them I shall forward by the present mail. My room is, as usual, full of people.

In haste, truly yours, ASHBEL SMITH.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—I am happy to see that the Doctor has recovered from his late alarm at Galveston.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

GALVESTON, May 2d, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I send you the correspondence with Gen. Almonte, and late accounts from Mexico, as the basis of the suggestion from Mr. Allen respecting the obligation of the United States to protect the western frontier of Texas in case of invasion.

If you sanction the letter from Mr. Allen, I shall make it the basis of an immediate application to the President of the United States, who, I doubt not, will order the troops, as soon as Congress accepts the terms submitted by me, or leave a provisional power in my hands to convey the order as soon as the exigency arises.

I am very truly your obedient servant,

A. J. DONELSON.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter contains the proof of what I have elsewhere stated, that the application for protection to Texas came from the Government of the United States, and not from Texas. Mr. Allen was urged and over-persuaded in the matter; and it had gone so far before it came to my knowledge, I could not refuse a compliance.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Ebenezer Allen.*]

GALVESTON, 3d May, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I send you for inspection the enclosed note, intended to be addressed to Mr. Donelson, if its contents should meet your approbation. It was prepared at his suggestion, and his reply will be, I think, in all respects agreeable, or at least unobjectionable. General Houston, who arrived in the "Bill" this morning, says that the tone of the note corresponds with the course adopted during his administration: of its propriety, however, you can judge, and Mr. Eldridge will forward me a copy, which I can sign and transmit to Mr. Donelson.

Mr. Donelson has read to me his letter addressed to you on the subject of a convention, and requests me to express to you my sentiments on that subject. I have not, however, had time to examine the matter as fully as I could wish. There can be no doubt that a convention, framed upon a plan recommended by the Executive, would be as legal, satisfactory, and efficient as one formed upon a plan proposed by Congress. * *

If you think the measure a safe one, and not premature, I should be glad to see your proclamation issued recommending a convention to be assembled at as early a day as practicable, and presenting a basis whereby to regulate the election of delegates. * * * * *

I remain your friend and obedient servant,

EBENEZER ALLEN.

To His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter shows that the *protection* to Texas was sought by the Government of the United States. At this time I did not think Texas needed any more protection than the moral power of the United States. Owing, however, to the excitement at the time, and my embarrassments, I yielded a reluctant assent; but at the time I was not a free agent, or I would not have done so. Mr. Allen, too, had compromitted me, actuated, no doubt, by the fact of my embarrassments.—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

GALVESTON, 4th May, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—From the signs now exhibited there can be but little doubt that the called session of Congress is intended to present a stormy scene. The opponents of the Administration do not intend to place it in your power to appear as the friend of that measure. They care not whether they place you in a false or true position, so that they can add strength and popularity to their determined hostility to your administration. Such is the conclusion to which I have been led by conversing with many,—some the pretended friends, others the fixed enemies, of your course; and of the latter I may say, of yourself. Between settled enmity and indifferent friends there is little to choose, except that the former generally take the lead, and the latter become tools. Unless I am greatly deceived, the members of Congress may be divided into two classes, viz.: the avowed, determined, irreconcilable foes to the Administration on the one hand, and inefficient, lukewarm, indifferent supporters, or rather apologists, on the other. The former will deal in denunciations, the latter in regrets. Violence will be most likely to prevail, and what the result will be must depend upon the moderation of the Opposition, rather than upon the moderation of pretended adherents. The facility with which those who ought to have sustained the Government, have not only yielded, but added to the unreasonable and factious excitement against it,—in many instances endeavoring, at least tacitly, to inflame the madness and increase the delusion of the masses,—shows how little justice is likely to be accorded to the Executive by the community under existing influences. Every mass meeting has been one of the Opposition.

Under such circumstances, it occurs most forcibly to my mind that the call of a convention, to be assembled under the advisory proclamation of the Executive, would not only neutralize and render harmless all the elements of opposition, and defeat the machinations of your enemies, but would even place you in such a position that they themselves, however loath, would be bound to sustain you, and to support your course and administration. Mr. Donelson is greatly in favor of such a call

—so is Gov. Yell; and the idea is universally satisfactory, so far as I can learn, and will be advocated by every paper in the county. Those who oppose it will be considered as opposed to annexation. I do not consider, however, that the measure of annexation is to be hastened or materially affected by the assembly of a convention. That body will be superior to Congress; it will deliberate upon the state of the Republic; it will submit the overture to the people; it will probably frame a new constitution, and by proper provisions fit it to become the organic law, whether annexation shall take place or not. I for one should be glad to see the Constitution renovated. I believe that a much better one than the present can be devised. Finally, I doubt not that the Convention, thus assembled, would provide effectually against revolution, and take efficient measures for the continuance of the Government under the present Administration, until annexation shall be consummated, and the consequent changes follow in their course.

The plan for a convention might be, to have one delegate elected for each county, and one additional delegate for every two hundred voters—making the Convention judges of the qualifications of its members. The *timely* publication of your proclamation would prevent certain members of Congress from becoming members of the Convention, at which I, for one, should rejoice.

It is because I confidently believe that the suggested course will place you at the head of the nation, by position and the concurrence of circumstances, as well as by election, that I have submitted to you my views recommending it. The armed, organized, and disciplined opposition to your Administration will thus be prostrated; and whether annexation finally occur or not, your course will be applauded, and yourself sustained.

I beg you to accept these suggestions in the spirit which has produced the submission of them to your better judgment, from your obedient servant and friend,

EBENEZER ALLEN.

To His Excellency, A. JONES.

P. S.—I think that Congress, when assembled, (in the absence of the call of a convention,) will assume conventional powers, and appeal to the people to sanction their usurpations and adopt their acts. A wise, but bold and decisive course by the Executive at this crisis, in controlling the excitement, and turning the revolution, (for such it is,) to the permanent benefit of the nation, is what I desire to see successfully accomplished.

[*Endorsement.*—The Convention was called when this letter from the Secretary of State was written. I knew of the storm, for I felt its *blasts* all around me. Demagogues, emissaries, factionists, disorganizers, and personal and political enemies, all, all united against me; and many of my friends, Sam. Houston among them, quailed and stood still with very fear, or went over to the enemy.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

GALVESTON, May 5th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I addressed you a private letter on the 29th ult. from Houston, in reference to the suggestion made by some of your friends, that it would be a judicious step for you to issue another proclamation, calling, on your own responsibility, a convention of the people for the purpose of hastening the decision of the annexation question. It was my object simply to assure you, if you concurred in that suggestion, that the official declaration made to me need be no barrier to the execution of the suggestion. It is my duty, however, in the spirit of candor and friendship which dictated that letter, to say to you that I am not now so sure of the expediency of such a movement. Mixing, as I have done, pretty freely with the citizens of this place, I have perceived that there is much prejudice on the subject of the apportionment of the elective districts, and that there is a possibility of serious objection being made to any basis which the President *alone*, with the best intentions, might select. Under such circumstances, as you have called Congress, it would probably be the wiser course to await their action, and divide with them the responsibility of the plan which will be adopted. If you have not already issued this proclamation by the time you receive this, the doing so would gain only about a month in time—an object hardly sufficient to justify a risk on the score of discontent.

If you have acted, however, or are of the opinion that you had better call a convention in the course of June, as I stated before, let not any official declaration made to me be a barrier, one way or the other.

It is probable I may go to New Orleans with Gen. Houston, but I shall be at Washington a few days before the meeting of Congress; and in the mean time shall remain, with sentiments of great respect, your obedient servant,

A. J. DONELSON.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President of Texas.

P. S.—I have just discovered that I was under a wrong impression as to the contents of Mr. Allen's official note to me. Without referring to it, I had supposed, when I wrote you my private letter from that place, that he specified the propriety of calling Congress for the purpose of apportioning the representation to the Convention. But I see that it is not so. It was in verbal interviews that the idea was suggested, and hence it is said in my unofficial communications that this was a leading consideration in the call of Congress. But this is not material. What I said was only for your private consideration, and to show that I was sincerely anxious to see annexation accomplished in the most harmonious manner.

Yours, &c., A. J. D.

His Excellency, A. JONES, &c., &c.

[*Endorsement.*—Major Donelson's letter of 29th May *recommends* the call of a convention: this *revokes* that recommendation. The change in Major Donelson's mind was made by Gen. Houston, whom he met at Galveston, who was *toto cœlo* opposed to the measure; and many of his friends wrote to me and came to see me, to dissuade me from the step, and said Gen. Houston *denounced* it as revolutionary, &c., &c. I had acted in the matter, however, before Major Donelson's letter of 29th April, or this, came to hand.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. J. W. Henderson.*]

HOUSTON, 6th May, 1845.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I have heard from some of your *eleventh hour friends*, (I mean Moore,) that you intended to adopt a different course upon the subject of annexation, and *issue* a proclamation, recommendatory in its character, to the people, calling upon them to elect representatives to the Convention upon the basis you would recommend; this I do not believe would be attended *with* the *happy results* he anticipates, and, as he seems to intimate, place you, instead of an opponent of annexation, a first and foremost friend. Your *friends* have never deceived *you;* and for myself, I believe *your* calling Congress *gave* them the fullest assurance of your desire to carry it out. I should, as one of your friends, prefered a sooner *call*, but never have doubted that you had *reasons*, and have no doubt that a calling a convention by *you*, under the sircumstances, will not, in my opinion, be a prudent step; however, I am not disposed to interpose my opinions against yours in a matter of the kind, but I know everybody *here speak* of Moore's *plan* as that of a *madman;* and since your proclamation has come out, calling Congress, every person has regarded it in but one light, as the proper way to dispose of the matter.

I should not take upon myself the responsibility of *fixing* the *basis*, when it can be divided by the representatives of the people in a manner more to their *satisfaction*. The President is elected by the people direct; but his is a executive office, and his election not *had* by *that* portion of the Republic *who* alone would have cause of complaint against a basis you *would* be bound to fix in *justice* to your friends. So I would have nothing to do with it, except in co-operating with Congress.

Your friend, J. W. HENDERSON.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter, though bearing the signature and *spelling* of the Hon. J. W. Henderson, was written by Gen. Houston. The time, the place, the arguments, the allusion to Dr. Moore, all show it. It comes from the same parties who, a few months before, conspired to defeat my election. They would like to see my administration fail, but *shall not*.—A. J.]

[*From Count de Saligny.*]

NEW ORLEANS, May.

MY DEAR SIR,—The "McKim" will be off in half an hour, and I have just time enough to inform you that I have received, five minutes ago, a letter from Capt. Elliot, dated Vera Cruz on the 9th. The House of Deputies of Mexico has declared in favor of Texan independence by a majority of 41 to 13. The Senate, where the Government is stronger, is considered perfectly safe. It was expected all would be done by the 11th or 12th, and the good tidings were to be taken immediately to Galveston by the French man-of-war "La Perouse." My colleague, who intended returning direct to Texas by the "La Perouse," says he hopes he will be there by the 22d. It is therefore probable you will see him before this reaches you; but, at all events, I think it better to write you. I would have come by the "McKim" were it not for fear she will, as usual, take seven or eight days to make the trip. It is more advisable, therefore, that I should wait for the "New York," inasmuch as she may get to Galveston before the "McKim." Besides, I must send the good news to my Government, and, as I have told you, the "McKim" sails in half an hour.

Believe me, in great haste, very dear sir, truly yours,

C. DE SALIGNY.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—I have it now. *Eureka!*—Annexation AND independence.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

SABINE TOWN, May 22d, 1845.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—By last Thursday's mail (a week ago) we received your proclamation, recommending the election of deputies to the Convention, and proposing the basis of its organization. The basis is just, equitable, and Republican, and for it you must and will receive the thanks of a large majority of your fellow-citizens. The country knows and appreciates your motives. They know well that if Congress had fixed the basis, it would have been perhaps almost impossible to have secured a different basis from the present one; that amidst conflicts among the members, the great question of annexation would have been delayed, if not defeated. The general acquiescence of all the populous portions of the Republic in your proclamation, the elections that will take place under it, the influence secured for your basis, and the delay that would ensue from its disturbance by the called session of Congress, make it certain that under that basis and election the Convention will be organized.

Your proclamation was received here, and everywhere I can hear from, with the utmost enthusiasm. It has at once satisfied your numerous friends. * * * True, the basis may not suit *some* as well as that which Congress would have established; but nevertheless it is founded upon the principles of eternal justice; it suits two-thirds of the people, and *will not be attacked.*

Your course will secure the meeting of the Convention at least a month earlier than if Congress had met and proceeded to act [on the basis] on the 3d Monday of May.

Your course has given me more gratification than any thing which has transpired for a long time. It has confirmed every vindication I have made of your motives and course, and was a move equal to your veto of the seat of Government bill last winter. It was thought by *some* that you would have broken your head over that, but it redounded to your credit and advantage, and your late proclamation will do the same; indeed, it has done it already. * * * * *

Ever sincerely and gratefully your friend,

David S. Kaufman.

[*Endorsement.*—Mr. Kaufman is as ardent and intelligent a friend of annexation as there is in Texas or the United States. If he is perfectly satisfied with my course, I think it must be right.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. A. J. Donelson.*]

Galveston, June 1st, 1845.

Dear Sir,—I send, under the same envelope with this, a reply to the note of Mr. Allen, respecting the protection expected by you for Texas after she accepts the terms of union proposed to her. This note was handed to me by Gen. Houston at New Orleans, where he and his family had arrived safely. An answer, founded on instructions from Mr. Buchanan, will reach me, I think, on Thursday or Friday next, after the receipt of which I will visit you.

Gen. Houston was to leave New Orleans for Nashville the same day (last Thursday) that I did for this place. He made a speech on temperance, declined a public dinner, but accepted an invitation to address the citizens on the annexation question, which he did in a very satisfactory manner. His reception was flattering and cordial. He will proceed direct to Nashville, where he will find Gen. Jackson, in such infirm health as to create the daily anticipation of his departure from this world.

There is nothing new in the United States. All eyes are turned at this time upon Texas, and upon the negotiation intrusted to Capt. Elliot, which attracts attention, not because it is supposed to lessen the prospect of an early consummation of annexation, but because it discloses the policy of the British Government, and exposes the weakness of Mexico.

But I will not trouble you with speculation on this subject. As I will so soon see you, I reserve until then all that I shall have to say until the meeting of Congress.

In the mean time, desiring to be remembered to your lady and to Mr. Allen, I remain, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. J. Donelson.

His Excellency, Anson Jones.

[*Endorsement.*—In view of a rejection of the treaty of annexation, (1844,) and immediately after that event, I had deemed it a duty and a proper precaution to ask the protection of the United States. But I had at no time in view any thing but prospective and contingent protection,—not the *aggressive* protection sent; and three days after this letter was written, (June 4th,) I issued my proclamation declaring Texas at peace with Mexico.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Eben. Allen.*]

New Washington, 5th June, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I reached Houston on Sunday last, and soon after my arrival had a brief interview with Capt. Elliot, who was on his way to Washington with the propositions from Mexico. I would have returned immediately with him to Washington, but *he* did not deem it necessary for me to do so, and I accordingly concluded to remain, thinking I might probably be as useful *here* as there. I was somewhat disappointed in ascertaining that his errand, although its import was understood in Houston, occasioned but little excitement there. The general impression, on learning the nature of the proposition whereof he was the bearer, was, "it is too late," accompanied in some instances with symptoms of regret. The election of delegates has come off since, and Swain, the anti-annexation candidate, has most probably been elected. The definite news or account of the election will, however, reach you in advance of this.

I am persuaded that some unaccredited and informal (perhaps self-constituted and unauthorized) agents, acting in pretended behalf of the United States, are endeavoring to take advantage of the crisis to hurry us into hostilities with Mexico. I hope they may be disappointed, and that in spite of their efforts we shall at least be able to preserve peace *at present*, if not the Republic.

The *Bulletin*, *Picayune*, and the *Galveston News* are exerting all their ingenuity, and concentrating all their bitterness in speculations and conjectures, and attacks upon the Texan President and Cabinet; but, so far as my observation has been able to extend itself, as yet, these attacks prove ineffectual. The Convention has been summoned, and the Administration is "*rectus in curia.*"

The Mexican propositions, as well as those from the United States, can safely and with all propriety now be laid before that body, and subsequently, with their approbation, submitted to the nation. Until the terms from Mexico shall have been definitely rejected, I cannot apprehend danger of attack from that quarter. In the mean time could any possible harm, disadvantage, or danger accrue from a proclaimed armistice, thereby securing temporary tranquillity, until the important matters pending before the nation can be acted upon? Mr. Donelson passed in the steamboat to-day for Houston, but did not call here, leaving word, however, that he would be happy to see me at Houston to-morrow. Gen. Sherman, who returned from Galveston, is going up to-morrow to see Mr. D., who, as Gen. S. says, approves of a military occupation forthwith of the territory west of the Nueces by Texas, *but not as Minister of the United States.* I have only indirect news from Com. Stockton, who, in urging military operations on the part of Texas, seems to act through others, holding himself, in the mean time, wisely aloof.

Under existing circumstances, I think that the policy of Texas should, for the present, be peaceful; and such a course, I trust, the nation will approve. Gen. Sherman has been strongly urged by the reckless agitators in this vicinity and at Galveston to call out the militia, and commence hostilities against Mexico, without regard to the approval or disapproval of the Executive. But I have no idea that he can be persuaded into so reckless a measure.

To secure peace, to submit all propositions affecting the interests of the nation to the calm consideration and decision of the people through their delegates, to restrain, if practicable, the current of events within the natural channel of causes and effects, until they shall produce their appropriate results in due time, is all that can be done by the Government. And then, whether the destiny of the nation shall be of weal or woe, the Executive is free from censure.

I had come to the determination to proceed forthwith to Washington with Major Donelson; but, upon further reflection, have concluded to wait a few days longer, believing you would cause me to be informed if my presence were necessary.

With great respect, I remain your friend and obt. servant,

EBEN. ALLEN.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—The suggestions in this letter are correct, in my opinion. I will not manufacture a war to please Mr. Polk. Commodore Stockton, through Dr. Wright, and Gen. Sherman, have received an emphatic No. The United States, I believe, have a good enough cause of war as against Mexico. Let their Congress determine. It is not my business to do so.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

GALVESTON, June 12th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you kindly for yours of the 6th inst., with the proclamation, and hope to get the despatches off to-day by "La Perouse," in which case they will be in Mexico by the 21st or 22d inst. I have a persuasion that the Ministers of the two powers will do all they possibly can to meet your wishes; but, as I have already told you, I am greatly afraid that what has passed in Texas since the preliminaries were put into our hands by you, and the general and violent state of excitement here and in the United States, may drive the Mexicans out of all complyingness of humor or trustfulness. The accounts yesterday from New Orleans are rife of *immediate* movement of United States forces, land and sea, to the Rio Grande, and a great deal of the like inflammable matter. You have done all that man can do for the peace, honor, and security of your country, and I wish, with all my heart, that your efforts may be successful; but, as you justly say, it is impossible even to "guess" at results. We learn here that Gen. Houston has come out decisively and warmly in favor of annexation. I cannot believe it; on the contrary, I am not without confidence that he may be laboring for the security of the country.

The proclamation seems to have been a blow to certain parties here. It was hugely wished that you should do the work of provoking hostilities, and that somebody else should reap the advantage.

Pray do me the great kindness to send me your message to Congress by express. Speed, at the present moment, may be of the last degree of consequence. I hope and trust that the country may yet be saved, but the dangers are very great. * *

Your most sincere friend and servant,

CHARLES ELLIOT.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*Endorsement.*—The knowledge of the fact that the United States wished, and were trying to drive me to manufacture a war for them, appears by this letter to be known to others as well as myself. This is what Capt. Elliot alludes to where he says: "It was hugely wished *you* should do the work of provoking hostilities, and that others should reap the advantage."—A. J.]

[*From the Same.*]

GALVESTON, June 13th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have been suffering so much pain in my side, and look forward with so much uneasiness to the necessity of waiting for the next trip of the "McKim," that I have resolved to avail myself of the last voyage of the "New York," and proceed to the United States as soon as I can. I should say, too, that I have received disquieting accounts from Mrs. Elliot about my dear little one; and the worry of that thought would, I am sure, soon complete my discomfiture, and lay me down a very sick man. Publicly considered, too, I feel that my continued presence in this country, under present circumstances, is rather hurtful than helpful. But if this crazy fit should pass away without overturning the nationality of the country, and with it the true and lasting interests of the people, Texas may depend upon the fast friendship and assistance of her Majesty's Government for the accomplishment of a sound, honorable, and lasting settlement.

It occurs to me that you would do well to cause copies of your proclamation to be forwarded to Gen. Arista, without delay; for I am greatly afraid that the news he will hear of military movements from New Orleans may lead to some sudden outbreak. I should mention that I have suggested to Mr. Bankhead, that if the Mexican Government have any thing to say to you in the present attitude of affairs, and whilst I am absent, perhaps it would be better to make the communication through Arista. These warlike reports from New Orleans will of course reach Matamoros and upon the Norte. I think I shall suggest to Major Cocke whether it would not be better to let "Simpton," schooner, (now here,) run down to Corpus Christi at once, with some copies of the proclamation, and with instructions to have some forwarded by the Mexicans to Matamoros, as soon as possible. It may prevent serious difficulty. If the tone of your message to Congress, too, should be conciliatory towards Mexico, as I hope and trust it will be, I would venture to recommend to you to cause some copies of it to be sent into Mexico, as soon as you can. Some of the traders at Corpus Christi would readily take them on

Preserve the country, my dear sir, if you can, and with firmness, moderation, and prudence, (which you really possess in an eminent degree, most happily for this beguiled and bewildered people, more to be pitied than blamed,) I have not lost all confidence that you will yet save them from what would be little short of their ruin. I have written to Mexico, in the strongest terms, suggesting *complete* abstinence from onward movement, let this Congress and Convention say what they may. The Mexicans had better leave the initiative in hostile proceedings to the United States, which will be no easy nor irresponsible task under present circumstances. I should hope they would pause before they break up a state of peace between Mexico and yourselves. The proclamation is, I think, working sedatively already. I do wish that Judge Hemphill, and Lipscomb, and Butler, and some other of the leading and honorable men of the country, would *prudently* stand forward, and help the Government to save it from ruin. They might do so yet, and acquire undying honor, and the lasting gratitude of this people when they had returned to a state of sobriety. They are in a state of general intoxication now; but, there will be sickness, and sorrow, and shame hereafter. * * *

Your most sincere friend and servt., CHARLES ELLIOT.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*Endorsement.*—Time alone can show whether the predictions in this letter are true or not. I trust in God, however, that annexation may not produce the ill consequences herein predicted. But that Capt. Elliot expresses the sincere sentiments of his mind and heart, in this letter, I feel perfectly satisfied.—A. J.]

[*From S. Z. Hoyle, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON, June 21st, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you letters and papers. A resolution was received from the Senate notifying you of the rejection of the "preliminary conditions," &c., and calling for copies of correspondence with England and Mexico, which I referred to the State Department.

Respectfully, &c., &c.,

STEPHEN Z. HOYLE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, Barrington.

[*Endorsement.*—I advised my friends in the Senate not to reject or adopt the preliminary treaty with Mexico, but to suspend action, and let it go to the Convention for decision. This would have a favorable effect on our relations with the United States, and be just as regards Mexico. But the Senate are so much afraid of the people, they dare not do right.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. C. H. Raymond.*]

NEW ORLEANS, June 21st, 1845.

President JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I left Washington, D. C., the 21st ult., * * * but did not reach this city until the 16th inst. Since then I have been waiting for the "McKim."

Gen. Jackson died on Sunday, the 8th inst. * * * Many of the newspapers are charging yourself (and Gen. Houston) with opposition to annexation. I have, when appealed to, and on all proper occasions, pronounced the charge untrue; and that a full history of the whole subject would vindicate your course in the enlightened judgment of all the world. * * *

I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of the highest regard, your friend and obdt. servt., CHAS. H. RAYMOND.

[*From Hon. Wm. G. Cooke.*]

WASHINGTON, June 21st, 1845

MY DEAR SIR,—The Comanche Indians (Santa Anna's tribe) will be in San Antonio, agreeable to appointment, by the 29th inst. I wrote to Capt. Hays that either the Indian commissioners or myself would be at San Antonio in time to meet them. As the commissioners have not been notified, it will be necessary for me to go to San Antonio; my instructions to Hays not being explicit enough to enable him to make a treaty with them. If it meets your sanction, I would like to start to-morrow; and would request some instructions from you in regard to the "talk" to be made them.

Mr. Sloat *thinks* that he has traced the murderers of Hornsby and Atkinson to the Comanche tribe now encamped about fifty miles above Austin. I do not think the proof sufficient to fix the crime upon that tribe. Indians are in the habit of *gambling* for arrows, and it is difficult to recognize one *fish-hook* from another. Mr. Sloat accompanies the superintendent, and will give you all the necessary information. I would come out myself, but am very busy in the office.

I am, with much respect, your obedient servant,

Wm. G. Cooke.

His Excellency, Anson Jones, Present.

[*Endorsement.*—The murder of Hornsby and Atkinson, while fishing in the Colorado, near Austin, constitutes the only Indian depredation of the kind committed in Texas during my term of office. It was the result of a personal hatred and vow of revenge on the part of a Comanche Indian.

The treaty with the chief, Santa Anna, completed the pacification of all the Indians within our limits, or on our frontiers, who had been previously hostile.—1846—A. J.]

[*Treaty of Peace and Independence with Mexico.*]

(Vide Proclamation of 4th June, 1845.)

Memorandum of a conference held at the State Department at Washington, on the Brazos, on the 29th March, 1845, between the Hon. Ashbel Smith, Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas, and the Chargés d'Affaires of their Majesties the King of the French and the Queen of Great Britain, Mons. Saligny and Capt. Charles Elliot.

After the communication to Mr. Ashbel Smith of the instructions of their respective Governments, dated the 17th and 23d January last, the Representatives of the two powers invited the Government of Texas to accept the good offices of France and England, for an early and honorable settlement of their difficulties with Mexico, upon the basis of the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas by that Republic.

The Secretary of State was instructed by the President to express the willingness of this Government to accept the intervention of the two powers. But in view of the much more advanced condition of circumstances connected with the affairs of Texas existing now, than could be known in Paris and London at the dates of those despatches, and adverting to the difficulties and risks to which this Government is exposed, from causes upon which he need not dwell, the Secretary of State was desired by the President to press the urgent necessity that this Government should, as speedily as possible, be enabled to present to the people of this country, for their consideration and action, decisive proofs that Mexico was at once ready to acknowledge the independence of this Republic, without other condition than the stipulation to maintain the same.

The Government of Texas, therefore, with a sincere desire to avail themselves of the proffered interposition of the Powers, have now authorized the Secretary of State to propose to their Representatives the following arrangement:

I. The signature and seal of the Secretary of State, or any other minister of the Republic of Mexico, duly authorized by the Government thereof, to be procured to the preliminary conditions now submitted to the Representatives of the two Powers; and the Government of Texas pledge themselves, forthwith, after the same shall have been placed in the hands of the President, to issue a proclamation announcing the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace with the Republic of Mexico.

II. Texas, for a period of ninety days from the date of this memorandum, agrees not to accept any proposal, nor enter into any negotiations to annex itself to any other country.

The Representatives of the two Powers, sensible of the peculiar situation of the Government of Texas, to which the Secretary of State had called their attention, were ready, on the part of their respective Governments, to accede to the proposals he had now made, and pledged themselves forthwith to pursue their accomplishment.

[L. S.] ASHBEL SMITH.
[L. S.] A. DE SALIGNY.
[L. S.] CHARLES ELLIOT.

Conditions preliminary to a Treaty of Peace between Mexico and Texas.

1st. Mexico agrees to acknowledge the independence of Texas.

2d. Texas agrees that she will stipulate in the treaty not to annex herself or become subject to any country whatever.

3d. Limits and other conditions to be matter of arrangement in the final treaty.

4th. Texas will be willing to remit disputed points, respecting territory and other matters, to the arbitration of umpires.

Done at Washington on the Brazos, on the 29th March, 1845.

[L. S.] ASHBEL SMITH, *Secretary of State.*

It is understood between the undersigned parties to a memorandum, signed this day, in relation to the affairs of Texas and Mexico, that in view of the representative character of the Government of the former, should the people thereof decide upon pursuing the policy of annexation in preference to the proposed arrangement with Mexico, then the Government of Texas will notify France and England of the same, and without any breach of faith, be at liberty to consummate the national will so expressed.

The above memorandum was written by the undersigned Secretary of State, in reference to the "memorandum of the 29th March," and by him read and submitted to the Count de Saligny and Capt. Elliot, signers of the said "memorandum," for their consideration, *previously* to the signing of the same. It was deemed unnecessary to sign the above, as M. de Saligny and Capt. Elliot declared their clear understanding that the Government of Texas were held only to the strict and specified terms of the "memorandum," and that if the people of Texas should express their preference to pursue the policy of annexation, instead of accepting independence, although fully recognized by Mexico, that then the President would be at full liberty to consummate annexation to the United States without any breach of good faith. The undersigned stated to Capt. Elliot and M. de Saligny, that he himself should take note of the declaration now formally made to them. ASHBEL SMITH.

WASHINGTON ON THE BRAZOS, March 30th, 1845.

MY LORD,—Having received certain information of a willingness on the part of Mexico to treat with Texas on the basis of independence, it has been thought best, in order to take advantage of this favorable disposition on the part of the Government of that country, that Capt. Elliot should proceed without delay to the City of Mexico to press this matter to a conclusion with that Government.

Capt. Elliot has expressed a desire that, as his proposed visit to Mexico, when communicated to me, seemed, in my opinion, highly advisable and necessary, I would communicate this opinion of mine to your Lordship directly.

I beg you will excuse the trouble I give you at this time, and accept the assurance of the esteem and very high consideration with which I have the honor to remain your Lordship's most obedient humble servant, ANSON JONES.

To the Right Honorable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c., &c., &c.

WASHINGTON ON THE BRAZOS, March 31st, 1845.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
WASHINGTON, March 31st, 1845.

I certify the above are correct copies of the originals on file.
ANSON JONES.

[*From the Secretary of State.*]

WASHINGTON, Wednesday morning, July 2d, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I have just arrived in town and had an interview with Major Donelson, who has just received a despatch from Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, &c.

Mr. Donelson has concluded to go immediately to Austin, and is desirous of seeing you before his departure to-day. His despatch evinces a high state of excitement, not only among the people of the United States, but also in the Executive Cabinet, on the Texan relations. I trust it will be convenient for you to come to town and have an interview with Major D., before his departure for Austin this morning. * * *

E. ALLEN.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—The United States Government have heard I have made peace with Mexico, which disappoints them in their hopes of my taking the initiative in bringing on a war. "*Inde hæ lachrymæ.*" Let them howl.—A. J.]

[*From James R. Wilson, Esq.*]

PHILADELPHIA, July 6th, 1845.

Hon. ANSON JONES, &c.:

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * We yesterday received the news of the unanimous passage of the annexation resolutions by the Congress of Texas.

I can readily conceive the desire of annexation, and account for it, while Mexico was in a hostile attitude, but it really surprises me to see the unanimity with which the people preferred annexation to independence, when the latter was proffered on honorable terms. Very many intelligent gentlemen here have expressed to me their surprise. As an independent republic Texas would have been one of the most inviting spots on earth, and increased in population and resources with astonishing rapidity. Now that her nationality is sunk, I don't discover any inducements for settlement in Texas that do not exist in Mississippi, Louisiana, and the other southern States of the Union. To my mind it is a great misfortune that the treaty with Mexico had not been offered to the consideration of the people of Texas prior to the passage of Milton Brown's resolutions; as it is, I think the Texans have missed it mightily, and will probably find it out when merged and swallowed up in the great confederacy. Had I been in Texas I would have opposed annexation, had I stood alone in it. And in the history of Texas you will derive great praise from the good management which enabled you to submit to the people the alternative of independence or annexation. * * JAMES R. WILSON.

[*From Hon. Wm. B. Ochiltree.*]

AUSTIN, July 8th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I think that by all means you should come to Austin *with the Government at the earliest possible date.* This Convention is mighty to do mischief. My opinion is that your enemies are actively, busily at work to undermine you. Matters that every principle of precedent and propriety require should be carried on through the existing Government, are being arranged directly by the Convention. The reason given is that your Excellency has called them to the seat of Government, and that you are absent—that the Archives of the State Department are at Washington, &c. A letter, dated 30th June, by Mr. Donelson, to the Secretary of State, has been furnished by him to the Convention directly. This affords room for animadversion, &c. The western members are silent; objections come from other parts of the country. * * W. B. OCHILTREE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—I will go to Austin in good time and crush this revolutionary plan—but not just now.—A. J.]

[*From Col. James Morgan.*]

NEW WASHINGTON, 12th July, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * Well, you have headed them again! Your proclamation came like a clap of thunder upon some folks. Gen. S. (Sherman) was on his way to Washington, and *met it at* Hamlin's; he returned forthwith *home*, but went up again during the session of Congress; could do nothing, however, he tells me. He was disappointed—greatly so, and thinks you humbugged him! For my part I was willing to see him go ahead—and to the Pacific. * * Conquer another country if we could—again set up for ourselves, and let the United States have Texas and be d——d! for, as the Scotch nobleman said, "When they take my heed * * ." Now if Sherman had once got 2,000 men together, the Rio Grande would not have been the stopping-place (in my opinion). Some four or five of the Mexican States would most assuredly have fallen into the hands of the conquerors, and perhaps all Mexico. The old motto of "to the victors belong the spoils," would have been held good or put in practice, and there would have been another new Republic formed, and *held on to* by the victors; for an immense herd of adventurers would have followed in the wake and joined the standard of conquest. Ambition and self-aggrandizement would have been predominant, and, as I have said before, bid defiance to any and to all Governments but that of their own formation. I further believe that it would have retarded annexation! These, however, are speculations of my own brain, and may go for what they are worth.

No one appeared to me more upset by your proclamation than Com. S. [Commodore Stockton]. I met him at Galveston. We had an hour or more conversation. He was evidently disappointed. * * * J. MORGAN.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

P. S.—July 14th. I have just seen the *Com. M.* [Moore] *veto!* Much as I regret to see that veto, and did wish that "the cup might have passed," yet the veto, I must say, is unanswerable, and can't be headed. A disposition was manifested before Congress rose to abolish our present Government and establish one *ad interim*, I see—a sort of oligarchy, I presume, or rather anarchy and confusion; did not go down, though. Thank God there are those in the country who will "fly to the rescue," and stand by the Government as it is; yes, a large majority too. * * * * * J. M.

[*From Gen. Edwin Morehouse.*]

NEAR GONZALES, 17th July, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just arrived here from the far west, and shall leave for Austin during the day. I am nearly worn down with the ride from Corpus Christi.

The people of the west feel gratified that the President put a stop on the Gen. Sherman *& Co's.* intention of sending *Texas* troops for their protection.

Two days before I left, an *American*, who had been sent to Monterey, saw Gen. Arista, and reports that there is no news or stir amongst the Mexican troops. It is all a humbug as to the Mexicans concentrating troops on the frontier.

I have much to say, and am ready to report for business, should any thing be required. I may remain a few days in Austin. I would beg you would drop me a line if your valuable time would permit. * * E. MOREHOUSE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From James L. Farquhar, Esq.*]

CITY OF AUSTIN, 25th July, 1845.

To his Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I arrived at this place on the 23d instant, and I find considerable excitement among the members of the Convention. * * * I am certain of one thing, that is, if you do not come up we will get into confusion. I write these lines, informing you of facts, as a friend, and I hope you will receive them as such. You know your duty, and I believe it will be performed; but I write to inform you of the excitement prevailing. Many of your old friends wish you would come up. * * * JAMES L. FARQUHAR.

[*From Hon. Van Irion.*]

AUSTIN, July 29th, 1845.

DR. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Excuse me for interrupting you for a moment, and for this imposition upon your patience. I do so that you may be apprised of some of the intentions of the Convention, which I think merely experimental, ambitious, and highly dangerous to the good and the salvation of the whole country. I do so, because no good can arise from the proposed change, and that much evil will follow as the natural result. And believing and knowing that it is your intention that the will and wish of the people shall be regarded, and finally and successfully carried into effect upon the great measure of annexation, I feel it my duty to inform you, as the head of the present existing Government, of any thing that I feel satisfied will prove detrimental to both the interest and good of the present as well as the future population of Texas; acting alone, as far as I am capable, for the good of the country, and believing, as I do, that much harm and injury may result to it, if this project should succeed and be carried by the Convention. I hope you will excuse this intrusion.

From what I have seen, I believe it is the intention of some of the members of the Convention to make an attempt to destroy and abolish the present existing Government, and to establish in its stead *one* of a provisional character. To my surprise and astonishment, I find that some of the most distinguished and able members of this body are inclined to favor the measure. I shall do all I can to defeat it; and shall denounce any project of the kind both here and elsewhere. I feel it my duty, and thus feeling, I shall oppose it with all my might. I do not now know to what extent this idea of change and revolution prevails, though it is my opinion that there is a majority opposed at present to any experiment of the kind whatever.

You may have been apprised of these facts by some of your more intimate friends before this; but as I do not know that you have been, I have taken the responsibility (without being asked) thus to address you. Nothing definite as yet has been done; and the prime movers of the measure have made no show, and taken no ostensible grounds to carry into effect this *darling* of their fancy and their *frenzy*. They have been waiting your expected arrival at this place before they would commence operations,—though whether you come or not, the attempt will be made. I make known these facts to you, that you may act knowingly and advisedly upon this subject for the good of the country, and for the final and speedy consummation of the great measure of annexation.

I am, &c., VAN IRION.

N. B.—Major Crumpler, the bearer of this, can give you, in detail, the facts relative to this measure. V. I.

[*Endorsement.*—It appears, from the best data I can obtain, that there is a majority of from two to five or six in the Convention in favor of the measure alluded to by Col. Irion, and that Gen. Rusk heads the faction of disorganizers.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. G. W. Terrell.*]

NEW YORK, July 25th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I snatch a moment merely to inform you I am thus far on my way home, after a tedious voyage of forty-three days from Liverpool. * * * *

I learn, since my arrival here, that you have had stirring times in Texas. * * * Poor Texas! thy infatuated sons will yet have cause to weep over thy untoward destiny, when they shall behold the bright little star so lately culminating to the zenith of the political firmament sinking into the darkness of an *endless night.*

Adieu, my dear Doctor!—I hope to see you very soon.

Thine truly, G. W. TERRELL.

[*Endorsement.*—I pray God the gloomy anticipations of this excellent man and friend of his country may not be realized. I must do the best I can for Texas, and I leave the results in the hand of Him who raises up and pulls down nations.—A. J.]

[*From Col. John N. Seguin.*]

RIOGRANDE, Julio 24de, 1845.

Sr. ANSON JONES:

Mi querido amigo y hermano.

Aun sin embargo de que nos ha separado una ausencia bastante larga la cual ha producido una suspension de nuestras amistosas communicationes; hoy me encuentro conpromiso para escribir á mis amigos haria un agravio grande á mi corazon y á la fiel amistad que siempre nos hemos profesado; si no le derigiera en esta vez mis letras. Sé que V. es un verdadero Tejano amante de su Pais,—y por lo mismo bastante interesado en el bien procumunal; bajo estos principios y conociendo yó, que la verdadera felicidad de Tejas, segun el aspecto que ha tomado su cuestion en el sentido general, consiste en conservarse independiente de cualquiera otra potencia, que no sea la de Megico. Esta, que ha conocido tambien sus verdaderos entiendo que le conviene evitar una guerra que acarrearian grandes devastos, por lo mismo esta resulta, á reconocer la Independencia de Tejas mediante unostratados a los cuales ses ofrecian por garantia (como yá V. sabiá) Inglaterra y Francia; de suerte que si Tejas manda con comicionados a este Govierno sus propocisiones; estoy seguro que serian escuchados, y terminarán nuestras difficultades de una manera bastante provechosa para ambos Paises.

Conosco la grande influencia que V. disfruita en esa y satisfecho de su buen juicio, no he basilado un momento en dirigirme á V. para que tome empeños en que esos habitantes se resuelvan en favor de las ideas que dejo manifestados.

Deceo á V. la mejor salud y que disponga como guste de su afecticimo amigo y seguro servidor que L. B. S. M.

JUAN N. SEGUIN.

[*Endorsement.*—Col. Seguin fought as well at San Jacinto as any man there; but has been forced by bad usage to quit the

country, and, as is said, has turned traitor; but I am unwilling to believe it. I think this letter expresses his *true* sentiments, but it is unnecessary for me to reply.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Wm. B. Ochiltree.*]

CITY OF AUSTIN, 6th August, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have been very anxiously expecting you up for several days past, and your friends are much disappointed that you have not come. The Convention is rapidly drawing to a close, and I find the opinion gaining ground, that on the passage of the Constitution by the Convention it will operate as a *supersedeas* of the present Government.

I hope and trust that that party will not prove as strong as they now appear confidently to believe that they really are. If you were now here, your presence would do much to allay the feeling which a few persons are most industriously endeavoring to get up. I find many men busy in that behalf, from whom I little expected such a course. Judge L——, Gen. D——, Major B——e of Galveston, are all much affected. The Convention have not taken any final action as yet on any one of the provisions of the Constitution, though I think that we will be able to adopt rather the best and most conservative document which has been adopted by any of the Southern States for ten years past. A party are organizing here to attempt to repudiate the colonization contracts: they will fail. When the debates are published, the people will ascertain that the contingencies of annexation have been very freely discussed.

I hope that this scrawl will meet you on the road up. Col. Ward has quarters awaiting your arrival.

Most truly, &c., W. B. OCHILTREE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter is important as showing how far the arts of emissaries had extended. I stayed, however, long enough from Austin to show I was not to be frightened, and went up there soon enough to save the country from anarchy.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

SABINE TOWN, August 14th, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived home on Saturday. * * Nearly a month and a half have I been detained on the road by a most malignant attack of the fever. * * I was gratified to learn from Mr. Allen the other day that Mr. Lee had been appointed Secretary of Legation to the United States, and that he would act as "Chargé" until my arrival. * * * *

There is nothing new or interesting here. Every thing is as quiet as a summer morning. I was at Nacogdoches when the United States troops passed. Everybody admits that our affairs have been managed very successfully, and that the question of annexation was in a great state of forwardness when the Convention met. If they don't delay matters, it will still be several months ahead of the prescribed time. * * I cannot learn where the old General [Houston] is. * * *

DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

[*Endorsement.*—"I cannot learn where Old Sam is." He don't know "where he is" himself on the annexation question: so he is NOWHERE, unless he has "holed himself," or "taken a tree."—A. J.]

[*From Hon. Wm. G. Cooke.*]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND MARINE,
AUSTIN, 1st Sept., 1845.

* * * I have just received a communication, with the enclosed proclamation of Gen. Arista, from Major J. C. Hays. He states that nothing further had been heard from the Rio Grande frontier since his last letter to the Department. He is making rapid progress in enrolling the additional number of men required to fill his company. * * * *

I shall leave for Corpus Christi on Thursday. * *

WM. G. COOKE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Major Thos. G. Western.*]

MONDAY EVENING.

DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * Arista's proclamation, address, or whatever it is, is translated, and is now in the hands of the printer. Pretty bombastical, as usual; but there is more truth than fiction in some of it. They begin to "see the Elephant," but they dare not approach him east of the Rio Grande. If Uncle Sam really wants a fight, he must seek it west of that stream. * * * * * * *

Since the bearer is going your way, I will hand for your perusal and approval a rough sketch of the instructions to the Indian Commissioners. Please say what shall be done with the Comanche prisoners we have. * * * *

THOS. G. WESTERN.

To His Excellency, ANSON JONES, Home.

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 7th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday evening I arrived at this place. * * * On the day after to-morrow morning I leave for Washington *via* Mobile and Charleston. * * *

I find the United States papers, in their arguments in favor of annexation, dwell much on the proposition of Mexico to acknowledge our independence. They all think it strengthens their cause greatly. * * * Believing that the day is near at hand when your country will do you full justice for your independence and patriotism, I have the pleasure of subscribing myself ever your devoted friend, DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Wm. D. Lee.*]

WASHINGTON, [D. C.,] Saturday, 6th Sept., 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here on the 22d ult., and found nothing to my address in the Post-Office, and learned no news of Mr. Kaufman until Sunday evening, 31st ult.; meantime, I had, unofficially, made the acquaintance of Messrs. Walker, Buchanan, and President Polk, as also of Mr. Ritchie of the *Union.*

I was received cordially by these gentlemen, who all inquired particularly after Mr. Kaufman, and the causes of his detention, but made no remarks which could be construed into any thing like an objection to receiving him whenever he should arrive. I was not prepared consequently for what has occurred since. On Sunday evening, 31st ult., I received the communications from the Department of State of Texas, of 2d August, covering my commission as acting Chargé, with instructions. On Monday morning, I wrote a note in the usual form to Mr. Buchanan, informing him of my appointment, and requesting an audience for presenting my letter of credence. Receiving no reply, I on Thursday addressed a duplicate, with precautions for its safe and immediate delivery. On Friday I received a note from Mr. Buchanan, acknowledging mine, and inviting me to call that day. I called at 12 o'clock yesterday, and immediately on entering the office of the Secretary, was informed that the delay in answering my note arose from the President's doubt whether he ought to receive me as the representative of a foreign Government, and that the President had the matter under consideration, and it would be laid before the Cabinet to-day.

Mr. Buchanan remarked that if the President did not receive me in the capacity of Chargé, he would have such a letter addressed to me as should be desirable, and expressive of the high estimation in which the President of the United States holds your good self, &c., and he would desire me to remain here, and act as agent of—I don't know what. I replied that the objection and proposal were both new, and unprovided for by my instructions, and that I could not see in what capacity I could hold any official intercourse here, except as Chargé d'Affaires. As no precedent existed within my knowledge, I would reflect upon the matter, and when officially advised of the President's decision, would decide what course to pursue; and, as our conversation was unofficial, I assured him I should be very sorry to embarrass the Government here by any discussion calculated to furnish weapons to its enemies; and that I knew you would be equally desirous of avoiding any and all subjects and causes of difference of opinion; that your zeal for the triumphant success of the true friends of annexation, and of the consummation of the measure, could not be surpassed by any of its violent advocates; and as a proof of the cordial co-operation of yourself and Cabinet, I took the liberty of exhibiting to him the letter of instructions furnished me, observing that, although such a proceeding may not be customary, I could see no impropriety in it; and it was my desire that my intercourse should be marked by a spirit of unreserved frankness. Mr. Buchanan, after reading the instructions himself, remarked that they were perfectly satisfactory, and asked my permission to show them to the President, which I unhesitatingly gave, as I had no concealments from either of them.

This morning, having thought over the matter, I called again on Mr. Buchanan unofficially, and represented to him what might, I conceive, be the probable consequences in Texas of this Government refusing to recognize me as Chargé d'Affaires. I told him, if he would refer to the letter of instructions, he would observe allusion made to disorganizers, disposed to revolutionize and defeat annexation. "Now," said I, "the ground taken by some of these men is, that the acts of the Convention of 4th of July, adopting the basis offered by the United States for annexation, did destroy and abolish the Constitution and Government of the Republic of Texas; and now, the President of the United States taking the ground that the same act of the Convention renders Texas part of the United States, and in consequence thereof refusing to receive the Chargé d'Affaires of Texas, will directly aid these men in their mad projects, and furnish them with a weapon to assail the existence of the present Government; and should the Convention not have adjourned when the fact is known in Texas, the consequences may be more disastrous than any which have yet threatened us."

Mr. B. observed that some of the northern press, he understood, had already commenced commenting upon my appearance here, and contrasting the acts of the Government in calling out militia and troops for the defence of Texas as part of the United States, while a newly arrived Chargé was about being received. I replied that such comments had not yet got beyond the columns of the *New York Herald*, and if it was newspaper attacks they feared, I was not ambitious of newspaper notoriety, and my presentation might remain unnoticed by the organ here, (the *Union*,) and that the address delivered by myself on presentation should be cautiously worded, and so might his reply. Mr. Buchanan then said that his own opinion was I ought to be received, and that his own opinion was directly the reverse of that of the President. He would communicate to the President the sum of my remarks, and acquaint me with the result. Mr. Buchanan informed me that Major Donelson had been recalled at his own suggestion after the announcement of the ordinance of the Convention of 4th of July, and regretted that Mr. Kaufman had not arrived here at an earlier day. I remarked, on the second page, that Mr. Buchanan said I would be invited to remain here, and act as agent of—"I don't know what." He explained, that I would be treated in the same manner as an authorized agent from any one of the States of the Union, and listened to as such. I remarked that such an appointment, so far as my information goes, is unknown to the existing laws of Texas, and I know of no regular method of correspondence except through diplomatic agents. He said correspondence could be carried on direct without intermediate agents.

Having written thus far, I went out for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, what was doing in the Cabinet, and now, six o'clock, have just returned. A friend, who appears to know, tells me that Mr. Buchanan of the State, Mr. Walker of the Treasury, Mr. Bancroft of the Navy, all spoke warmly. He says Mr. Walker spoke for an hour and a half in opposition to my reception, and was replied to in an hour's speech by Mr. Buchanan. Others spoke, but he don't know on which side, and at four o'clock Mr. Polk himself was speaking with great animation. I am of the opinion that Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Bancroft agreed and stood alone. If so, I shall not be received.

I should not be at all surprised if a sharp newspaper discussion grows out of it; in which I shall of course not meddle, but wait instructions from you. * * * I have not permitted any remarks to escape me; but every thing said and done here in Cabinet meetings seems to be immediately known, and I presume the public will be as well informed, and perhaps a little sooner, than I am. The Government having sent militia to Texas, they dare not now recognize a Chargé as from a foreign Government. They have now to stand to the ground taken in justification of sending militia out to Texas, and will, I think, insist that the act of 4th of July, in Convention, was the *consummation of annexation*, and, strange as this may appear, eight men out of ten here who discuss the matter take the same ground, and this is mostly the language also of the Democratic press. If they receive me now the Whig papers will have them on the hip, they think, and there is the rub. I have even heard such language as this:—If Texas is not now a part of the United States, the President is liable to impeachment for sending the militia there. The Whig press, with few exceptions, give in to the ground taken by the Government, and the *Intelligencer* of this place, and the *Courier & Enquirer* of New York, are almost the only ones who still make a show of fight.

SUNDAY EVENING.

I have not been able to get sight of anybody to-day from whom I could learn whether the Cabinet came to a decision on yesterday. If they had done so, I presume the Secretary of State would have written me and advised me of it. Perhaps the President is waiting for the Attorney-General, who is absent. They have been a week considering the matter, and I should suppose each one knows and has expressed his opinion by this time. After so much discussion among themselves, it will be worse than useless for me to enter into any with the Secretary of State if they decline to receive me, and I shall of course only receive his letter and send a copy immediately to Mr. Allen, and wait further instructions here, cultivating friendly relations in my individual capacity.

I close this now; but will write again the instant I receive notice of the President's decision. In the mean time * * *

W. D. LEE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

I cannot detail a tithe of what has passed in conversation with Mr. B. I told him that the powers of the Convention were defined by the proclamation; their acts must be sanctioned by a vote of the people; they can reconsider to-day what they did yesterday; and on the last day of their session annul all they had done, and adjourn; and that no power of any sort had been taken from the existing Government. They, as well as the Convention, had invited the sending of United States troops to Texas. The best fight I possibly could make I made. I am sure he fought on our side in the Cabinet; but, I fear, to no purpose.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON, 8th Sept., 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—In addition to the reasons set forth in Mr. Buchanan's communication of 6th inst., why the President declines receiving a diplomatic agent from Texas, I am requested by the President to communicate to you the substance of a conversation I had with him this morning. I was received unofficially, but kindly and cordially, and the President, after expressing his regrets that he could not comply with your wishes, by receiving me in a diplomatic character, went on to state, with great frankness, his reasons, which, as nearly as I can recollect, were as follows:

After the acceptance, by the Convention of Texas, of the terms of annexation proposed by the United States, the contract was, substantially, executed, and in fact Texas is since then part of the United States. This is the ground upon which Major Donelson was recalled, and upon which rests the propriety of assembling the naval forces of the United States in the Gulf, and the appearance of her land forces on our western frontier. Upon this ground the people and press of the whole country, with but few exceptions, now sustain the President in his course; and in order that no new weapons may be furnished to the now smothered Opposition, and no vantage ground yielded, it is of the first importance to maintain the same position; and the President is apprehensive, were he now to receive a diplomatic agent from Texas as formerly, it would be virtually acknowledging her separate nationality, and would reanimate the Opposition with hopes which they have now nearly given up. They could not prevail, but would offer a great deal of bitter opposition, which they cannot do if the ground now held is maintained. This ground will be maintained, and the President is of opinion that, except some individual burst of abolition indignation, no opposition will be offered to the formal admission of Texas into the Union, and the acceptance of her State Constitution by the United States Congress. The President desired me to assure you of his sincere regard, and of his unshaken confidence in your cordial co-operation in consummating the measure of annexation. He assured me that he had given no credence to the calumnious reports of your opposition to the measure, and that Major Donelson's advices of your co-operation had been highly satisfactory. The President desired that I would remain here and communicate with him freely upon all matters as I would have done as acting Chargé, and expressed himself as much gratified on my promising to do so, whilst waiting your further instructions, which I shall wait for in this city.* Should you decide on instructing me to remain here in accordance with the desire of the President, I need not assure you of my cheerful compliance with your instructions. I am well assured, in the mean time, that I shall best meet your wishes, as I shall consult my own feelings, by cultivating a frank and cordial understanding with the President of the United States.

I have sent to Mr. Allen copies of what correspondence has passed between Mr. Buchanan and myself, and trust that the course I have pursued will meet with your approbation. I cannot see that I could have acted otherwise than I have done, in the absence both of instructions and precedent. To have entered into an argument with Mr. Buchanan, after the question of my reception had been a week under consideration, and decided by the President, could not have accomplished any change in that decision; and my own opinion is, that they cannot, under any circumstances, change their ground without giving great advantage to the Opposition. * * * W. D. LEE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—It is a matter of regret that the next letter from Mr. Lee has been mislaid. In it he says, in substance, as follows: "Mr. Polk, Mr. Walker, Mr. Marcy, and Mr. Ritchie are excessively angry that you did not agree to the proposals made by Com. Stockton, and authorize Gen. Sherman to invade Mexico. They wanted you to manufacture a war for the United States." The letter as above was written about the 13th September, and was very explicit on that point.—ANSON JONES.]

[*Second Endorsement.*—Mr. J. C. Eldridge, formerly acting Secretary of State, who was sent on to Washington City in the summer of this year, informed me, on his return, of the deep anxiety expressed by Mr. Polk for a war with Mexico.—A. J.]

[*Mem.*—The next letter to this, and the most important in the series, as it clearly connects Mr. Polk and the Government with Com. Stockton, Mr. Wickliffe, Gov. Yell, and Mr. Donelson in the attempt to induce me to get up a war with Mexico, is mislaid, but may perhaps yet be found.]

NOTE.—Nov., 1850. I met Mr. Wm. D. Lee, formerly Chargé d'Affaires of Texas near the Government of the United States, (acting,) in the city of New York, several times during this month, and had frequent conversations with him on the subject of his letter of the 13th September, 1845, now mislaid. He recollected the contents, and fully coroborates the fact as stated in the endorsement on the back of this letter. The purpose of Mr. Polk and some of his Cabinet to induce me to "manufacture a war with Mexico," and their deep disappointment at my not complying with their views, was clearly and distinctly avowed by them to him, not once merely, but on repeated occasions.—A. J.]

[*Remark additional.*—March, 1853. It is but justice to Mr. Buchanan to say, I do not think he had any thing to do with the cabal who were endeavoring to drive me into an adoption of hostile measures with Mexico. If he co-operated with them, it was from over-excited fears of English and French interference, and in a mistaken view of the true position of Texas towards her enemy; and also in entire ignorance of the ulterior designs of those engaged in "manufacturing a war."]

[*From Capt. Ben. McCulloch.*]

GONZALES, Sept. 8th, 1845.

To His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—I received the message you sent by J. D. Anderson, and am truly sorry it will be out of my power to come immediately.

Major Hays has requested me to assist him in raising men, which I have promised to do, and have written letters to different sections, appointing a time of rendezvous at Gonzales on the 30th instant. In the mean time urgent business will call me to Matagorda, from which place I will return by the 30th instant, and will gladly receive any orders or communications you may send me at this place; inasmuch as I had already wrote letters to different individuals before receiving your message, I thought it would be better to go on and raise as many men as possible by the time mentioned, when you can make such disposition of us as will best suit your views. In the mean time I remain your Excellency's most obedient servant, BEN. MCCULLOCH.

[*From William Fields, Esq.*]

ANAHUAC, Sept. 14th, 1845.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

SIR,— * * * You recollect, soon after the annexation resolution was passed by the United States Congress, public meetings were held pretty generally throughout Texas, at many of which inflammatory and foolish resolutions were passed, threatening to do wonderful things if you did not act in the matter at such time as they might direct. We had an annexation meeting on Turtle Bayou in this beat, at which, ready cocked and primed, a set of resolutions of that description were ushered forth. I at once opposed them, as altogether out of place and useless, and calculated to do more harm than good; stating that the power was in your hands, and they need not attempt to scare or drive you into measures, even if they had any evidence that you would not act as promptly as they wished, and *that* they had not. I succeeded in getting the resolutions voted down, and introduced a set myself, to which was appended a resolution, saying, that as a general expression of opinion favorable to annexation had gone forth from all parts of the Republic, we did not believe for a moment that President Jones would attempt to thwart the wishes of the people so clearly expressed. This resolution I could not get sustained, so we passed none on that subject. * * * I did not vote for you for President, because it was reported here at the time that you would oppose annexation, and that was of all others my favorite measure.

Your course in relation to the whole matter, however, has pleased me well; indeed, no one can justly raise any objection to it. In fact, if there is any one man who deserves more credit than all others for bringing about this measure, you are that man. Especially do you receive honor for your course, if, as it is said, you are opposed to the measure—for while the *whole* power was in your hand to defeat it under the provisions of the joint resolution, you have, with promptness, done all that was necessary to carry out the wishes of the people, your constituents. And the *people will* come to that conclusion when they have time to reflect, and come to the "sober second thought." * *

William Fields.

[*From Major Thomas G. Western.*]

Camp, 5 miles above the Trading House,
on the Brazos, 17th Sept., 1845.

Dear Sir,—It had been concluded upon by the Commissioners and the Indians to assemble at this place instead of the old Council ground, on account of the quality of the water. We have but forty Comanches in camp, inclusive of their chief, Mopuchucopee. Buffalo Hump was left sick. Santa Anna had gone to war with the Mexicans, and Pahayuca has been prevented from coming by Mr. Wheelock; this assertion I make upon the authority of Col. Thomas J. Smith, who says he was told so by Wheelock himself, and until some other developments are made of the pernicious effects of Wheelock's intercourse with the Indians, God knows the extent of the injury he has inflicted. It has been proposed to send for Pahayuca, and wait here until he comes, but the Comanches here refuse to remain; and I incline to the opinion, that so soon as the goods arrive for the presents, a talk will be held with them that are here, and the few of the other friendly tribes, and they will be dismissed, and we shall probably return much sooner than expected.

The Commissioners suggest advising the chiefs of the intention of holding a Council again in three moons, December, when they may all be here, and I am considering whether it will not be too expensive. * * * * *

Thomas G. Western, *Sup't Indian Affairs.*

His Excellency, Anson Jones.

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, Sept 30th, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President of Texas:

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here in excellent health on the evening of the 19th instant, and although I have not written earlier any official or private communications, rest assured it was not from a want of inclination. Every day I expected to be able to communicate something decisive in regard to my mission, but even now I cannot yet do so. Secretary Buchanan left here to-day on a short visit to Pennsylvania, and as I, by your kind permission, extended to me through our esteemed friend Allen, will leave to-morrow on a short visit to the city of New York and my relations in Pennsylvania, I have concluded not to postpone writing any longer.

My last, which is also my first, communication to Secretary Buchanan, has not yet been answered; partly because in my communication I stated I would not ask a reconsideration of the question, and partly because my positions, sustained as they are by the new constitution that arrived here three days ago, are irrefutable. The Government took its stand when the excitement ran high here about a war with Mexico, when Gen. Gaines had ordered out the troops, and when the *Intelligencer* was pouring hot shot into the Administration about their sending troops into a *foreign State.* Mr. Walker confidentially remarked, that he regretted the new constitution was not before them when they first acted upon the question. Mr. Buchanan was always in favor of accrediting me, as also Secretary Bancroft. I have taken occasion to vindicate you and your administration very fully to President Polk and Secretary Walker, and I am satisfied, to their entire satisfaction.

The *United States Journal* has published two articles in regard to my mission, without my knowledge and consent; the papers containing which I herewith enclose and send to you, as also this day's *Union.* When the first article in the *Journal* came out, I went to the editor and requested him to say nothing more on the subject; and yet, yesterday, he came out with another article as strong as the first. From the charge made against you and a portion of your Cabinet, in one of the New

Hampshire resolutions published in yesterday's *Union*, you shall in due time be vindicated.

Major Wm. D. Lee and myself have the same rooms; we have been a good deal visited; although, our quarters being private, a good many individuals have told us they would have called, but they did not know our quarters. The Minister of Prussia, Col. Thos. H. Benton, Secretary Walker, Gen. J. P. Van Ness, and Senator Hannegan, are among those who have called upon us. Everybody recognizes the legation except the Government, and they do in fact, but not in form. The *United States Journal* and *National Intelligencer* have announced my arrival in this city as Chargé, &c. Mr. Lee is an amiable, estimable, and talented young gentleman, and we are on terms of most perfect friendship. Although he did not, officially, reply to Mr. Buchanan's note, defending the course of the Texan Government, yet he only abstained out of delicacy to myself, whom he expected here every day; and to Mr. Buchanan, in private conversations, he fully vindicated and justified the position which he held by order of your Excellency. He is universally esteemed, * * * * *

I shall wait here until I receive an official reply to my communication of to-day. Please write. * * * *

DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

[*From Hon. Jesse Grimes.*]

AT HOME, October 1st, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your note of the 17th ult., but would not have troubled you with an acknowledgment of your favor, notwithstanding my gratitude for your attention and kind expressions, had I not had an object of some importance, upon which I am anxious to obtain your opinion. I allude to our State representation in the Congress of the United States.

The *La*[illegible]*nge Intelligencer* is early in announcing its favorites fo[illegible]e Senate, and has ingeniously selected a ticket that will have considerable tendency to unite the East with the West, but this ticket will not suit, at least a respectable portion of the community. Texas has suffered sufficiently under the profligate administration of the one, and the other has recently kept rather bad company;—true proverb, that a man is known by the company he keeps.

To defeat the machinations of a party (faction) whose course we both believe to have been inimical to the best interests of Texas, it will be necessary to act understandingly and in concert. Gen. Houston is one whom the opposite party and our friends can unite upon, but who shall we associate with him? He must not be clogged. If he has to carry weight he may be beaten. Your extensive acquaintance with the fittingness and popularity of the most prominent men of Texas has induced me to make the inquiry—Who shall we associate with Houston? *In confidence*, I expect to run for the Senate in this county. I have been solicited by many friends, who are of opinion I will have no opposition, provided my name is announced at an early day; but I shall not flatter myself with that prospect.

Pardon the indelicacy, and permit me to ask: What is the strength of your own popularity? Were I as well acquainted with other portions of the Republic as I am with Montgomery county, I would not impose the question. It may be somewhat gratifying to be assured that here your popularity has not diminished since the Presidential election, and I can further assure you that, in my opinion, if the names of Samuel Houston and Anson Jones were associated for Senators to Congress, no men who would oppose that ticket could be elected to the Legislature from this county. A word as to who would be a proper person for Representative would be acceptable to your friend and humble servant, JESSE GRIMES.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Wm. D. Lee.*]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since Col. Kaufman's official despatch to the State Department, of the 30th ult., he has been absent, having been to New York and Philadelphia, and is now at Carlisle in Pennsylvania.

There has been no communication received at this legation from the Department yet, but I am daily expecting to hear of the reception of my first letters to the Department and your good self.

The opinion which I then expressed, that this Government would persist in maintaining the attitude it assumed towards Texas, has been confirmed by all I have seen or heard from its officers since that time. I was at the President's house this morning, but did not see Mr. Polk. His private secretary (a nephew) J. Knox Walker, inquired if any further instructions had been received by Col. Kaufman, and I think those further instructions are looked for with a good deal of interest; but still, I am decidedly of opinion, that whatever course may be pursued on our part, Mr. Polk will not recede an inch from his stand.

Several Senators and Members of Congress have been here lately, and all of them whom I have spoken with think the Constitution of Texas will be accepted, and Texas admitted without opposition, within ten or fifteen days after the question is fairly placed before them.

There has been a number of inquiries made of me, by Texas merchants, as to the time when the United States revenue laws will be extended over Texas. I answered them all, that the United States Government could not extend its laws over Texas until the time fixed by the Convention, as the people of Texas, if they adopt the Constitution, Schedule, &c., will fix the time of the organization of the State Government as the time when Texas will cease to be a republic, and as long as she is a republic the laws of the Republic of Texas will prevail. I advised them all to purchase their supplies of goods, without any reference to change before the early part of February, which, I suppose, is the earliest possible time when Texas can be, either in fact or in form, one of the United States.

I was well satisfied myself, that no change could occur sooner; but I have a curiosity to know Secretary Walker's opinion of the matter, as he was so certain that Texas was a State from the 4th of July. I put the Constitution, Schedule, &c., in my pocket, and called on him and asked him the questions which had been put to me. At first, he was clearly of opinion that Congress could extend the laws of the United States over Texas simultaneously with the acceptance of the Constitution, to take effect from and after its passage; but when I called his attention to the sixth and tenth sections of the schedule, it was not so clear, and he took a few days to consider. He has not given me an answer. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the power of this Government, I am very confident that the action of Congress will not conflict with the decision of the people of Texas. The formalities of establishing collectoral districts, &c., and sending collectors to those districts, will require as much time as our Legislature will require after your proclamation issues; and it would be found impracticable to hasten the matter, even if it had been left for Congress to fix the time itself. * * * *

Mr. Walker is evidently the most influential member of the Cabinet, and, beyond question, aspires to the highest office in the nation. * * * Great interest is felt here in our senatorial elections. * * * * * *

I believe it is generally expected that Congress will take measures to get control of the public lands of Texas by purchase, or by a conveyance in trust from Texas, to be applied first to the payment of our debts, and the excess of proceeds handed over to the State. * * * Major Donelson left here for Tennessee about ten days ago. * * * I believe he expressed himself to the President in the same terms, in speaking of your course, as Mr. Polk told me he had done in his letters; and you may rest assured that neither Col. Kaufman nor myself fail to vindicate you whenever we hear any question raised touching your measures.

The *Union* is very shy of inserting any thing, defensive or offensive, of a personal nature. The article in that paper of the 9th, I claimed the insertion of, on the ground of defending you from an attack in its columns of the 29th of September. Mr. Ritchie did not object, and said he only noticed the resolutions of the New Hampshire meeting, as they referred to the tariff, and really did not observe the attack upon you in the one which was noticed in the communication I took him. Mr. Ritchie is most particularly the devoted friend of Mr. Walker. * * * I met here, the other day, a brother of George W. Adams (formerly of Doswell & Adams). He belonged to the Kitchen Cabinet in Mr. Tyler's day, and says Mr. Tyler selected Major Donelson as Chargé to Texas, solely for the purpose of bringing Gen. Jackson's influence to bear on Gen. Houston, as he believed Gen. Houston would oppose annexation.

Mr. Walker's friends are jealous of all who claim any credit for assisting in bringing about annexation, and claim for him alone all the glory; as you will see by the tone of most of the articles written for his especial glorification. He is very shrewd, and is likely to play his cards as well as any one. * * * *

Really the Convention behaved very well, and could not have been required to do more or less than they did. How pleased some of your Galveston friends must be. It would do one good to see them and congratulate them. When I passed through there, they "had the thing dead." "You were to be coaxed and driven into abdication. The Convention was all right—some of the delegates a little doubtful—but they were to be brought over—a very easy matter." What a triumph they had, and how easy they got it!

Well, here I am, scribbling upon the twelfth page; you must excuse me, for my pen has run away with me, and if the quality of my gossip is not what it ought to be, the quantity will, I trust, be received as evidence of good intentions. * * *

I write to the Department of State, sending a copy of Gov. Marcy's note on Indian Affairs. W. D. LEE.

His Excellency, A. JONES.

[*From James H. Cocke, Esq.*]

CUSTOM-HOUSE, GALVESTON, Oct. 20th, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,— * * * I have nothing new, except that on yesterday we received, per steamer "Monmouth," from Corpus Christi, a confidential agent of Mr. Walker's, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Mr. McFarrin. Immediately on his arrival, he presented himself to me, with his letter of instructions from Mr. Walker; the substance of which is, an inquiry of the amount of imports into the port of Galveston from the 1st April, 1843, to the 1st November, 1844, and also the amount from 1st November, 1844, to 1st April, 1845; wishing that such statement should describe the articles imported, the duties paid, and the country from which the importations were made; and also inquiring what probable amount of merchandise has been imported from foreign countries with a view of being introduced into the United States without paying the usual duties to that country; to the last interrogatory I answered, None. In this matter I think the Hon. Secretary is a *little ahead* of the *music*. Should importations of this description be made to Texas, I am sure it will occur after the departure of this agent, as he is directed to report in person at Washington, on or before the 28th prox. This request of Mr. Walker's, being nothing more than is asked by agents of other nations, I promptly furnished the information desired.

Within the last three days we have had several arrivals of vessels from the United States, as well as two from Germany with two hundred and sixty emigrants. Other vessels are daily looked for, and we anticipate a brisk business soon. * * *

JAMES H. COCKE.

[*From Hamilton Stuart, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, October 20th, 1845.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * By the last mail I received a letter from Washington City, written by a sub-editor in the *Union* office, in which it is said I "may," if I "will," "be of vast service to the reputation of President Jones through the columns of the *Union*, as Mr. Ritchie desires to do him full justice, and would much rather aid in giving the public a favorable than an unfavorable impression of his administration. The best way to do this is by frequent explanations of such of his acts and policy as have been attacked. A senseless hue and cry has been raised against him without the least knowledge of the condition of things in Texas, requiring him to act, as he did, for the best interests of his country." The letter then urges me to write, or cause to be written, "a regular series of letters, reviewing the condition of Texas, the history of her political and international difficulties, and the history of parties in Texas also," which the writer promises to have published not only in the *Union*, but the leading Democratic papers of the Union in different States, which I am aware a hint from the *Union* office will procure to be done. * * * * *

The great extent of my duties of various kinds here, tax my time so heavily that I have little time to attend to matters not closely connected with my business, or I should have been pleased to write you oftener heretofore upon matters of general concern. As, however, I could have suggested nothing that would have been of use to you, and as I have been lucky enough to guess your views upon a few of the most important measures that have come up, simply by supposing how a sensible man would think and act under the circumstances, I hope that no injury has resulted from the omission on my part.

It is perhaps useless for me to express to you the respect and admiration with which I have seen you sustain your administration, under the important and difficult circumstances in which you have been placed. As high as was the station you filled, I did not envy it at the time when the *denouement* approached—embarrassed and hurried as it was—of the delicate measures in which you had labored with so much caution and skill for the last three years. A clamorous pack have rushed in to devour the fruits of your labors, but an enlightened public opinion will yet do you justice, both in Texas and the United States. [V. p. 503.] * * * * H. STUART.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsement.*—"Public opinion will yet do you justice." Not until after I am dead. Contemporary malice, jealousy, injustice and selfishness will prevent its being done sooner! Yet, though "I am stricken, and my heart, like a bruised reed, is waiting to be broken," I have the high consciousness of having faithfully performed my great trust, of having "acted well my part"—a consciousness I would not exchange for all the world can give or take away.—A. J.]

[*From Major Joseph Daniels.*]

WASHINGTON, October 22d, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, President, &c.:

DEAR SIR,—By the bearer I send you all that was received by mail, yesterday, addressed to you.

General Houston is in town, and will probably leave to-morrow for the city of Houston. He expressed a desire to see you, if convenient to come in town to-day.

I have sent off all the archives, &c., with the exception of part of a load of trunks, &c. * * * *

JOSEPH DANIELS.

[*From Hon. J. A. Greer.*]

AUSTIN, October 25th, 1845.

ANSON JONES, President, &c.:

DEAR SIR,—I have just time to write you that we all arrived here safe and in good order. Mr. Campbell is progressing as well as could be expected. There is great difficulty in getting lumber, &c. Major Beal, who commands the United States troops at this place, wishes to give you a salute on your arrival, if you can let him know a few hours before you arrive.

The news from Corpus Christi is unimportant,—all things are peaceable in the West. * * * *

J. A. GREER.

[*Endorsement.*—"All things are peaceable in the West" now; but I see a cloud there, "now," no bigger than a man's hand, which will bring a tempest of war as certain as James K. Polk can carry out his plans.—A. J.]

[*From Hon. D. S. Kaufman.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, November 3d, 1845.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

DEAR FRIEND,—To-day I have addressed a communication to the Department of State at home, advising Mr. Allen of my intended departure for Texas on to-day. I have taken this course out of the most friendly and grateful feelings towards yourself, and be assured that I shall ever feel the most lively interest in your private and political success. I have, on a thousand occasions, vindicated you, and always successfully, from the ridiculous charges that emanated from your enemies at home; and I have no doubt the time is now near at hand when your countrymen will do you full and ample justice.

For me to have remained here longer would have continued my government in its present unpleasant position in regard to my reception. Besides, Gen. Darnell will shortly be on here, and the Constitution could not be transmitted through me,—

then it would be said there are *three* individuals in Washington at the expense of the Government, &c.—that Texas is poor, &c., and my remaining here longer would only injure both you and me. The Government here will never recede from its position; it is indeed bound to maintain it. Although everybody else that I have conversed with consider Texas as yet independent, still the Government is bound to consider her in fact, if not in form, a part of the Union. Else how could she justify sending her troops into a foreign country, more particularly if by so doing the country were to be involved in a war. A stern political necessity has dictated the course of the Administration, and they cannot prudently and honorably recede from it. Although the arguments, or rather facts contained in my despatch to Mr. Buchanan, cannot be answered, yet they can be voted down in Cabinet meeting, and will be as long as they are presented to their consideration. My departure will relieve the Government, my own (I presume) and myself from embarrassment. The papers in the United States continue to talk of the matter. The *U. S. Journal*, the *Charleston Mercury*, and the *Alexandria Republican*, all stanch Democratic papers, disapprove of the course pursued by this Government in regard to my mission.

I have taken occasion, in a private note to the President, to recommend the civil officers of our Government to the consideration of his Excellency in regard to appointments in Texas.

I have read with great pleasure the proceedings in Convention, directed to the end of subverting the present Government of Texas, and with equal pleasure witnessed their total defeat. I cannot account for the course of Horton and Hogg.

I intend to be a candidate for the United States House of Representatives, and will commence the canvass immediately on my return. Should I succeed, it would afford me great pleasure to endeavor to secure you a situation under the United States Government worthy of your present elevated position in our Government.

Please write me at Sabine Town, and tell me all the news. Give me your opinion in regard to the tone and manner of my despatch to Mr. Buchanan, and I trust you will approve of my return home. * * * * DAVID S. KAUFMAN.

[*From Hon. Ebenezer Allen.*]

GALVESTON, November 14th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since my arrival here the enclosed despatches have come to hand. That from Mr. Daingerfield I have replied to in a brief note, reiterating the instructions for his return, and that he bring along with him the archives of his legation, as well as those at London and Paris. It is most probable, however, that he will have received and acted upon Mr. Smith's letter long before mine shall have reached him.

Of the reasons assigned in Mr. Buchanan's note for the detention of the despatch at the city of Washington you will judge. Perhaps, instead of complaining of the delay of that document, we should rather be thankful that Mr. Buchanan was so kind as to send it at all. Of course the letter addressed to Mr. Kaufman as "agent of Texas, &c., &c.," by Mr. Marcy, requires no reply, and in common with other measures adopted by Mr. Polk and his Cabinet in relation to the Government of this Republic, demands no *present* comment.

Since my arrival at Galveston, I have done all in my power to cause the collection of the revenue at Corpus Christi to be enforced. I am told that another secret agent from Mr. Walker has arrived to-day. As to the object of his mission, I, as yet, know nothing. * * * * EBENEZER ALLEN.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. John Hemphill.*]

AUSTIN, December 28th, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I must apologize for not calling on you as I intended, and believe promised. The weather was so inclement that I postponed my departure from Washington until the last moment, and in consequence had to forego the pleasure of seeing you at home.

I send these hasty lines by Mr. Campbell, to let you know that the court will, in all probability, adjourn this week—say ten or twelve days at the farthest—so that, for the purposes of continuing the Supreme Court in session, it will not be necessary to fill the vacancies which will occur on the 22d of next month. The Court will have adjourned previous to that time.

You expressed your determination to fill up the vacancies by Executive appointment when we conversed on the subject. I will see you, I hope, before the time for action on the subject; but let me say to you, that I think it would be advisable, for a variety of considerations, that your appointments of the District Judges should succeed the occurrence of the vacancy at as early a day as possible. I expect to return to Washington immediately after the adjournment of the Court. Excuse the haste with which this is written, as I [am] much pressed with my official engagements.

The news you will hear from the officers of the Cabinet, in fact there is nothing of interest. * * * *

JOHN HEMPHILL.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

From. Hon. William B. Ochiltree.]

CITY OF AUSTIN, Texas, December 28th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * I left Rusk at Crocket in *one grand spree.* I have never seen him so perfectly outrageous; he seemed to have hydrophobia, and was snapping and snarling like any cur. Gen. Houston, yourself, and my humble self came in for no small share of his detraction and abuse. He had hitherto denied having any intention of censuring the existing Government by his course in the Convention; but if there be "truth in wine," he is most deadly hostile to Houston and to us. His conduct was so outrageous there that I think that he most severely prejudiced himself; he abused old Isaac [Parker] in most unmeasured terms, Lumpkin also,—in fact every one who failed to fall down to worship him as the exclusive idol of Texas. I can easily trace his hostility to me; it grows out of the incidents of a public meeting held in Nacogdoches during the session of the Court there, in which I most successfully and triumphantly foiled a manœuvre of his, Dr. Chalmers', and Ira R. Lewis's, both of which latter gentlemen were present; the particulars I will communicate when I see you. * * *

On the subject of appointments, I think that the best plan would be to leave William J. Jones's district vacant, and I would most respectfully suggest Col. Lemuel D. Evans in Mills's district. I think him an honest man, a good lawyer, and the best man in that district. The appointment of some other man than Mills would be well, and I know of no man more worthy than Evans. I understand that Judge Hemphill denies the right to appoint. I would, however, appoint him. I hope to see you in a few days. * * * *

WILLIAM B. OCHILTREE.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. G. W. Terrell.*]

ANGELINA, NACOGDOCHES, Dec. 18th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * It is pretty certain that Rusk will be run for the United States Senate; he has consented to do so. Yet he got into a big spree at Crocket and swore he would not run; but when he became sober, like the Dutchman, "he changed his notion." * * * The people, many of them, through this county, are already becoming ashamed of the course they pursued towards the Government a few months ago. * * * * * *

G. W. TERRELL.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

CITY OF HOUSTON, December 30th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * Old Sam is here. We had a long and confidential interview on the subject of United States Senators: it is his opinion that Rusk will not suffer his name to be run when the crisis comes. He believes the Georgia faction have some hold on him, by which they are enabled to control his action whenever he is likely to run athwart their path. * * * My opinion is that the old dragon would like for your name to be associated with his. I remarked that I believed a great many of the people were becoming sensible of the injustice that had been done you in the late excitement that pervaded the country; in this opinion he heartily concurred, and expressed the belief that these things would eventually be of service rather than an injurv to you. * * *

G. W. TERRELL.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES

[*From Major Joseph Daniels.*]

AUSTIN, December 31st, 1845.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * I have nothing new of interest to communicate. Our city is very lively at this time, being the New Year's Eve. We have a cotillion party, and a deputation of Major Western's pets from the Ton-ke-wahs are here, most gloriously drunk. The United States troop of dragoons paraded our streets to-day in full dress. Col. Cooke has arrived from San Antonio, also Col. Hays. Supreme Court will probably adjourn this week; the Gail Borden case was continued. * *

JOSEPH DANIELS.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Charles Elliot.*]

NEW ORLEANS, January 4th, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this moment arrived at New Orleans on my way to Texas, and the accompanying note to Mr. Allen, with its inclosure, will place you in possession of my present business with your Government. I greatly regret that I am so indisposed as to be unable to go on by the "Galveston," (on the immediate point of departure,) but I hope to be able to proceed by the "New York" in the course of a few days. In the mean time I have deemed it right to forward a copy of Lord Aberdeen's despatch forthwith, and I have begged Major Cocke to send it to you immediately by express. I trust that your health, and that of your family, continues to be good.

Believe me, ever, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

CHARLES ELLIOT

His Excellency, ANSON JONES, &c., &c., &c.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter concludes my correspondence with Capt. Elliot. I saw him in Houston a few days afterwards, and went with him to Galveston. On parting from him there, he renewed to me assurances of his perfect satisfaction with the manner in which I had fulfilled all my promises to him, and with *my* whole conduct. I understood him to say the French Minister, M. de Saligny, was equally well satisfied with *my* conduct. He uttered the bitterest complaints against Gen. Sam. Houston.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. J. P. Henderson.*]

San Augustine, Jan. 19th, 1846.

To his Excellency, Anson Jones:

My dear Sir,—Your last letter came to hand several days since. I have been for ten days, and am still quite sick, so much so that I can scarcely sit up. I presume, from what I see in the United States papers, that the United States Congress has finally acted upon our Constitution, and that we will soon be greeted by your proclamation. I learn from Judge Wheeler that you will probably call us to Austin on the "2d of March," which, I think, is a good idea: we will then have lived just ten years as a Republic.

I fear that friend Judge Johnson is not as well qualified for the bench as our judges should be. He was for many years out of the practice before he came to Texas, and must therefore be "rusty." I admire him very much as a warm-hearted, honest man, and would like very much to serve him in any way I can, without neglecting any public duty.

Since the receipt of your last I have had a letter from Judge Terrell, asking to be placed on the Supreme Court bench. If his health was better, I think he would make a good District Judge; but I really think we have a number of gentlemen in Texas better qualified for the Supreme Bench than himself. I really wish that I had it in my power to give to him and friend Johnson comfortable places, with suitable salaries. I have determined to name Hemphill, Lipscomb and Wheeler, for the Supreme Court. J. B. Jones would be my next choice; friend Allen would make an able Supreme Judge, too. I do not wish to make it publicly known that I have fixed upon those nominations; I feel somewhat at a loss in determining who should be made Chief Justice. Hemphill is the present Chief Justice, and Lipscomb is the eldest man, and has been Chief Justice of Alabama. Either would satisfy me, but I wish them both to be satisfied. I am too sick to write more, but remain yours, very truly,

Henderson.

[*Endorsement.*—This letter closed our correspondence.—A. J.]

[*From Gen. N. H. Darnell.*]

SAN AUGUSTINE, Feb. 1st, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—I returned home on the 27th January. My trip has been one of considerable pleasure, though intermixed with some trouble and difficulty. I arrived in Washington on the 8th December, and immediately delivered my documents; and I soon heard the adoption of the Constitution would meet but little opposition, and that it would be adopted at a very early day; consequently I believed it would be unnecessary to communicate with you, for the reason that I expected to leave immediately after the matter was consummated, which I did, but attempted to come the northern route, which occasioned much delay in consequence of ice. I left Washington on the 2d of January and got here on the 27th. I found that Capt. Tod was ahead of me, and that you had received all the news when I reached New Orleans. I then made my way for the Red Lands. I expect to be in Austin on the night of the 15th instant, at which time I can give you more of the particulars of my trip. * * * * * * *

N. H. DARNELL.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES.

[*From Major J. H. Cocke.*]

GALVESTON, March 18th, 1846.

His Excellency, ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,—With much pleasure I received your esteemed favor of the 6th instant, dated at the City of Austin. I am aware, my dear sir, that you have less concern relative to your not being one of our United States Senators than that of the most sanguine of your devoted friends. We are not governed alone in our feelings of friendship for you, sir, but anticipated, from your late position towards the United States, together with your great experience in public matters, much good would be derived from your perseverance, industry and labor in that body for the good of the State; but, sir, we live in hopes. * * * So, my dear sir, for the great satisfaction it will give your friends, you must pick your flint for a new fire. * *

JAMES H. COCKE.

[*From Thomas J. Farnham, Esq.*]

NEW YORK, Sept. 11th, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sail to California to-day, *via* St. Thomas, Panama, &c. This Government has California; and of course our expectations as to independence are at an end. I shall, however, stand to any chance for such an object, if presented. It would be well, perhaps, to send your friends over to act with me in any such emergency as might arise out of the premises.

I shall turn attention to money-making, if the other and greater end cannot be made available; and be ready *at all times to act on Central America.* Shall write you from *Panama.*

My books are all *out of print;* I cannot get a copy.

You shall hear from me on my arrival in California.

My best compliments to your family, the Ex-Secretary of State and lady, and all friends.

Mr. Bean's family are well.

Yours very truly, THOMAS J. FARNHAM.

ANSON JONES.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, Sept. 27th, 1846.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * You have seen ere this that little or nothing was done for Texas during the last session of Congress, and I apprehend but little more may be expected in the future. There was not *a dollar* appropriated either for the Indians, the coast, or the frontier. The indemnity due us was perhaps not seriously thought of beyond the limits of our own delegation. That it will ever be paid, I think rather doubtful. There is no love for Texas among the Whigs and many of the Democrats. The late change in the tariff is attributed to the Texas representation; and the consequence is a most holy hatred of every thing Texan. This was manifested in the vote upon the proposition to *grant* the officers of our navy the privilege of commanding our late vessels. There never was a more shameful proceeding. * * * If Donelson were here, I would ask him to do me the favor to show me some evidence of the "magnanimity and generosity" of his Government, about which he made so many professions and pledges. * * *

W. D. MILLER.

ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 9th, 1846.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * The wants and wishes of our State, I apprehend, are doomed to disappointment in other things. The improvement of our harbors and rivers, and the erection of fortifications and light-houses, so broadly pledged by Major Donelson to the people of Texas on the part of his Government, are not destined, in my opinion, to an early accomplishment. * * * The President, I perceive, has not recommended any measures of this character to the attention of Congress; and the antipathy on the part of the Whig party towards Texas is so strong, they will assuredly exert their strength in thwarting any attempt to do any thing, however just, in which Texas or her particular interests are concerned. But it is now too late to complain. * * * * W. D. MILLER.

ANSON JONES.

[*Letter to Commodore Tod.*]

[COPY.]

WASHINGTON, TEXAS, April 28th, 1857.

Capt. JOHN G. TOD, GALVESTON:

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of 21st instant, with enclosures, came to hand to-day. I take pleasure in replying by first opportunity; and also to send to his Excellency, Gov. Pease, the certificate you requested, as I do to-day. A copy of the certificate I herewith enclose you for your early information. It is, I believe, sufficiently full, and I hope you will meet with no delay in receiving your pay at Washington. I do not see how a question can be made, as you probably have in your possession papers, which would, of themselves, constitute a sufficient voucher, independent of a certificate from me, or any one else. It is well enough, however, to be fully armed, as we both recollect the story of Lord Nelson's being refused pay for his *eye*, until he obtained the certificate of a surgeon that it was "out;" and afterwards tendered a similar one that his *arm* was "off," when he went to receive his pay for that unlucky member.

I am sincerely, and truly, and heartily glad that the officers of the navy of Texas have at length obtained relief, and at least partial justice; and I accord to Gen. Rusk especially, and to all those who so nobly advocated the measure in Congress, great credit for their efforts in this behalf. When at the North in 1850, '53 and '54, I embraced every opportunity which presented to advocate their claims, where such advocacy promised to be of the least service; and I have omitted no occasion during the last twelve years to do the same. In the matter of annexation, the cause of these officers was, by no means, lost sight of by me; but it was one of those "contingencies" of that great American measure, which, while its injustice was pointed out and admitted, could not be obviated at the time; but, like many other things, had to be left to the magnanimity and the generosity of the Government of the United States. Relief should have come much sooner, and should have been yielded with a better grace—it should have been freely tendered, and promptly. It would have been more honorable to the United States, and more just and acceptable to the gallant men of our little navy.

Texas was poor, and it was always a source of sorrow and mortification to me that they could not *all* have been paid their just dues during my administration. But our treasury was exhausted—our credit gone—our frontiers threatened by savage and Mexican enemies, and it appeared *necessary*, ABSOLUTELY *necessary*, for me to husband every dollar of the public money to meet the pressing emergencies, either present or contingent, upon which our very existence as a nation seemed to be suspended in uncertainty. Things have been changed. Texas is now rich, and so is the General Government, and these just claims of her naval officers have been too long neglected.

I was ever the friend of these officers; though I have probably been misunderstood by them, and, perhaps, often misrepresented by my enemies to them. But I took as good care of them as I did of myself, or better rather, and they are now far nearer obtaining reward for their services and sacrifice in the public behalf than I ever expect to be. I served Texas some ten or twelve years, almost for nothing, and in consummating annexation was, incontinently, "stricken from the rolls" without a cent, or a "thank you, sir," even. But I have not complained. The sacrifice was made freely and voluntarily. It is true "I am stricken, and my heart, like a bruised reed, is waiting to be broken," but after I am dead my services will be appreciated. Contemporary hatred, injustice and jealousy, will prevent an earlier return for them. But I am quietly at work on my little farm, with one *sound* and one *crippled* hand; and my two boys, Edward and Charles, are now able to assist me in the daily labor necessary to support a dependent family. If we can have our healths, and favorable seasons, I have no fear of being able to get along quite well. I am, now, almost sixty years old, and consequently may expect to be "*relieved*" before many days.

I shall be happy to hear from you, and to know how you speed at Washington.

And remain, as ever, your friend, ANSON JONES.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON CITY, March 8th, 1847.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * The Gen. (Houston) wrote to the President in the most thorough terms; and took occasion to say, (which is of course private,) that if he should not return to the Senate, *you would*, and that he and Rusk would support you. * * * I am pretty confident you will get the appointment. * * * And, by the way, I must not omit to say, that it was expressly and emphatically stated to the President, that you had made no mention or solicitation of that, or any other place; but that the application was made in your behalf entirely without your knowledge. * * *

W. D. MILLER.

ANSON JONES.

[*From the Same.*]

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 19th, 1847.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,— * * * * It could not have been otherwise than gratifying to you to receive a tender of the appointment, whether you accepted it or not; and it would have been a compliment to Texas from the General Government, to which she was pre-eminently entitled. But the examination at West Point is now in progress, and certain it is you have received no invitation. * * * I requested a friend of mine and of Gen. Houston, who is on intimate terms with the Secretary of State, to inquire of him, and if possible, ascertain the facts. He did so, and informed me that the Secretary at once assented to the propriety of making the appointment, and regretted that Gen. Houston did not leave a memorandum with him on the subject, so that he might, in proper season, have brought it to the mind of the President, who, he supposed, had forgotten the application. * * * And the fact is, our State stands so low (certainly not above Arkansas) that it requires extraordinary influences to elicit the attention of the powers that be. She has but little weight now, and God only knows how much less it will be when the *prestige* of annexation dies entirely away. * * * * * W. D. MILLER.

ANSON JONES.

[*From Gen. Samuel Houston.*]

HUNTSVILLE, October 18th, 1847.

MY FRIEND,—You have no doubt seen that Mr. Tyler has again come out in a second letter. I will reply to a part of it only, and refer to you so as to give you a chance; and so soon as my reply is published, I will send you a paper containing it. I will look with some anxiety for your notice of him. As a Tennessean used to say, I hope you will "draw your strokes fine," so as to make him sweet music! He deserves well of his country, and I know no man more able to render him a requital than Ex-President Jones. I wish it was in my power to transfer the whole matter to your keeping. I feel that in part I must pay him. I will preserve my good temper in my reply. * * *

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

ANSON JONES.

[*From W. D. Miller, Esq.*]

AUSTIN, November 5th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * * I think you are under no very particular obligation to any one at Washington City so as to arrest your "thunderbolt." You have it already forged, * * * and I think I would hurl it. * * W. D. MILLER.

ANSON JONES.

[*From Hamilton Stuart, Esq.*]

GALVESTON, November 20th, 1847.

Hon. A. JONES:

DEAR SIR,—Your letters for publication and private note reached me yesterday. The former will be cheerfully awarded a place in our columns. The latter was welcome and gratifying. I am glad to see you emerge so far, both politically and personally, from the seclusion you appear to have courted since your retirement from a long and successful public career, traduced but triumphant—resting from your labors now completed, and with little prospect that you or any other man in Texas will ever be again called upon to discharge duties so difficult, so responsible, and so important to the State, or so far affecting the Union, the whole of North America, and the leading powers of Europe. The events you write of belong to the history of the age, and I am glad that you have come forward to vindicate the integrity of that history which so many are interested in perverting. (V. p. 473.) * * * * H. STUART.

ANSON JONES.

[*From Hon. Ashbel Smith.*]

GALVESTON, November 29th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * I am glad you have taken in hand to give the world the history of annexation. I trust you will do it fully,—that you will do it with great ability, I know: what I mean by fully is, that you will expose the means used by the Federal Government, the Executive, to induce the people of Texas to accede to annexation—the promises made by their authorized agent, Major Donelson, and never fulfilled by his Government; the bribery and corruption of some noisy politicians, by promises of office made to them contingent on annexation by the secret agents of the Federal Government, Governor Yell and Mr. Wickliffe, and the system of detraction of the officers of our own Government for the purpose of destroying the confidence of the people of Texas in them. Of course I should not deem it judicious to introduce little personal details into the history of so grave a matter; but that the solemn truth, in all its amplitude, should be given fearlessly to the world. * * * * ASHBEL SMITH.

ANSON JONES.

[*From the "Western Texan" of Nov. 17th*, 1848.]

EX-PRESIDENT JONES.—In another column will be found a short but interesting letter from Hon. ANSON JONES, Ex-President of the late Republic of Texas, on the subject of the relative course of Gen. SAMUEL HOUSTON and himself, in regard to the annexation of Texas to the United States. We cheerfully give a place in our columns to this communication from the Hon. Ex-President, believing, as we do, that no man in Texas has been more grossly misrepresented and abused for his political course, than has this gentleman for his action in this "great measure of American policy."

[The letter referred to above bears date October 19th, 1848.]

[*From the Same, of December 29th*, 1848.]

The *Galveston News*, in its editorial comments upon the letter of Ex-President JONES, which it republishes from our paper of the 17th ult., has, we think, been in some error. The editor says: "Some twelve or eighteen months since, Dr. Jones published in the *Civilian* a series of letters, with the avowed purpose of proving that the writer himself is entitled to the credit of having been principal agent in originating, maturing, and finally perfecting the great measure of annexation." Now we have carefully examined these letters, and can find no such *avowal* on the part of the author: on the contrary, he expressly states the object to be, "to defend Texas and her late Executive Government, as well as the European agents accredited to it, from the slanders of Ex-President Tyler," having been called upon to do so "*through the medium of the public press*," &c. In performing this duty, the Ex-President has, of necessity, been compelled to speak fully and frankly of his own acts, and we think the editor of the *News* will, upon reflection, be satisfied that he pays the greatest possible compliment to Ex-President JONES in the charge he now so strongly makes. Doubtless, in reading that gentleman's *exposé* "some twelve or eighteen months since," our brother of the *News* was irresistibly convinced that the writer of that *exposé* "*had* been the principal agent in originating, maturing, and finally perfecting the great measure of annexation," and now has unwittingly mistaken this "by-gone conclusion" of his own mind for an *avowal* made by the Ex-President. We cannot otherwise account for the mistake he has made.

We are happy at last to find that all the high-sounding *charges* made by the *News* against Ex-President JONES, of "treason, bribery, and corruption," and the "*high* crimes and misdemeanors,"—all the "alarming facts, astounding disclosures and developments," and all the "corrupt intrigues" of which he was sometime to be proved guilty, are now narrowed down by the *News* to the petty offences of "very bad taste," and a disposition to "appropriate honors which involve official duplicity," by defending his country and himself when assailed. We think, however, that these charges, like the others, are very easily disproved, though perhaps hardly worth the trouble. Any one who will devote an hour to the reading of the Ex-President's letters in reply to Mr. Tyler, will be fully satisfied there is not a shadow of foundation on which to base the latter charge; but that all his negotiations were conducted in good faith, and with the maintenance of the strictest integrity, and we are not aware that the Ministers of England, France, or the United States, have ever charged him with "*duplicity*" in his negotiations with them. If, therefore, the parties most interested bring against him no such "railing accusations," we see no good reasons for others to do so. At least we think it "*in very bad taste*,"—quite as bad, certainly, as it is for a man to defend himself or country when wantonly assailed, which last embraces the other "charge" of the *News* against Ex-President Jones. But "*de gustibus non est disputandum*," and we pass to a matter of more interest to our readers.

The *News* asserts what we have frequently heard asserted before, that it was probably not in the power of any person living to have defeated the measure of annexation. We have procured a copy of the "official despatch," to which reference is made by Ex-President Jones in his letter to us, published a few weeks since. We lay this before our readers, and, without any comment, leave it to their intelligence and good sense to judge whether or not, if the "order" (which we also republish) given to the Secretary of State by Gen. Houston, had been obeyed, annexation would have been completely and forever killed; or if, under the circumstances, which a compliance with that "order" would have induced, the United States had attempted to consummate the measure, whether a war with England and France combined would not have been superadded to that with Mexico? These are very grave considerations, and we think them not entirely unworthy of consideration even at this late day.

One word more to the *News*, and we take leave of the subject. Ex-President Jones, in his message to Congress in June, 1845, and in his valedictory in February, 1846, has recorded the fact of his whole agency in the measure of annexation, and his *individual* opinions of the "terms" upon which it was consummated. The agency which he then asserted, and the opinions he then expressed in regard to "this great measure of American policy," are in no respect changed or modified by his "letters in reply to Mr. Tyler, or by any thing else we have seen from his pen. That very large and respectable portion of the public, therefore, who took the pains to procure the information which was placed within the reach of every man, were not "struck with surprise" when those very satisfactory letters were published to the world.

[*From the Same of January* 12, 1849.]

Annexation was a measure consummated by the Administration of ANSON JONES, with which Administration Gen. Houston probably had as little connection as the remotest fisherman on the shores of Kamschatka, and thereby illustrated a prudence as great as the man in Æsop, who took refuge in a tree when his friend and fellow-traveller was attacked by the bear who whispered to him "never to trust a man who would desert him in the hour of danger." Gen. H. is an adroit tactitian, and the position he took in reference to the administration of President JONES was so cautiously chosen that it would [he thought] enable his friends either to disavow or claim the credit of the acts of that Administration, as those acts might turn out to be disastrous or fortunate. Certainly, he gave no assistance to that Administration, but did rather "assist the storm" by which it was so furiously assailed.

[The *Texan* is perfectly correct in saying Gen. Houston had no connection whatever with my Administration. In October, 1844, I was applied to by Col. Bee, and received suggestions from other parties friendly to Gen. Houston, to give the latter the mission to England, which I promptly refused. From that time Gen. H. assumed a neutral and then a hostile attitude towards me, both politically and personally. I also was applied to by him in person about the same time to allow him out of the contingent expense fund of the Executive Department some $800 or more in payment of an old claim he had for the "use of furniture" in 1837-'8. I had no authority to allow the claim, and therefore refused it. This was another cause of his enmity.—A. J.]

[*Mem. in* 1857.—Still another cause has made its appearance recently. (V. Mem. for 14th August, 1856.) The statement made to me by Col. Wm. R. Allen, that Gen. Houston was bribed to remove the seat of Government to the town of Washington, and that my taking it back to Austin had injured him to the extent of the bribe, &c.]

[*From the Galveston Tri-weekly News, March* 27, 1856.]

We publish to-day an article from the pen of Ex-President ANSON JONES, under the head of "The Anti-Catholic, Anti-Foreign, and Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States."

The views expressed in this article are well worthy of attentive perusal, and as they are expressed in temperate language, supported by good arguments, even those who do not feel convinced by them will regard them as an able elucidation of questions which have absorbed the attention of the country, and, for the time, swallowed up all other issues among politicians.

The Anti-Catholic movement, of which the first number treats, is already on the wane; and the American party in several States have stricken it from their platforms. The inference is, that, to this extent, it has proved to be wrong, or, at least, impolitic. Such is the interpretation to be placed on its abandonment by the party that started, and for a time advocated it; for it is quite certain that opposition to Catholicism brought no small degree of strength to the American party. However, whether the Anti-Catholic movement is destined to perpetual death, or may again be urged, the article of Dr. JONES furnishes salutary counsel in many respects; and not only on this head, but in regard to the others also, (which will appear in our next two numbers,) his remarks are calculated to cause all parties to reflect on the policy which may best be pursued, to remedy the evils in our social and political affairs, which many persons conceive to be of a dangerous character.

BARRINGTON, Jan. 8th, 1856.

I propose to submit a few remarks on the Anti-Catholic, Anti-Foreign, and Anti-Slavery movement in the United States, and the consideration of the proper course of policy to be pursued by those opposed to it; and to treat each branch or division of the subject, mainly in the order above stated.

THE CATHOLIC ELEMENT in the country is politically, morally and socially, sound and conservative, and I cannot perceive any danger from it in this free and enlightened community; *certainly* no more than from any other prominent religious sect. If "Eternal vigilance be the price of liberty," it is doubtless right to guard with a watchful and *jealous* eye our religious freedom, "from all assaults of its enemies,"—but there is not, in the past history of the Roman Catholic Church in these United States, or in its present attitude, any cause of especial alarm. And even if its hierarchy are guilty of an intention to usurp undue authority here, as charged by some, we can very safely oppose to any such insane and foolish purpose our free press and the universal intelligence of the masses among the American people. And if a free press and universal intelligence should prove insufficient for the defeat of such a purpose, (which I cannot for a moment believe,) we can *then* oppose the well-known *prejudices* of eleven-twelfths or more of the population, against the Romish Church, and the general dislike of it entertained by the Protestant sects. But it will be time enough to invoke the great evil and mischief of this dislike and of these prejudices, whenever the attempt is seriously made at a usurpation of temporal, or even undue spiritual power, by the Pope, or any one acting under him. In the mean time, dismissing all apprehensions from this source, let us take the matter out of the political arena, and leave to theologians, whose appropriate business it is, the settlement of those points of religious faith about which they may differ, and the overthrow of all the errors which may be entertained at Rome or elsewhere.

Since the revival of learning in Europe, and for the last three hundred and fifty years, the once mighty temporal power of the Papal See has been steadily waning, until it has to-day become puny and feeble, depending for existence upon a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, which may change to-morrow; and there is at present much more probability of its losing *all* its temporal authority than of its acquiring any undue preponderance, even in Europe. But whether this be so or not, it can certainly never acquire such a preponderance here, in these United States, as to give reasonable cause of alarm. The idea that it can, is simply an absurdity. In Europe, the Greek Church, to say nothing of Protestantism, is strong enough to keep the Romish Church in check, if check were necessary, and in these United States, the Protestant Church, outnumbering it more than twelve to one, certainly can have little to fear from it. The religious doctrine and worship of the Romish Church may be destined to spread to some extent here, but this need excite no alarm,—our country is a free one; perfect toleration is a fundamental principle of our Government; and if our citizens choose to worship God after the forms of the Catholic Church, it is their high privilege, or duty rather, to do so. Taking the great mass of the American Catholics together, and they compare, as good, moral, useful, patriotic, peaceable, intelligent, and law-abiding citizens, very well with any other church membership of equal numbers. The only exception to this, as a general rule, is found in the fact that a portion of that Church consists of recent immigrants, who in some cases, perhaps in many, do not come up to this standard. This may be, to some small extent, an evil; but the worst remedy in the world for it is persecution. Better leave these to the wholesome influence of their better informed Catholic brethren, and to the salutary, though silent, teachings of our free institutions, gradually to assimilate them to the mass by whom they are here surrounded. Teach them—instruct them, and they and their descendants will make useful members of society, in most cases,—proscribe, degrade, and oppress them, and all other American Catholics with them, as the new order of politicians propose, and this slight evil, (if it is one,) instead of being gradually and surely and quietly remedied, will be suddenly and as surely increased a thousand fold. The best way for the State to treat Romanism, will be to do the same with it as she does with the Protestant sects; that is, nothing,—let it alone. The history of the Christian world—its *whole* history—may be cited in proof of the correctness of this course. This *history teaches* us that, as an invariable rule, our religion, in any of its branches, has never yielded to persecution; and there is nothing in the present condition of the Catholic Church which would even seem to give a color to the probability that it might be made an exception to this rule.

Whenever Roman Catholicism bands together (as we have lately seen portions of two or three of the sects do in New England) its 3,000 political parsons, and dictates to the Congress of the United States, in the name and by the authority of Almighty God, what it shall or shall not do, or commits any other act of equal atrocity, it will be time enough for legislative interference with that Church; or for a popular movement intended to take away from its members their political rights, in violation of the Constitution of the country.

To offer to the oppressed and down-trodden inhabitants of Europe a refuge and an asylum in this country, with a guarantee of equal rights and privileges, and then to interfere in any way with one of their most cherished ones, the right to worship God according to the dictates of their individual consciences, would certainly seem to be but a mockery of hospitality, as well as of justice. The very savages of our wilderness, the true "Native Americans," would scorn to be guilty of such a shameful mockery.

And I would here stop a moment to observe that these remarks, and others of a cognate character which I shall have occasion to make, apply with more than ordinary force to this State. We not only invited our foreign population here, promising them the full and perfect enjoyment and exercise of every civil, political, and religious right which the Constitution and the laws guaranteed to all other citizens, but we *urged* them to come, and *induced* them to come by offers of land. This, it is true, was at a time when Texas needed population for her own safety as a nation; but this, instead of *diminishing*, rather *increases* the sacred obligation which rests upon us, to fulfil the promises, in virtue of which the classes alluded to were induced to leave home and kindred and native land, and to come and cast their lot with us. If Texas fails, in the smallest degree, to fulfil this obligation, she will deserve the severest reproach.

From almost the earliest age of the Church, the difference of creeds has been a fruitful source of manifold evils, and it would seem to be desirable that all should harmonise in one true faith,—it would certainly present a very happy prospect; but of this there appears to be neither probability nor present possibility. We may, however, derive some satisfaction from the reflection that if we are to have a great variety of creeds, their very multiplicity, preventing an undue ascendency on the part of the advocates of any particular one, operates as a cheap and natural security and guarantee for the permanence of religious toleration, as a distinct feature of our Government. If all men were of one mind in religious matters, there would be no scope for toleration to operate in. With us the *reverse* is almost the case, for hardly any two men agree on these matters; hence, not only the *necessity* of toleration, but the beautiful *propriety*, as well as security, of its free and perfect exercise. Any attempt by the State to interfere with the Catholic faith, will be worse and more idle than an attempt to dam up the waters of the Mississippi to prevent them from seeking the ocean.

The Abolitionist professes to believe that slavery is an evil; the Know Nothing professes to a similar belief about Catholicism; and doubtless among both of these classes there are many honest and sincere men. But Abolitionism has not, and will not benefit the North,—quite the contrary; neither has it affected slavery materially, except to do injury to the special object of its mistaken zeal. So with Know Nothingism; it has not and will not benefit the South,—quite the contrary; and will injure the Protestant far more than the Catholic cause. But if slavery and Catholicism be evils, (which I deny,) these opponents are utterly mistaken in the remedies they propose. They do not treat them as practical questions, as great fixed facts. They officiously meddle to no good purpose; they mischievously theorise and philosophize about "human freedom" and "human liberty" and "Papal supremacy" and "ultramontanism," &c., "pretermitting" the great fixed fact, that there are in the country some three millions of slaves, and nearly a like number of Catholics, to be *practically* disposed of, not theorized out of the way. It is quite "too late" for these offensive systems of pseudo-philosophy and pseudo-philanthropy, which only excite strife and anger, and contention and hatred, without any hope of practical good to result from them, either in one case or the other. If slavery be an evil, let those who think so show their earnestness and sincerity by putting their hands into their own pockets and purchasing all the negroes in the South, and sending them back to Africa, compensating the South also for the consequent depreciation of her real estate; and if Romanism be an evil, let those who think so show their earnestness and sincerity by furnishing the evidence of Catholic error, and converting its disciples to what they consider the true faith. *This*, in both cases, would be treating these subjects *practically*, as well as honestly and thoroughly; and removing these "evils" of more than two hundred and fifty years standing among us, in the only way by which this end can be accomplished, at least according to present appearances. All tampering with these grave matters, all political quackery and charlatanism, is better avoided, for these, while they cannot remedy, will be sure to irritate and inflame. Experience, that costly teacher, has already proved this in regard to Abolitionism; it is fast demonstrating it, very plainly, in respect to Know Nothingism. The advocates of both these isms are as unjust and erroneous in the objects they propose to themselves, as they are unwise and mischievous in the means by which they vainly aim to accomplish those objects. Know Nothingism and Abolitionism prove their inherent sameness and affinity by the well-known fact that almost everywhere in the North they have coalesced, and "like kindred streams been mingled into one." The exceptions are barely sufficient to prove the rule. Both of them, appealing for support, separately or together, only to the passions and prejudices of the masses, are equally dangerous to the liberties, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people of the United States. They are mushroom growths, unhealthy, fungous excrescences on the body politic, more or less disgraceful to the character of our country, and should be opposed, with a view to speedy eradication, by all who wish well to our Union, our institutions, and to the great cause of representative government in the world. In the mean while, and at all times, the philanthropist, the patriot, and the Protestant can find plenty of objects, and the most abundant scope for the exercise of his philanthropy, for his love of country and for his piety, without engaging in the foolish and mischievous schemes of the Abolitionist and the Know Nothing. The history of the past, that mighty retrospect of philosophy teaching by experience, is filled to overflowing with the details (sickening and sorrowful ones) of the great and manifold evils which mankind, in every age, have been afflicted with, from honest and sincere, though mistaken and misdirected zeal. Its instructive lessons should not be lost upon us.

THE FOREIGN BORN ELEMENT in our country, being Catholic in its majority, much of what has been before said of the one, will apply equally to the other. This foreign born element is one of vast importance, and presents some grave considerations to the patriot and the statesman of America. It has done much, so far, in the rapid physical development of these United States, as well as in giving an impulse to learning and all the arts of peace on this side of the Atlantic. It has its minor attendant evils, as all great elements have,—those of nature not excepted. Properly used and treated, it will doubtless be of vast use and importance in aiding to work out to a successful and more speedy result, the great problem in which, as a nation, we are now engaged. Improperly interfered with, it is, doubtless, (and will grow to be more so,) potent for mischief both to itself and to us.

The tide of immigration to this country from Europe may, and *must* be suffered to flow on at a natural and moderate rate, until something like a relative equilibrium of population is produced between the two. It is the interest of Europe and America that this should be so. (I take it for granted that there is no man among us, who would advocate the policy characteristic of China or Japan, or the benighted colonial policy of Old Spain, and wholly exclude foreigners from our shores.) But this tide having now swelled, temporarily, perhaps, to over a quarter of a million per annum, needs, it may be, no farther stimulating, but rather restraining,—at least so far as to keep certain classes who have heretofore composed a part of this tide, back. What this country now most wants is a respectable, industrious, agricultural immigration, to become the purchasers and to occupy, in part, our immense vacant territory. With this, and for its accommodation, we may, profitably enough, receive a due proportion of mechanics and artisans of all descriptions, as well as professional men. Paupers, criminals, convicts, and idlers of all kinds, the sweepings of European towns and cities, being equally objectionable and injurious to the respectable foreigner and the native citizen, should be rigidly excluded from our shores. Our naturalization laws should be respected, and rigidly and strenuously enforced. Means should be used, as far as practicable, to diffuse among those of the new immigrants, who may seem to need it, correct information in regard to the true principles of our free government; that liberty might in no case be mistaken for licentiousness—that law and order might be made consistent with perfect civil, political, and religious freedom. All pandering to this element, as a distinctive class, should be scrupulously avoided; it should not be unduly flattered, on the one hand, that it may not be unduly abused on the other—that the misled and deceived favorites of election-day, with the "rich Irish brogue" and the "sweet German accent," may not become the vilified and abused "bog-trotters" and "sour-krout eaters" of the day after. Protect the foreigner in all his rights, and encourage him in the faithful performance of all his duties, Put him on a proper probation, and in due time promote him to office, if he shows himself honest, capable, and faithful to the Constitution; but never, never otherwise, both for the sake of the foreigner and for the sake of the native, who have an equal and a common interest in a proper administration of the Government. As a general rule, office will be most safely and appropriately conferred when it is given to the native born citizen, but there are many exceptions. Let no amount of noisy, or officious service at the polls, induce any party to swerve from the line of action as now recommended; for *all*, in their candid moments, will acknowledge its correctness. Do this, and there will be no use, or even excuse, for an American party, for we shall all be the truest kind of Americans—true to ourselves—true to the best interests of the country—true to the Constitution—and true to our foreign born population. The claptrap about "Americans ruling America," which is now mere drivelling, would then become a palpable and an acknowledged absurdity,—a senseless iteration of a truism which nobody denied.

It may be a question, how high the tide of a respectable immigration to this country may be permitted to rise consistent with perfect safety to our republican institutions? The immigration for the last five years has averaged nearly 300,000 per annum; about one-fourth of these have, probably, been children under 15 years of age. By the well-known laws of mortality, I presume that portion of foreigners over fifteen years of age, live on an average 25 years. Our population since 1790 has nearly doubled every 20 years, and is, or will be, in 1856, about 30,000,000. In 1850 our foreign born population was 2,240,000. Assuming these data as correct, and that the immigration to this country will be even 500,000 or half a million per annum, and the following will be the result during this century, calculating approximately on an increment of 33⅓ per cent. for each ten years, viz.:

In 1856, whole population....................................	30,000,000
Naturalized population....................................	2,500,000, or 1 in 12.
In 1866, whole population....................................	40,000,000
Naturalized population....................................	3,300,000, or 1 in 12.
In 1876, whole population....................................	53,333,333
Naturalised population....................................	4,480,000, or 1 in 12¼
In 1886, whole population....................................	71,000,000
Naturalised population....................................	5,000,000, or 1 in 14.
In 1900, (14 years), whole population....................	104,333,333
Naturalised population....................................	5,266,000, or 1 in 20.

And after the year 1900, the annual immigration of 500,000 would only be sufficient to keep up the *actual* amount of naturalized population, while the relative proportion between it and the native population would rapidly decrease. I have left out of question all children brought to this country under 15 years of age, as I concluded all such, raised in the atmosphere of our free institutions and surrounded by their influences, forming their habits and political opinions here, may, for all practical purposes, and in all essential respects, be properly included among the American or native population.

But assuming, for the sake of illustration merely, that the immigration to this country should be one million per annum, (one-fourth of whom are children under 15 years of age,) and the following would be the approximate results during this century, estimating on an increment of 33⅓ per cent. for five periods of seven years each, and one period of nine years, viz.:

In 1863, whole population	40,000,000	
Naturalized population	3,450,000,	or 1 in 11⅗.
In 1870, whole population	53,333,333	
Naturalized population	6,108,333,	or about 1 in 9.
In 1877, whole population	71,000,000	
Naturalized population	7,775,000,	or 1 in 9 one-tenth.
In 1884, whole population	94,666,666	
Naturalized population	9,175,000,	or 1 in 10⅓.
In 1891, whole population	126,200,000	
Naturalized population	10,275,000,	or 1 in 12¼.
In 1900, whole population	168,000,000	
Naturalized population	12,075,000,	or about 1 in 14.

And after the year 1900, the annual immigration of one million would only be sufficient to keep up the *actual* amount of naturalized population, while the *relative* proportion to the whole would rapidly decrease. But of such an immigration, or such an increase, there is not a present possibility.

From these figures it would appear, that while the relative proportion between foreign and native voting population is now as one to twelve, if the immigration should at once increase to half a million a year, and continue to flow in at that rate during this century, it would at no time reach a higher proportion, and it would soon commence steadily decreasing until at the close of the 44 years, the proportion of naturalized to native population would be only as 1 to 20. And assuming the immigration to be one million a year, the relative proportion would only go up to about one in nine in the year 1870, from which time it would vibrate the other way, and descend at the end of the 44 years to one in fourteen. I should not suppose there need be any great danger apprehended from a respectable immigration, properly controlled, of the highest amount, as our native citizens would *always* outnumber the foreign in the proportion of nearly nine to one; to say nothing of their general superiority in other respects, arising from their superior educational advantages, over the down-trodden masses of Europe, and from the influences of our free and happy institutions. Besides, it may be recollected, as another element of safety, that this population generally, are sincere haters of monarchy and equally sincere lovers of our free form of government.

But again, if the immigration should be even 500,000 per annum for the next 22 years, and then gradually increase to a million per annum for the succeeding 22 years, which is the very largest amount of which there is any probability, or even possibility, the relative proportion of foreign to native voting population, would, at no time, even in this extreme case, be greater than it is at present, that is, one in twelve; on the contrary it would constantly decrease.

From indications which have presented themselves within the last year, it would seem that the tide of immigration is very clearly on the ebb, it being 60 per cent. less for 1855 than for 1854. The whole number of foreigners arriving the last year will scarcely exceed 180,000, and many are returning back to their native countries,—so that taking into consideration these facts, and the ruling of the laws of mortality, it is probable there has been but little, if any *actual* increase in the foreign born population within the last twelve months. The surplus population of Ireland is well nigh exhausted, and the general war in Europe has required large numbers. Under all the circumstances, it is not very probable we shall receive additions to our population from abroad exceeding 200,000 per annum for the next few years; while the native population will be increasing at the rate of a million per annum and upwards, in which event the ratio of naturalized to native citizens at the end of the next ten years would be only as one to sixteen. But the United States can "bide their time" in this matter; they are gaining strength rapidly, and in twenty years at least, will be able to receive and assimilate from half to a million of respectable, industrious foreigners a year, of our own race and kindred, without the least danger of any serious shock to our institutions.

If I may be permitted to indulge in a prophecy, I should say the probability is that during this century, the territory of the United States, should our Union be preserved and in peace, will contain between ninety and one hundred millions of inhabitants; that is from 30 to 33 to the square mile. The hybrid and savage races of Mexico and Central America, wholly incapable of self-government, are destined, by the great laws of nature, to diminish rather than increase; and the population of the United States will probably extend southwardly over the whole North American continent during the same period, (how much farther God only knows,) solving at the same time, in its course, the great problem of Southern slavery—the safety, protection and welfare of all these races, making this extension an absolute duty, and an imperative *necessity*. It may be very well in us to turn our attention now to the inevitable future of the United States, and to look *this matter* fairly in the face. But upon this branch of the subject, though greatly suggestive, I will not dwell.

Strong objections are urged by the new party in politics to the "Isms" said to be entertained by some among our foreign immigrants; but I do not see the great danger in these *Isms* which that party seem to apprehend. The peculiar philosophy, the mysticism, the utopian views of the German,—the social and Red Republican doctrines of the Frenchman, and the Irishman's "hatred of England,"—all, when removed from the insalubrious hotbeds of Europe in which they have been germinated, will rapidly decline, and wither in the cool and healthy atmosphere of American intelligence, and under the shade of American institutions. Certainly they can never take permanent root in our soil; and all those who apprehend danger from these sources may as well dismiss their fears. These peculiar doctrines and feelings, however much excuse there may be for them on the other side, whenever they have been enunciated on *this* side of the Atlantic, have only served to elicit ridicule and laughter. They belong, as experience has now abundantly demonstrated, to that class of errors which Mr. JEFFERSON truly declared might be tolerated with perfect safety, so long as reason was left free to combat them; and are as much out of their element here as Know-Nothingism would be in France, Germany, or Ireland. They will all vanish away in good time before the light of truth, and as naturally as the mists of the morning disappear before the majesty of the risen sun.

In dwelling upon the supposed evils which are to flow from the foreign element among us, the new sect of politicians steadily ignore the "thousand and one" advantages which the country has derived, and is deriving, from this element. These advantages are apparent to all who take the trouble to look at the matter properly, and I need not dwell upon them. I will only say that the immense physical development of our broad country, within the last few years, has been mainly achieved by the sturdy muscles of this element. It has done at least the rough work in building our railroads, digging our canals, constructing our cities, and, to a great extent, subduing our vast forests; besides introducing and putting in successful operation among us the various arts of Europe. It has brought capital to America—capital that America needed. Saying nothing of *large* amounts, the *small* sums brought by individual emigrants, of from twenty dollars to one or two thousand each, make in the aggregate many millions. Should foreign immigration reach half a million per annum, and the immigrants bring with them, as estimated, $80 on an average, it would probably amount, with what is contributed in every way in taxes by those already here, to fifty or sixty millions annually, or enough to support our entire national Government. This population, this labor and this capital are all beneficial to our country, and I see no good reason for repelling them.

The policy of government which in our case has worked well for more than seventy years, and which, having the authority and sanction of the sages of the Revolution, the most remarkable men the world has ever seen, and of the great men and patriots who have since occupied the scenes of their labors, has led our country, with a rapidity heretofore unparalleled in the history of nations, to its present greatness, prosperity, wealth, happiness, population, and extent of territory, should certainly not be lightly and capriciously changed. On the contrary, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to "let well enough alone." The only two substantive attempts heretofore made to change it, one by the "Alien and Sedition laws"—the other by the "Hartford Convention," were indignantly repelled by the American people. I shall be most unwilling to believe the present unnecessary and ill-timed attempt to change the well established, long tried, and eminently successful policy of the country, will meet with any better success.

SLAVERY, CATHOLIC MEMBERSHIP AND FOREIGN POPULATION are, and always have been, three important elements in our country. They are all perfectly consistent with each other, and with our Government and Constitution, and each in a greater or less degree, but all in an important one, may be made conducive, as they have heretofore been, to the general welfare. Neither of them should be tampered with by political quacks, as neither will submit quietly to such interference. To attempt to arrest the natural and inevitable destiny and progress of either by *external* force and violence, would be as unwise as to attempt to control the great elements of nature, air, water, and heat. As wisely might an attempt be made, as already said, to arrest the mighty Mississippi in its course to the sea. All that can be done with that great stream, is to keep it in its appropriate channel and let it flow onward, fulfilling its mission and its destiny: attempt to dam it up, and it overleaps its banks and spreads ruin and desolation, instead, as now, of immeasurable benefit to millions. So with these, leave them to flow on quietly; let them alone; the Constitution and the laws, properly administered and enforced, with the aid of a sound and sober public opinion, are all sufficient to confine each in its appropriate and destined channel, which is all that can safely and wisely be done with them. They need no secret, immoral and illegal combinations, no "higher law," no extra judicial action or extra constitutional legislation.

If the term of naturalization should need extension, extend it. Whenever the necessity for this arises, if it ever should, *all* will see and acknowledge it, naturalized as well as native, for, as already said, their interests in this respect are identical; consequently there need be no difference of views, nor will there be any necessity for *agitation.* At present, however, the naturalization laws are well enough, and it would be madness to change them. They only need an efficient enforcement. The right to vote, and the right to be voted for, does not, by any means, carry with it the necessary qualifications for properly discharging the duties of office. These no laws can confer or withhold; and it does not follow that because a man has a *legal* right to hold office, that office should be conferred upon him; and this applies alike to native and foreign born citizens. Our native citizens have to undergo a long probation before they can hold office—millions of them, though this probation extends through a long lifetime, never have office conferred upon them, and, perhaps, never desire it. Our foreign born citizens, therefore, cannot, and doubtless will not complain, if they are subjected to a similar probation, while they are in the full enjoyment of protection, and in the exercise of every right pertaining to American citizenship as fully as the native born.

Our Government is strong, sufficiently strong to defy all *external* force;—the world in arms would not be able to destroy it; but it is comparatively weak, as it respects *internal* dissension and violence. From within, and not from without, are we to look for danger. Like a massive, well-constructed arch of solid and perfect masonry, no amount of pressure from without can crush it; but, on the contrary, the more superincumbent weight is put upon it, the firmer is the keystone and the whole structure held in place; while, comparatively, but little force and pressure from *within* serve to loosen the keystone, remove it from its place, and demolish the entire structure. Our reliance for safety must be, not so much in the inherent strength of our institutions against internal strife and dissensions, as in the intelligence, the virtue, and the sober judgment of the masses, which we should invoke to preserve us from the schemes of dishonest, wicked and aspiring *demagogues*, political or religious, and from the dangerous effects of all wild fanaticisms, and the fatal consequences of blind, mistaken zeal. "Wars of religions and races" are the most dangerous, foolish, fatal and destructive of all wars; and the very approach to any such should be most carefully shunned and avoided. If our Government is destined to fall to pieces, it will be from some foolish or wicked *internal* dissension, some *ism*, like Abolitionism, Anti-Nebraskaism, Sectionalism, or Know-Nothingism. If it be, on the contrary, destined to stand until crushed by some *external* force, it will be as durable as our hills, as lasting as the eternal mountains of our country.

I cannot but believe that a party occupying, in relation to these great questions, the ground I have thus attempted, however feebly, to mark out, would commend itself to the intelligence, as well as the cordial support of the American people, North and South, East and West; while it would at the same time best "protect, maintain and defend" our glorious Constitution and Union from the assaults of their most dangerous enemies—DOMESTIC FACTIONS and INTERNAL DISSENSIONS.

In conclusion—a few short moons ago "the waters of the great deep were broken up," and American principles were overwhelmed with a *Deluge* of isms. Night, and storm, and darkness settled upon the land. The Ark of the Constitution was deserted and abandoned by all except the Democracy and their few faithful coadjutors; every one else preferring to trust for safety to new and unskilful devices of their own formation. It is hoped that the agitated waters are now subsiding—that the fury of the storm is past, and that day is again appearing. Through this intervening night of gloom and peril, the Democracy North and South have been true to the CONSTITUTION, and thus *proved themselves the* ONLY NATIONAL PARTY either in principle or in organization.

They have preserved the ark and its rich freight of priceless blessings to mankind, both from destruction and from profanation. I trust they will abate "no jot of heart or hope," and that they will not relax their efforts, their zeal, or their faithfulness, until the angry waters of agitation have ceased to beat against it, and until it is again resting on solid and enduring ground. I see at this time no other security for the preservation and integrity of our Union; and I devoutly hope these faithful efforts will meet the approbation of that superintending Providence which controls all events for the best, and that He will crown them with success.

KNOW-NOTHINGISM, &c.

In 1854–'5, the disruption of one of the great national parties in the United States threw large reinforcements at the North into the ranks of ABOLITIONISM, and revived the Native party, which, adding the religious test to its former creed, took the character of KNOW-NOTHINGISM or AMERICANISM, and two clouds, at first no bigger than "a man's hand," suddenly grew and increased, until they filled the whole political horizon South as well as North, with gloom and apprehension.

Corrected from the Extra of July 30th, 1855.

[*For the Texas Ranger, Aug. 4th.*]

V. Democratic Resolutions in the same paper.

The invisible new *ism* that is, according to the assumptions of its followers, to regenerate the politics of the country, has partly developed itself to the public, and so far as it has CONDESCENDED to develop itself, consists only in "proscription of naturalized and Catholic citizens." Notwithstanding the unmeaning platitudes and pharisaical inanities of the "platform," "it hath this extent, no more." It has now been two months before the country—has been expounded and explained by the apostles, aye, by the Brigham Young of the party, and these are the only DISTINCTIVE features which it possesses—these the only recommendations to popular support. In other words, it is, after all the FUSS, nothing but the NATIVEISM of 1844–'5, with the addition of the "religious test" of 1854–'5. * * * All admit, even the Know-Nothings themselves, that if these two great, solitary, fundamental principles of the party, or either of them, were, in any shape, incorporated into a law, it would be a palpable, open violation of our Federal and State constitutions—a practical nullification of frequently expressed provisions of the organic law. It may, with equal truth and justice, be said, it would be a violation of the great principles of human freedom itself, upon which the framework of our State and General Government rests—a vast stride from civil, political, and religious freedom, towards tyranny and oppression. Our political fabric might remain Republican *in form*, but its foundations would be marred, and it would be a problem for solution,—how long it could survive, Republican in form, but tyrannical and oppressive in substance.

What, let us ask, has been the great, the stern, the mighty NECESSITY, which has arisen within the last two years, connected with the history of the United States, or the administration of its government and laws, for doing this great violence to civil and religious liberty, and for violating all the national pledges of good faith, under the guarantee of which some two or three millions of citizens are now naturalized among us?—What NECESSITY for resorting to the "right of revolution?"—What NECESSITY for "RUINING" the Whig and Democratic parties? What NECESSITY for a Know-Nothing party—or, as it is most falsely called, an American party—"*Lucus a non lucendo*" we suppose—a kind of "stealing the livery of heaven to serve the devil in?" What NECESSITY, we say, has there been for all this? Let us see. Two years since the Democratic party came into power, with a majority unheard of in any former presidential struggle. Clay and Webster, the great leaders of the Whig party, died about the same time; and the latter, on his dying-bed, proclaimed—"The Whig party is no more!" This immortal fiat was carried out—the Whig party dissolved its organization. A portion of sound, national, conservative Whigs remained true to their great principles,—"the mourners that went about the streets;" but the great mass at the North joined the factions or the ISMS of the day—the Free-soilers and the Abolitionists especially received powerful accessions to their ranks. Mr. PIERCE had done what Mr. Jefferson said he did,—"For every officer appointed, I made one lukewarm friend and a hundred violent enemies,"—and large defections from the Democratic ranks, North, South, East, and West, were the consequence. The Northern disappointed or disaffected Democrats, "and their name is legion," the Abolitionists, the Free-soilers, and a "more larger list" of factions, then cast about for some SCHEME to unite all these "odds and ends" together,—the outs against the ins,—and finding "Native Americanism" lying *derelict* by the wayside, they picked it up, revamped it, and, soon after, young, furious, rampant "KNOW-NOTHINGISM" suddenly made its appearance. * * * The genius of a horrid secrecy was invoked, the whole operations of the party were enveloped in a fearful mystery, which shunned alike the light of day and the arbitrament of reason. * * * The country, though in the full tide of successful, happy, and peaceful progress, was "frightened from its propriety" a year or two since by the almost simultaneous and ubiquitous appearance of this new, secret party, which sprung up, as it were from the earth, like a deadly miasm, and mildewed and blighted all within its reach that was national and conservative. CURIOSITY was excited, and this drew thousands within its fatal influence. Soon the cry was raised that this was an INVINCIBLE, NEW POWER, which, right or wrong, was to take possession of the offices and the treasury of the whole country, and to become the dispenser of their honors and emoluments to the *initiated;* and this drew other TEN THOUSANDS towards it. Out of this morbid state of things, and NOT out of any political or social NECESSITY whatever, has Know-Nothingism been developed.

It has swept the North like a sirocco, striking down, as we have already said, all national, sound, and conservative men, and playing the wildest antics. It spread to the South, too, and has produced some very strange political phenomena here.

* * * * * * * * *

If *necessary* (which we deny) to take measures to protect ourselves against foreigners and Catholics, there can be no *necessity* for the formation of a national party for the purpose; for our Government, our Congress, or our State Legislatures, are fully competent to take the necessary steps and adopt the requisite measures in this respect. Every municipal town has the power to exclude foreign "convicts and paupers"—the exodus from Ireland is now nearly over,—the surplus population of Europe (to a considerable extent) for the next five or ten years will probably be wanted as "food for powder" in the Crimea and elsewhere; and that "raw head and bloody bones," the Pope of Rome, so far from making himself "*our bery new Presidum,*" and assuming the temporal power of this ocean-bound and mountain-ribbed country of ours, is a prisoner at home to the French, and only able, by the help of French bayonets, to control the Republican sentiment in his own petty principality, so far as to exercise his disputed temporal rights over it.

But going one step farther, and admitting, for the sake of argument, that it was *necessary* to do something in regard to foreigners and Catholics, and even admitting there were some grounds for a *native* party, was it at all *necessary* to resort to that extraordinary step of forming a *secret*, *oath-bound* party, and to an impenetrable, hermetically sealed up *secrecy*,—a secrecy which finds no parallel except in the Society of Jesuits (of which Know-Nothingism appears to be a close imitation?)—to a secret *political* party, which also finds no parallel, except in the Jacobins of France, who led that unhappy country, through oceans of blood and crime, to anarchy and then to despotism; and all in the sacred, but desecrated name of liberty. * * *

Individuals, benevolent associations, party men, and senates, have, it is true, their secrets, and very properly so. * * * This is all very innocent secrecy, and as far removed from the kind and degree of secrecy of Know-Nothingism as "heaven from hell." The secrecy of this organization is that of Loyola, of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, and in ten thousand ways is dangerous to the liberties of American citizens!

But we are told the seal of secrecy has been removed. This is true only in part. A certain "platform" has been given us by the Southern wing of the Order, including two out of the sixteen free States. Members have been "*permitted*" to tell the name of the party, and each one for himself to declare his membership. But the secret councils are kept up—the lodges are held—the door of the wigwam is barred and bolted—the solemn oaths are still administered. Like the moon, we are sometimes "*permitted*" to see one side of it, the other is hidden from our sight; what may be there, we know not. When Know-Nothingism dissolves its councils and lodges, opens the doors of its wigwams wide enough for every one who wishes to come in, and be introduced to "Sam" without any oaths, other than all citizens have taken to the Constitution and the laws, then, and then only, this new-fangled party may claim that it is not a secret conspiracy, but an American party.

America is the land of all others where the largest amount of civil and religious liberty consistent with order exists. It is the asylum and the refuge of the oppressed and down-trodden of all nations, tribes, and kindreds of the whole earth. Such it was intended and declared to be by the patriots, the heroes, and the sages of the Revolution,—an intention and a declaration which has been sealed by the blood of thousands of martyrs. If we, the sons of those sires, have not degenerated, we will maintain this holy cause against all comers. We will not suffer the allegation that after the American Government had invited to her shores more than three millions of Europeans—after she had induced them by fair promises to come, as the Egyptians did the sons of Jacob,—after we had made "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of them,—after they had felled our forests, dug our canals, built our towns and constructed our roads, we should, like the same Egyptians, proscribe them, and deny them an equal participation in the benefits of citizenship. Heaven forbid!

Our early fathers were mostly driven to this then wilderness by religious intolerance. The Know-Nothings now propose to do a like thing by the Catholics. Shall we take this step backwards of two centuries or more? Shall we dim the lustre of our "stars and stripes" by such acts as these? Shades of our illustrious fathers, forbid it!

Viewing these matters, therefore, in the light now presented, we cannot perceive the least propriety, not to say NECESSITY, for the establishment or continuance of this new-fangled party. On the contrary, we look upon it as the Grecian horse sent us by the enemy to destroy us. It has already produced a war of races and religions at the South, the acerbity and violence of which far exceed all former party contests. "Divide and conquer" has always been a successful policy; and the North, in pursuance of this *policy*, have sent this firebrand among us. Let us hurl it indignantly back to its source. "Divide and conquer" is "a game two can play at." Let the Abolitionists quarrel, if they please, with foreigners and Catholics, then, if a conflict should come (and there is imminent danger of one) between the North and the South, and they ask our slave population to join with them, as they propose doing, we will invite the foreign born and Catholic citizens whom they may proscribe to join us, and play off our "Parias" against theirs. This, it appears to me, would at least be more wise than to go to weakening our forces by dividing them. Most of the foreigners and all the Catholics everywhere are sound on the slavery question. We say, therefore, LET THE SOUTH BE TRUE TO HERSELF AND REMAIN UNITED. We say, as Demosthenes did to the Athenians,—"*Why stand ye here inquiring the news from the enemy? Can there be greater news than that a Macedonian has made himself supreme arbiter of Greece?*" So with you; the PHILIP who threatens to subjugate you is here! The enemy you should fear is at your doors!

Beware of the Know-Nothing platform. It is a "whited sepulchre," and filled with rottenness, corruption, and fraud. In proof of this we cite two extracts only, others might be adduced. Section 2 of resolution 4 is in these words: "A tender and sacred regard for those acts of statesmanship which are to be contradistinguished from acts of ordinary legislation by the fact of their being of the nature of compacts," &c. This refers, of course, to the Missouri Compromise, and by necessary deduction to its restoration, and as a natural corollary to the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Resolution 12 has these words, after declaring the Know-Nothing party to have risen on the ruins of the Whig and Democratic ones: "And expressly pretermitting any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to *establish or prohibit slavery* in any territory, it is the sense," &c. A convention of all the Southern and only two Northern States, *pretermitting an expression of opinion* on the only open and practical question in connection with slavery, now distinguishing Freesoilers from national men, either of the Whig or Democratic party,—the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories! Our only wonder is, after considering these clauses, that Abolitionists withdrew from the Philadelphia "Grand Council." They should not have asked more in the beginning of this SAM-ISM from the veriest coward to be found south of Mason and Dixon's line. ANSON JONES.

WASHINGTON, July 28th, 1855.

[*Mem.*—In addition to the above I wrote upwards of fifty articles for the *Ranger* and other Texas newspapers, in opposition to "Know-Nothingism" and the various "*isms*" associated with it, omitting no opportunity to strike at the hydra which offered. For more than a year and a half I "slept in armor," and did not lay down my arms until treason to the Union and the Constitution was prostrated in the dust.]

[*From Committee of Travis.*]

AUSTIN, Sept. 28th, 1855.

Ex-President ANSON JONES:

SIR,—The undersigned have been appointed a committee to solicit the presence of distinguished Democrats at the mass meeting of the Democracy and others opposed to Know-Nothingism, which will assemble at the city of Austin on Friday the 2d and Saturday the 3d of November next, to celebrate the triumphs over a secret, political, proscriptive organization.

Recognizing you as a warm advocate of the constitutional rights and sovereignty of the States, of civil and religious liberty, and of equal rights to all our citizens, whether they be such by birth or choice, we do, in behalf of the Democracy of Texas, cordially invite you to be present at the time and place, and for the purposes above indicated.

We remain, with great respect,
G. W. PASCHAL, A. J. HAMILTON, T. S. ANDERSON,
JAS. WILLIE, A. W. TERRELL, R. N. LANE,
JOHN MARSHALL, W. S. OLDHAM, JOHN W. HARRIS,
S. O. SNEED, R. BROWNRIGG.

[*Reply.*]

BARRINGTON, near WASHINGTON, Oct. 27th, 1855.

GENTLEMEN,—Thanking you for your kind invitation to participate with the Democracy of Texas in celebrating the recent triumphs, and regretting that it will not be in my power to attend in person the proposed jubilee at Austin on the 2d and 3d prox., I beg leave to express to you in this, the only way permitted me, the assurance of my cordial approbation of the principles by which those triumphs have been effected over a secret organization, professing a new, startling, and, as I think, dangerous creed. To a true American, nothing human can be more hallowed or more dear than the Constitution of his country, and that civil and religious liberty and equality which it guarantees to every citizen, whether he is one by birth or choice. There is, therefore, great cause of rejoicing, not merely at the success of our party, but of these great constitutional principles, for which, in adversity or prosperity, the Democracy have uniformly contended and struggled, from the days of Federal "Alien and Sedition Laws" to the present time.

In addition it is no less gratifying to reflect that the recent triumphs in Maine, Pennsylvania, Indiana, &c., give strong assurance that the mad, foolish crusade of Abolition so fearfully reinforced last year and the year before, and so recklessly prosecuted, is about to be forever defeated by a cordial union of the Democracy, everywhere, North as well as South, and by that successful concert of effort and of action which such a union can alone secure. The morning of national deliverance from "ISMS" is breaking gloriously; the clouds of fanaticism and bigotry are fast disappearing from the political horizon of our country; and if the Democracy go on, as they are now doing, united and uniting, the patriotic heart of America will, in a little while, be relieved from the grievous load of doubt and fear, which, a few months since, oppressed it, and made to rejoice in a renewed hope that our glorious Constitution and Union having, finally, withstood every enemy they have or can have, and passed safely through the severe ordeal, are destined to be, as every patriot would desire, as lasting as time.

I remain, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obt. servt.,

ANSON JONES.

To Messrs. G. W. PASCHAL, JOHN MARSHALL, and others, Committee.

[*From the Ranger of August* 23, 1856.]

We surrender a large portion of our columns to-day to this able and patriotic paper, and our readers will miss our usual variety of matter. Dr. Jones enunciates bold truths on the subject of African slavery, and takes higher ground in its defence, as well as in that of Southern rights generally, than we recollect to have met with before from any of our statesmen. The whole speech is replete with national and patriotic sentiments, and will be read with interest, we presume, by men of all parties, and of every section of the country.

SPEECH OF EX-PRESIDENT ANSON JONES,

Delivered at a Mass Meeting of the Citizens of Washington County, held at the Town of Washington, July 29th, 1856.

Fellow-Citizens! Ladies and Gentlemen!—Since I received notice of a desire, on the part of some of my friends, that I should address you on this occasion, I have suffered from ill health to a degree that I have been unable to make such preparation for this purpose as I could have wished, and as was due to you that I should have done. I therefore owe an apology, which I now beg permission to make in advance for my short-comings, and must ask you, in view of these, to take the will for the deed. Perhaps you would more readily have forgiven me, had I come to the conclusion to decline speaking altogether, leaving this duty to others more competent, and better prepared than myself; but I disliked to make a promise, as I had done, and fail of performance, however lame that performance might be; and then I felt it a duty to say something an this occasion, so fraught with deep interest to the welfare of our common country, yours and mine. I feel honored by the attendance of so large and respectable an audience, composed of the intelligence, the chivalry, and the beauty of Old Washington and its vicinity, and, in all humility, regret that I shall be wholly unable to meet their reasonable and just expectations. I must solicit your patience, (that of the ladies especially, whom I am most happy to see here gracing this occasion,) while I attempt to discuss some dry and hackneyed political subjects; and as I shall not essay either the graces of oratory, or any flights of fancy, I must pray you, in the language of Brutus, to "hear me for my cause."

Twenty-one years ago, on a morning like this, a meeting of the citizens of a neighboring county took place, in almost all external respects, and under apparent circumstances, quite the reverse of those under which we have met here to-day. The question they had assembled to discuss too, though not a less important one, was widely different from that which now claims your attention, and demands your decision. *We* have met here to discuss the means, and to adopt resolves, which we hope will aid to preserve, under God, the existing union of these States. *They* met to consider the question of separation, and the establishment of an independent existence, or rather the preservation of their existence, then threatened by Mexico. At the call of my friends, and impelled by a sense of duty, it was my fortune to offer some resolutions, and to address a few words of well-considered argument and counsel to my fellow-citizens on that occasion,—it being the first, as well as the last, time I have ever made them a public speech on political subjects. In response to a similar call, and actuated by a similar sense of duty, I appear before you to-day for a similar purpose. Before I proceed with the consideration of matters which are engrossing your thoughts at this moment, I trust I may be pardoned for giving a short account of the circumstances and objects of the meeting to which I have alluded, and for attempting to draw, very briefly, a parallel, or rather a contrast, for in most respects it is a very striking contrast between that and the present one, as either to the older citizens, who are familiar with the events, or to the younger ones who are not thus familiar, I trust the subject will not be without interest.

Twenty-one years ago, at Columbia, in the good old county of Brazoria, the Mecklenberg of Texas—the cradle of liberty, as she has been appropriately called—a mass meeting of her citizens was assembled, to consider the propriety of making a Declaration of Independence, and separating from the parent Government of Mexico. That meeting took place under the most gloomy and discouraging circumstances, and consisted only of about thirty persons, and these very much divided in their views of what was most proper to be done in the crisis then existing. The whole permanent white population of Texas, at that time, scarcely exceeded twenty thousand persons of all ages, and of both sexes, and this small number was thinly scattered over a vast extent of country, with very little means of communication with each other, almost without money, or credit, or resources, or arms, or munitions of war, and surrounded on all sides, and perpetually harassed, by savage enemies. Mexico, with a population of over eight millions, having closed the door, as many of us believed, against reconciliation, had marshalled an army on the other side of the Rio Grande, and was about to offer us the stern alternative of absolute submission, or the sword of extermination. Never perhaps in the history of the world did a little handful of men come together under circumstances of greater gloom and peril, or have to determine a question of graver personal and political interest. As I have remarked, the meeting was very much divided in opinion; some were for trying pacific measures once more, others for taking no *present* action at all, believing, or rather hoping, the rumors of Mexican invasion were unfounded; and again others, of which I was one, who thought that as we had but the alternative of unconditional submission or war, it was best to take a decided position, and prepare to fight it out. I drew up and submitted, as the organ of a committee, a preamble, and a series of resolutions, recapitulating the outrages which Mexico had perpetrated, and was about to perpetrate upon us, and recommending to the people of Texas an immediate Declaration of Independence, and the call of a convention to frame a constitution, and establish a Provisional Government for the Republic, until the one to be chosen, under a new constitution, could be put in operation. As they are short, I will, by your permission, read these resolutions. After a recital, in the preamble, of the wrongs which had been perpetrated by Mexico, particularly the numerous violations of our "State Rights," and the "centering all power in the city of Mexico," it was resolved as follows:

1st. That it is our opinion, and we therefore recommend to the people of Texas, of the different jurisdictions, the expediency of calling a new Convention of Texas, with radical powers, and at an early day, to declare to the world the grounds upon which we will act, and to make such other arrangements as may be necessary for our protection as a people.

2d. That the time has now arrived when it is necessary to declare the TOTAL AND ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS, and that the people are at liberty to establish such form of government as in their opinion may be necessary to promote their prosperity, and that a call be made upon the Governor and Council to order writs of election to issue for elections to be held for members, as early in January next as practicable, and the Convention to meet on or before the 1st of March ensuing.

The two remaining resolutions required that the Governor should apportion the representation, and that the Convention should form a Constitution for the new Republic, and submit it to the people.

The question on these resolutions was debated throughout the whole day, every individual present expressing his assent or dissent to the propositions, and his reasons therefor. As there appeared a large minority adverse to them, and as it was urged the county was not fully represented in the meeting, the question was not pressed to a vote, but it was concluded to let the preamble and resolutions be signed by those who agreed in the views and purposes therein expressed, and go to the country as the voice of the individuals so signing them. Some fifteen or twenty signed them on the spot, and copies being circulated for other signatures, we were enabled, in the course of two or three days, to put the paper forth to the country with the sanction of thirty-five names; thus throwing defiance at the "magnanimous Mexican nation" at the risk of our necks, for we well knew what the consequences would be to the signers of that paper, if we should fall into the hands of the enemy.

I am happy to see the county of Brazoria represented here to-day by the distinguished gentleman I now have in my eye, Col. Wm. G. Hill, who was an active and efficient co-laborer with us about the same period, in the cause of independence, and who is personally cognizant of the circumstances I am now relating.

These resolutions were the first passed in Texas on the subject, and controlled the destiny of the country. The Governor and Council acted in accordance with their recommendations in every particular. A Convention was called, which met in the town of Washington here, on the 1st of March, within only a few yards of the spot where we are now assembled. A Declaration of Independence was formally made on the 2d; a Constitution adopted about two weeks afterwards, and a Provisional Government duly inaugurated. The subsequent events are too well known to need only a slight reference. Suffice it to say, Texas, after a ten years' struggle, succeeded in wresting an acknowledgment of her independence from Mexico; and, by a wise and judicious diplomacy, on the part of the former, the United States were made *more than glad* to add her bright solitary star to their own glorious constellation, almost doubling thereby their original territorial limits, and subsequently to superadd, as a natural sequence, one half of Mexico, and all the gold of California.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, were the circumstances, such the acts, and such the ultimate results of the little meeting to which I have alluded. How different the circumstances under which we are assembled to-day! Texas, enjoying profound peace, her population increased from a mere handful to over half a million; her broad territory dotted with thriving cities, towns, and plantations; the hum of happy and prosperous industry heard in all her borders; her national debt paid in full; her treasury overflowing; a peerless domain of one hundred millions of acres of land at her disposal, and herself a component part of the mightiest and the freest nation on earth—a nation of twenty-eight millions of inhabitants, of more than three millions of square miles of territory, extending from ocean to ocean, and vieing with the most renowned nations of ancient or modern times in arts and arms, in science and civilization, whose commerce whitens every sea, and the feet of whose citizens tread proudly the soil of every clime. Our form of government is the most perfect ever invented, or enjoyed by man, and leaves us nothing, in this respect, to ask for more. We are, literally, "sitting under our own vine and fig-tree, and there is none to molest or make us afraid." But I need not pursue the contrast between the meeting of 1835 and this happy reunion to-day any further; your own thoughts will fill up the picture.

I should be happy, if my sense of duty and my obligations to those who have invited me to address you to-day would permit me, to conclude by congratulating you upon the prosperous circumstances by which we are surrounded, and leaving you to the pleasing anticipations for the future, which those circumstances would seem so abundantly to authorize. But this I cannot do. Widely different as was the state of things which attended the meeting in 1835 from those which surround us now,—*that* looking forward with doubt and fear to a perilous struggle amid the stern concomitants of adversity, and suffering, and war; *this* in possession of assured peace, prosperity, and happiness,—still I think that we, as a component part of the great American family of States, have a no less important question to decide *now*, than the little meeting in Brazoria county were called upon to determine then,—one the result of which will be no less significant for weal or woe to the United States, than was the question of "submission or extermination" to Texas; no less a question, indeed, than the preservation or the destruction of our glorious Union. Did I not, honestly and sincerely, believe this, I should not be found occupying this stand to-day. Nothing but a sense of impending danger to the country, strong and assured as that which I felt when I addressed my fellow-citizens in 1835, would have called me from the profound retirement I have sought and enjoyed since 1846, to engage in the unusual and uncongenial occupation of public speaking, for which I am qualified neither by habit nor inclination. But I could not be indifferent, consequently was unwilling to remain silent. I ask your kind attention a little while, premising that I shall offer to this enlightened and refined audience nothing but my sincere and heartfelt convictions, and the reasons upon which those convictions have been formed; and that I shall make no statement of fact which I do not believe to be strictly true, and which is not supported by evidence of the most reliable kind. It is not my purpose to say a single word which can hurt the just sensibilities of any individual of any sect or party in this vast assemblage. Should I fail in this intention by a too zealous advocacy of what I consider the truth, I beg to pray in advance, "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." I feel bound to speak plainly, but would not wish to speak harshly. I will not insult this presence by supposing there is an Abolitionist within the sound of my voice; indeed, like certain reptiles that cannot live in a pure air, I do not suppose one could breathe the atmosphere of old Washington county and survive. But if there be one, I give him notice that I devoutly *believe* an Abolitionist must of necessity be either a knave or a fool; that the former, I think, should be hung for high treason to the constitution; for the latter I have the authority of Scripture in saying, "A rod for the fool's back;" and I shall not spare either him or his mischievous, meddling, whining, fanatical, hypocritical clan,—for,

for these "I'd put a whip in the hands of every honest man, to lash the scoundrels naked through the world."

I would further premise, that the Democratic party are in no respect responsible for any opinion I may express here to-day, for I do not speak as the *organ* of any party, having no authority to do so; nor do I propose to discuss local and temporary or ephemeral issues. I was born and raised a Democrat of the "strictest sect," and have been one all my life; and if further voucher be demanded for my political faith, I am able to present an unbroken line of Democratic ancestry of more than two hundred years, dating back, through five successive generations, to John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, with *both* of whom I am allied by consanguinity. I am a Democrat, therefore, by the obligations which ancestral history and birth impose, as well as by the convictions of my mind and judgment, though not unaware that many errors are committed in its name. I trust that in the inferior and personal view of the matter, this will be sufficient to "define my position."

I have said I believed the Union to be in danger, and I believe the next three months will determine the question whether it can be maintained in its integrity and usefulness or not. I do not mean there is danger of its being broken to pieces in three months or three years, but that we shall be made to understand whether it can be successfully maintained for any length of time or not. At present, as has been said already, the country, in all its departments, is eminently prosperous and happy; we are now riding on the very topmost wave of good fortune as a nation. But physiologists tell us, and tell us truly, that the most perfect health borders closely upon disease; that the full pulse and all the strong powers of the system, when perverted, their energies all go at once to feed the fatal fire of the fever which is destined to consume it. Nations, too, as well as individuals, decline and go to ruin under the influence of sudden and too great prosperity, which they have not the wisdom or the ability to bear successfully.

> "Like ships that have gone down at sea,
> When Heaven was all tranquillity.

Something akin to these things are now producing their fearful effects in these United States,—high health is threatening consequent disease; the very wantonness of an unparalleled prosperity (every cloud of foreign war being dispelled) is leading to acts of folly, and extravagance, and madness, which threatens that prosperity with a sudden and a disastrous reverse. These must soon be checked, or the temple of our freedom and of our Union will be destroyed, like that of the ancient Israelites, and we ourselves subjected to a worse fate than Babylonish captivity. There are points of time in the history of empires, single acts of virtue or of vice, of wisdom or of folly, from which the nation achieving them dates long years, perhaps ages, of successful progress, or of disastrous decadence: crises in national affairs from which the historian counts the commencement of a successful or disastrous career, and its consequences for good or evil. We have now reached such a point; and it is of incalculable importance we should consider it well, and determine upon it wisely.

What do we now behold! For the first time, during the existence of our Federal Union, oblivious or contemptuous of Washington's solemn warnings, has a great and predominant sectional party been formed upon purely sectional issues, and made nominations for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic, both from one section, by a convention of the Northern States; and a presiding officer of the popular branch of the national Legislature been elected exclusively by Northern votes, upon an issue purely sectional,—that is, upon the question of slavery. Those who can look at these things, and not see and feel that there is danger, are gifted with an obtuseness of no ordinary character. We may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace in this state of things, but war, and ruin, and desolation, to the North and to the South; to the East and to the West, if this party longer succeed. Their purpose is avowed; "Rule or ruin" is their watchword. "*Delenda est Carthago*" is inscribed upon their banners,—the banners of Black Republicanism,—as against slavery, and either it or the Constitution must fall. There are, with them, but the two alternatives, and either result is a destruction of the Union. "Kansas" is the pretence,—"Disunion" the object and intended result. Of this no sane man need doubt for a moment, however it may be denied. The Coryphæi of this suicidal party, the ringleaders in it, are English Abolitionists. This movement started in England, and its head-quarters are at Exeter Hall in London. The trestle-board of the party is in that den of fanaticism and mischief and individual hatred to the United States, and it is there that all the working designs are drawn, and from there they are sent to the Abolition operatives in our Northern States to be carried into execution by our own native-born citizens. The East India Company, with its one hundred and thirty millions of slaves, smiles with great self-complacency at a scheme which, if successful, will inure so largely to the benefit of that giant corporation; while English Abolitionists are glad, thus profitably and easily, to

> "Compound for acts they are inclined to,
> By damning those they have no mind to."

Opposed to this great sectional party, which has, like the rod of Aaron, swallowed up the Northern factions, Know-Nothingism included, stands the great national, American Democratic party, dominant at the South, and fast recovering its strength at the North, under the influence of the "sober second thought of the people," and the sound, constitutional principles it has inscribed upon its banners, the principles taught and practised by Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson. The issue is thus made up between the friends and the enemies of the Union, and the *ides* of November next are to decide it. The question, therefore, which forces itself upon us to-day is the preservation or the destruction of the Union. "To this complexion it has come at last," and it is useless, nay, it is worse than useless, it is criminal, to attempt to disguise it. It is an open, patent, avowed fact, and "he who runs may read it" everywhere and all around him.

It is hardly worth while for us to enter into any speculations about the value of the Union, or about its relative worth to this or that section of the country. If we should essay to reckon its value by its cost, who is bold or skilful enough to estimate the toils, the sorrows, the sufferings, and the sacrifices by which it was purchased and obtained? Who can count the tears, or weigh the blood shed in the struggle of Independence by our ancestors, and tell us their worth in dollars and cents? Will any one undertake the task? If we estimate its value by the countless blessings it has conferred upon America and the world, what arithmetic will serve for the solution of such an infinite problem? If we should calculate it in reference to the benefits its perpetuation will confer upon our country and upon mankind, whose *imagination* is capable of grasping a perception of the high and beneficent destinies it is yet to achieve, in completely demonstrating the great fact that man is capable of self-government, and in the development of a future empire, embracing this whole continent,—an empire infinitely excelling ancient Rome, even in the plenitude of its mighty power,—the home of untold millions of happy and prosperous inhabitants,—giving out the sublime assurance to the hopes of the world that the influences of her example and her sympathies shall lead the way to its regeneration, and to the destruction of those false systems of arbitrary government under which mankind have so long suffered, and inaugurate the glorious period, when

> "Prone to the dust oppression shall be hurl'd,
> Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world."

Figures would fail—language fails in any attempt to estimate or portray the measureless value of the Union, viewed in reference either to the past, the present, or the future. It is to the political and social world of America what the sun is to the natural one: strike either out of existence, hopeless, rayless darkness would follow, and "chaos come again."

It is idle to suppose there can be a peaceful dissolution of the Union, or that two republics only would be formed out of the present territory. Whenever the Union is broken, there will be an explosion which will shatter it into a hundred fragments, which, though some of them might be stuck together, could never be again united. It will not, it cannot be otherwise than a violent disruption. Then, when it happens, and as the country travels down through the horrors of anarchy to those of despotism—

> "A curse shall light upon the limbs of men,
> Domestic fury and fierce civil strife
> Shall cumber all the parts of this fair land;

Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quartered by the hands of war;
All pity choked with custom of foul deeds,
The country's spirit ranging for revenge,
With Ate by her side come hot from hell,
Shall, in these confines, with a monarch's voice,
Cry Havoc! and let slip the dogs of war,—
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
With carrion men groaning for burial."

This prediction is indeed a gloomy, a horrid one; but the poet has not overwrought the picture which our broken and dishonored Union would present. *Who* would suffer most, where *all* would suffer so much in the internecine war which would attend and follow a dissolution of the American Union, it would be worse than idle to inquire. No lover of America, no friend of freedom here or elsewhere, would wish to dwell upon such a matter long enough to inquire. For one, I would sooner see the continent swallowed up by some convulsion of nature, than to see our Union broken, and its dishonored fragments scattered in the dust, the scoff and derision of its enemies, the shame and sorrow of its friends. No! it were

"Better to sink amid the shock,
Than perish piecemeal on the rock."

No! let the gallant old ship go down at sea, and be swallowed up in its depth of waters, rather than be thus dishonored. Better than for it to be destroyed in some disgraceful, fanatical, abolition brawl, far better

"Nail to the mast our holy flag,
Set every spreading sail,
And give her to the God of storms,
The lightning and the gale!"

But I trust the good sense of the people of America will prevent any such alternatives being forced upon us, and that the Union, notwithstanding the evils which now surround and so seriously menace it, will continue to be preserved, and in peace. As Texans, we feel a peculiar interest in it; we recognize its value, and the countless benefits it confers on all its citizens; we recollect that it was our forefathers who helped to establish it, and we have besides the vivid recollection of a ten years' struggle with Mexico preparatory to our admission into it. I believe the people of Texas will ever be found loyal to the Constitution and the Union, and that, as they had to fight pretty hard, and a good while, in order to be received into the family of American States, they are not going to leave it soon if they can help doing so; and they do not intend to see the family compact broken up if in their power to avoid it.

But I need not, ladies and gentlemen, detain you longer on this subject. I take it for granted you are all in favor of a preservation of the Union, and it is unnecessary to argue the question at this time. I will therefore turn to that more important, that vital question—*By what means shall we best preserve this Union from the destructive designs of its enemies?* This is the one great question which now presses itself upon your attention to-day, and upon that of every national conservative man of every sect and party, and *demands*, in urgent tones, your and their decision.

Our duty, and the duty of all patriotic men, may be summed up in three words. The enemies of the Union have acted, and are now acting, upon the old, long-practised, and too often fatally successful policy of "Divide and conquer." We must reverse this, and act upon the better principle of "*Combine and conquer.*" If we will faithfully do this, we shall have nothing to fear. *Will we do it?* That is the great practical question of the present moment, and upon its decision hangs the result of the mighty contest soon to be determined between the two opposing parties in the country,—the issue of the elemental strife between lawless anarchy and constitutional order.

We want no compromises with Abolitionism—we will submit to none. We want a final and decisive settlement of the whole question now and forever—a "finality." Let all national men unite, and this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, can be now safely effected. Abolitionism has tendered its fanatic, insane issue, in substantive form, to the country; the Democracy have gladly accepted it, and are now marshalling their armies for the battle. This is the auspicious moment in our national existence, which, if we properly use, we may confidently look forward to another eighty years of glory and prosperity, far exceeding the eighty we have already enjoyed, as well as to a triumphant future beyond them. If we neglect, or make an unwise and improper use of it, I know not what evils we shall not deserve for our wickedness and folly, or what countless disasters may result. For,

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> *Omitted*, all the voyage of their life
> Abounds with shallows and uncertainties.
> On such a full sea are we now afloat,
> And we must take the current when it serves,
> Or lose our ventures."

"Union for the sake of the Union," must be our watchword. The result will be no mere party triumph; it will be a triumph of all patriotic parties,—a national triumph—a triumph of the Constitution.

The skilful mariner, in the conduct of his vessel looks to his sea-chart as his main reliance for safety and success. So must the statesman look, under all circumstances, to the Constitution as his sole and only guide. Any departure from its letter or spirit, even the least, would be criminal, and might prove most disastrous. In 1820, when the ship of state got among the rocks and quicksands of the Missouri question, *expediency* was resorted to, and the Constitution was violated for the purpose of satisfying a mutinous crew, and the vessel herself moored on the shifting and treacherous quicksands of the Missouri Compromise, where she remained in constant jeopardy for thirty-four years, surrounded by rocks upon which she has, once and again, been in danger of being dashed to pieces, while she has been constantly agitated by a "ground swell," which kept every one in alarm for her safety. Two years since, by the wisdom and energy of the Democracy, this great error was rectified, and the vessel taken from its dangerous position and boldly carried out into the deep water of constitutional truth, where she is now gallantly riding, with the stars and stripes at her mast-head. For this proud and glorious achievement of stout hearts and strong arms, Abolitionism sent up one loud, long, continual howl of demoniac madness, from Passamaquaddy Bay to Puget's Sound; and the Missouri Compromise, which had always been "spit upon," and for thirty-four years denounced by them as a corrupt and infamous bargain between Southern slaveholders and Northern "dough-faces," and which they refused to recognize or extend, became all at once canonized by them as the "*solemn league and covenant;*" and its palinode was chanted by a chorus of 3,050 black-robed and black-hearted priests, "the vicegerents of God upon earth," as they were admiringly termed by a Texas senator.

The author and supporters of the Kansas-Nebraska act have been accused of bringing this storm of abolition excitement upon us,—of having opened the flood-gates of agitation and brought in this deluge of "Isms." Those who think this is so, see but a single link in the great chain of causes and effects, and the nearest one at that; and they also mistake the cause for the effect. I have no time to examine this question at length now; but will simply observe that the causes of this agitation lie some distance beyond the Kansas-Nebraska act and the compromises of 1850. Without reverting to the unconstitutional legislation of 1820, if I were to fix upon any one act, and any one point of time from which to derive and date the origin of the present excitement, I would take the incorporation of the Wilmot proviso upon the Oregon bill—the rejection of the amendments to that bill recognizing and extending the Missouri Compromise, and the final passage of that bill, with its objectionable features, by the defection of Southern members of Congress, as the true one. It was then that national men at the North were betrayed and discouraged, and began to be struck down at home by this alarming desertion from the South, in whose behalf they were battling so manfully. It was then, in prophetic view of what was to be their fate, that one of those men, Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, "the noblest Roman of them all," expressed his and their feelings by the following beautiful quotation from the poet. "*So*," said Mr. Dickinson,

"*So*, the struck eagle, wounded on the plain,
No more through rolling clouds shall soar again;
Viewed his *own feather* on the fatal dart
That winged the shaft that quivered in his heart.

> Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel,
> *He nursed the pinion* which impelled the steel,
> While the same plumage which had warmed his nest,
> Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."

At the Baltimore Convention, too, about the same time, there had been defection of the same Southern men in voting to admit the Free-soilers to fellowship. It was this *defection* of Southern men which overthrew our friends at the North, renewed the hopes, and gave vitality and power to the Abolition party. The Kansas-Nebraska act is an effect, not a cause of this vitality and power. It is used as a pretence and means of excitement at the North, but the *true cause* lies deeper and farther off. The passage of the Wilmot Proviso was an abuse of the principles of the Constitution, and the South was violently excited by it, in view of being thereby excluded from every foot of the vast territory just then acquired from Mexico; a reformation of this abuse was demanded, and *this* made *necessary* the Compromise acts of 1850, and their legitimate corollary, the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854. This reformation has been attended with excitement, as *all* great reformations in the world have been. For when the Son of God came to reform the world from idolatry and Jewish superstition, there was excitement; he was scourged and executed on the cross, and his disciples stoned to death, or otherwise slain as "pestilent fellows." So when Luther, Melancthon and Zuinglius attempted the reformation on the continent of Europe, there was excitement, and they were either killed or had to conceal themselves to avoid death; and in England, when Cranmer, and Ridley, and others attempted the reformation there, there was excitement which bound them to the stake, and applied the fagot and the flame of martyrdom; and so of a thousand other reformations.

But the blame of excitement in the case now under our consideration, as then, should properly be applied to the *abuse* as the true *cause*, *not* to its *reformation*. The South was betrayed in 1848 at the Baltimore Convention, and more especially in the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, by her Judas Iscariots. I thought and said so *then*, and I have thought and said so ever since, as many here will witness for me, and as my writings will prove. It was the most wicked and fatal blow the South ever received—that the *country* ever received; for the North as well as the South has felt the evil ever since, and we are *now* feeling it in the present alarming condition of our national affairs. The South was betrayed too on the Kansas-Nebraska bill by the defection of the same Southern men. There is consolation, however, in these two reflections; first, that these Judases have miserably failed in obtaining their thirty "pieces of silver," receiving nothing but lasting ignominy and "reprobation," under the gnawings of that worm that never dies; and secondly, that we now have strong and assured hopes the Union will survive *their treason.*

But, notwithstanding this excitement, the Constitution of the country *has* been vindicated and justified. A return to its pure and simple teachings was our only course, our only security, our only hope. It is the "Ark" of our political safety; it should be our reliance in storm and in sunshine, and we should learn to cherish it with more than Eastern or Jewish devotion. The principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act are *right;* they are the *true constitutional ones.* They are older than the Constitution—they underlie the very foundation of all free government, and were asserted on the "Mayflower" before she landed her immigrants on the rock of Plymouth,—and wherever else in the colonies of America "men knew their rights, and knowing, dared maintain them." The conviction of this truth is every day forcing itself upon the minds and consciences of men everywhere, in spite of an Abolition press and an Abolition pulpit. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act is destined to mark an important, and, I trust, a happy epoch in American affairs, and to take its stand alongside of Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. All honor to Stephen A. Douglas and his worthy coadjutors.

The present strife in Kansas is much to be deplored; it is a natural consequence of a long series of Abolition outrages; but it has been chiefly brought about by the interference of Northern Legislatures under the control of Abolitionists, and by powerful and wealthy corporations chartered by them. To this strife however, Texas, as a Southern State, cannot be indifferent,—her duty to her Southern sisters will not allow her to be indifferent. There are, also, considerations of pressing *interest* to her, arising from her local position. Kansas is, or will be, coterminous with Texas for about two hundred miles; and we are thereby reminded that we have prospectively the same interest in the question of slavery there that the people of Missouri have, whose territory is coterminous for about the same distance; and it consequently behooves us, from considerations of both duty and interest, to aid our brethren in Kansas by every proper means within our power.

The Black Republican party rely, mainly, for success in the approaching contest, upon opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and *this* is the issue they tender to the great national party of the United States. The wild and wicked desperation manifested in the various measures this party have adopted recently, both in and out of Congress, in bold violation of the Constitution, of the laws, and of the most sacred rights of the Southern States of our confederacy—measures revolutionary in their character and tending directly, if permitted to be carried out, to a destruction of the Union,—savor of party weakness almost as much as they do of party blindness and corruption. There is comfort for us in these acts of suicidal madness, and may we not hope the ancient and renowned saying will apply to them, that "whom God wills to destroy, he first makes mad." *I believe this is so.* We, certainly, *have* them now, where, if we will, we *can*, to use a nautical phrase, "rake them fore and aft," and most effectually. And if the strife between us and abolitionism MUST be referred to a violent arbitrament, to a "bloody issue," the contest had better come *now* than at any future time. It will be a fierce one; but it will be short and decisive, and the victory, as we might justly hope, will be to the friends of the Union and the Constitution. The South has right, justice, law, the Constitution, and the active co-operation of all Union-loving men, everywhere, on her side; and if with these and her own determined will and power to resist wrong and oppression, she cannot conquer this growing fanaticism, *she cannot fall one moment too soon.* She must rid herself, one way or the other, of this wretched, this unholy strife and agitation. She owes this to herself as well as to the Union, which cannot be preserved by unmanly hesitation or unwise concession; and if she wavers or falters now, she will be most false and treacherous both to the Union and to herself. The issue is forced upon her by Black Republicanism, which now combines all the isms; and every consideration of honor, duty, patriotism, and interest requires her to meet it with a determined, unshrinking resolution, and to achieve a final settlement of the question, "peaceably if she *can*,—forcibly if she MUST."

[I use the term Black Republicanism as synonymous with abolitionism, which I consider essentially the same; for abolitionism has the predominant control in the Black Republican party, notwithstanding the latter has, for politic purposes, delusively and temporarily, divested itself of its ultraisms. Whatever nice distinctions may be drawn and maintained between them at the North, the South must regard both, separate or united, as her deadly and implacable enemies,—the Black Republican being the more covert, and therefore the more dangerous, of the two.]

The nominee of this party for the Presidency is a renegade southerner, envious of the fame of Benedict Arnold, by the name of Fremont, who was court-martialled and ordered to be dismissed from the army, who misled and lost a party of men in the Rocky Mountains in 1849, and cruelly and meanly left them to perish in the snow of cold and starvation, while he escaped himself;—"eat dog," as he says, and a good deal of it, as I should think,—botanized in Utah and found a species of "Jimson" or some other weed, which he modestly called "Fremontia," —got to California and secured a grant of land, with which he has humbugged certain people,—intrigued with bogus Governor Robinson, got to Congress, where he wound up an imbecile and inefficient career of a few weeks, by a fist-fight with a brother member. If he has any celebrity at all, it is for his horsemanship, in which he is said to have performed some extraordinary feats, and such as might recommend him to the manager of a circus or hippodrome, but hardly to the Presidency. He is now essaying the difficult exploit of riding on two nags at once —one foot on the "woolly-horse" of abolitionism," the other on the wild American colt 'Sam,'"—that is, he is running for office with one foot square on the Black Republican platform, as he has assured the committee of that party, and the other square on the American platform, as he assured the delegations from that party.

The nominee for the Vice Presidency is a Jersey lawyer by the name of Dayton, a Whig Abolitionist, who distinguished himself somewhat in 1850 in opposition to Mr. Clay and the compromise measures of that year.

Of such nominees, personally speaking and without reference to their abolition principles, it may truly and emphatically be said

—— "Non tali auxilio,
Non defensoribus istis, tempus eget."

It is no time for ignorance and imbecility and inexperience now when the storm is *up* :—

"When smooth old ocean and each storm's asleep,
Then ignorance may plough the watery deep;
But when the demons of the tempest rave,
Skill must conduct the vessel through the wave."

Were it not for the astonishing fact that, through the instrumentality of a new element recently introduced into the politics of the country, this party now holds predominant power in the popular branch of the Congress of the United States, by a majority of the representatives chosen by the people, this whole matter—platform, nominations, "shrieks for freedom," bogus governors, senators and legislature, Topeka Constitution, Sumner's head, Kansas riot manufactories and Kansas investigating committee—would certainly seem, to the mind of any reflecting, sober, candid, unprejudiced man, the sheerest farce in the world. It is undoubtedly an exhibition of folly and fanaticism quite unworthy the intelligence and common sense of the nineteenth century, and would have disgraced the darkest of the dark ages. It combines all that is foul in politics and false in philanthropy, with the utmost extravagance and folly of fanaticism. I trust, however, these ridiculous excesses have attained their point of culmination, and that matters have reached their *worst ;* from which, according to a homely adage, they "always begin to mend."

Agitation, senseless agitation, useless, pernicious agitation—*any* kind of agitation, is the object—*any* thing to keep the minds and passions of men and women excited. Falsehoods, innumerable falsehoods are constantly circulated—tongues and hands and types—imaginations, magnetism, and the lightning are all pressed into the service; and modest, humble truth is altogether banished from sight. In Congress, *agitation* is the "special order" for every day in the year, to the neglect or abandonment of the legitimate business of the country. *No human being* is benefited by this agitation—not even the *negro*, the staple of the Abolition party. They would not liberate him if they could. *Power* is what they are seeking, and discord which shall make disunion acceptable to the South, and drive her to acts which must result in a separation. They have succeeded in producing discord—a discord which cannot continue many years longer without producing its intended, its legitimate effect.

It is time that this wicked, this miserable agitation should cease, and I hope soon to hear the voice of an indignant public opinion commanding it in no doubtful or feeble tones to cease, and forever; saying to it, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." I have the most assured confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the American people, and do not permit myself to doubt they will rebuke this crusade of abolition folly and madness in November next. How *effectually* they will do it remains to be seen.

Our country, America, is physically *great*,—having great destinies to achieve and high duties to perform,—and her government and policy were founded by master minds on *great* ideas,—high as her mountains, deep as her oceans and seas, broad as her forests and her prairies,—embracing the whole family of mankind, offering a home and an asylum to the virtuous and oppressed of all nations, no fetters being placed upon the minds or consciences of any. It will not be in the power of any party to succeed in dwarfing these ideas; they *cannot* be dwarfed. They are so interwoven with the very structure of our social and political system that it will be impossible to dwarf them. We stand upon a platform which does not seek to do it—a platform of constitutional and administrative principles *broad* enough and *strong* enough for the *whole* country, East, West, North, and South, to stand upon *harmoniously*, and to stand upon *securely*. It has been tried too, and, thank God, every State *did* so stand upon it at Cincinnati. It is a true, full, and perfect exposition of the heretofore disputed points in the Constitution, and of our foreign and domestic policy—a second "MAGNA CHARTA," a new "BILL OF RIGHTS," securing the sacred immunities of all the States and Territories of the Union.

The nominees of the Democratic party are entirely unobjectionable. The opponents of Mr. Buchanan admit this, when they have had to go back a little over forty-one years to a Fourth of July speech of his made in his youth, for matter of accusation. I have read this speech recently, and the gravamen of the charge, so far as it is sustained by this youthful effort, appears to be that Mr. Buchanan thought the Administration had gone into the war with England without due preparation, and had not prosecuted it with suitable vigor. "The very head and front of his offence hath this extent; no more." Our statute of limitations would bar all such charges many times over; but we have an offset, and will not plead the statute. Mr. Buchanan shouldered his musket, and went to the defence of Baltimore in the war of 1812, which abundantly satisfies this debt, and far more than compensates for any errors of opinion which he might have imbibed from those who influenced or controlled his earlier judgment, and which he soon after regretted and abandoned. The charges about ten cents a day for labor, and about his letting out his democratic blood, everybody knows, who knows any thing about the matter, that these were *sheer falsehoods;* for ever since he has been on the stage of public life he has been an unwavering Democrat, and the constant, persevering, and efficient friend of the laboring man and the mechanic. Mr. Buchanan stands before the country with a clean national record of a long life of usefulness and devotion to the service of the country—the *very* man for the times—honest, experienced, able, sound, safe, and conservative—a Chevalier Bayard, without blame and without reproach. I speak this from a personal knowledge, derived from a personal acquaintance with him of more than thirty years' standing. He is to the Democracy what Pennsylvania always has been to the Union, the keystone of the arch, and it is due to that good old State that her favorite son should be elected.

Of Mr. Breckenridge, the candidate for the Vice Presidency, it is wholly unnecessary to speak to a Southern audience,—all admit his worth, his soundness, and his ability, and his eminent fitness for the office.

I hear the charge of "squatter sovereignty" brought against the platform and its nominees; but I have searched carefully for it, and can nowhere find it in the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention, which have been received by the nominees in the spirit in which they were tendered. Those who can find it there, I think, must have taken the advice of the satirist, to "get thee glass eyes, and, like a scurvy politician, seem to see the things which are not." Squatter sovereignty is a cant phrase, used very flippantly by small politicians, not one in a hundred of whom attach any definite meaning to it, and about the theory of which, I venture to say, no two in a thousand entertain the same opinion. For one, I incline to the belief that the phrase has very little significancy or application at present, the principle to which it refers having been properly settled in Congress, (as far as it may so be done by legislation,) two years since. Many years ago a class of people rendered the name of squatter odious by removing to the far West, occupying other people's land, destroying their timber, and giving the real owners or purchasers much annoyance. Afterwards the term, somehow or other, came to be applied in connection with certain political views enunciated in Congress in reference to the control the people of a territory might properly exercise over the subject of slavery, and the odium of the word was thus successfully transferred to those views, and without justice, as it seemed to me. In Texas it had quite a different origin and meaning. At the battle of San Jacinto, as is well known, just before the charge made by the Texans upon the Mexican lines, they were ordered to "squat," and they "squatted," leader and all—the Mexicans, I believe, thought they had killed the whole of them; but soon afterwards these "squatters" were every one on their feet again, and, in about twenty minutes, "squatter sovereignty" was established in Texas, and has continued up to the present time—no one objecting to it except the Mexicans. We did not think "squatter sovereignty" so very objectionable in Texas, or, may be, we never would have established it. We ought, however, to be pardoned for thinking squatter sovereignty better than Mexican sovereignty. There is something of bad tasty as well as of injustice in thus characterizing all the hardy pioneers of a new territory as squatters—the men who go forward on the advancing tide of civilization, subduing the savage, the wild beast, and the forest; and continuing so to characterize them, for political effect, until the territory is admitted as a State, when, as by a miracle, they become American citizens. The doctrine of the Kansas-Nebraska act is, that the people of the territories have the right to regulate their domestic affairs as they think proper, subject to the Constitution, and when admitted as a State, to come in with or without slavery, as they shall determine,—thus disposing of the question of squatter sovereignty (at least so far as any legislation can do it) properly and finally,—all the territory of the United States, or nearly all, being now thus organized. This disposition of it appears to me to be in accordance with right, justice, common sense, the necessity of the case, and with the Constitution. I do not know if there be a single squatter, in the legitimate meaning of the term, in Kansas; but if there should be, I would not deem it right to disfranchise all the inhabitants of the territory on his account. If he be there in good faith, cultivating the land he lives on, I see no objection to his acquiring in good time the rights of a citizen. There is another class there, however, who do not squat on the land, or intend to do so, in any sense of the term, but live in the hotels of the Emigrant Aid Societies,—mercenary villains, hired and sent to Kansas to meddle and interfere with the rights of her people, infinitely inferior to the squatters,—fellows with copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in their pockets, a Sharpe's rifle in their hands, hypocrisy in their faces, and murder and cowardice in their hearts; whom nothing but an extraordinary effort of Almighty power can ever raise from their depth of infamy and degradation *up* to the level of an honest pioneer, or "squatter," if you please.

I have thus, briefly, disposed of every substantive objection I have seen or heard made from any source worthy of regard, to the Democratic platform and its nominees, both of which, I believe, are satisfactory to the Democracy of Texas, and that every true Democrat from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the borders of Kansas, who can get to the polls, will express that satisfaction by voting for those nominees in November next.

Such, then, are the principles, and such the men, put forward by the two great parties of the country, or, rather, the one great party of the country and the enemies of the country, in the pending contest; and between these, we, and all other national, Union-loving men, have to choose. Need I say what becomes our duty, or their duty, under such circumstances? Certainly not. I will say this, however; "those who are not for us are against us" in this struggle; every vote withheld from the national ticket, or given to a third party, is equivalent to half a vote for Fremont and Abolitionism. There are those, I am well aware, and among them some of my best and most valued friends, who entertain the opinion that we are in danger from Catholic influence and from foreigners. In relation to Catholics, I believe the feeling is not very strong at present; but as long as a free and untrammelled press is left to us and the Bible, and we follow their legitimate teachings, my friends will go with me, I trust, in the belief that we need not fear any thing from Papal usurpation, or from the devices of that other personage whose name is not to be mentioned to "ears polite." And for one, and I believe I can say for the Democracy, we will see to it that the press shall always be left untrammelled, and also that the Bible, without note or comment, shall be statedly read in all the public schools throughout the Republic; for there can be no national virtue, no true liberty, no permanence to our political and social institutions, without the recognition of God as he has revealed himself in his word. In regard to foreigners, whatever specious cause of alarm may have been urged a year or two since, when the annual immigration had reached nearly half a million, it is very different now. Last year this immigration fell off about sixty per cent., and this year, if I am correctly informed, it has fallen off in nearly a similar proportion; the arrivals at New York for five months this year being only 31,000, against 53,000 in 1855, and 123,000 in 1854, or just 75 per cent. in two years. Taking this five months' immigration to New York as a criterion, (and it may safely be assumed as such,) and the whole foreign immigration to this country during the current year will not exceed 90 or 100,000, a number which could be safely stowed away in that city and State alone; and is probably less than the number of our foreign born population that will have died, during the same time, within the limits of the United States. Be this as it may, however, the danger from our Catholics and foreign born citizens, if danger there be, (which I do not believe,) is *remote*, while that from Abolitionism is *imminent, deadly, and unmistakable.* We hear already from the plains of Kansas the crack of the murderous rifle, and our brethren lie there, weltering in their blood, shed by the hands of the Abolitionists. Let us repel the enemy from our door first, the common enemy of all at the South; for if we fall into their power, they will take good care not to leave us any thing to fear from any other enemy, foreign or domestic. I am answered by one who says, I do not like the Democratic party, and therefore I shall withhold my vote, or give it to a "*tertium quid*," though I know he cannot be elected. But let me inquire: Do you not dislike the Abolitionist more than you do the Democracy; if so, and you throw away your vote, you indirectly give aid and comfort to your worst enemy, to your most inveterate and deadly foe. There is no chance for a third party at the North, except in a coalition with Abolitionism; and judging from recent developments, there will not be a corporal's guard left there in November outside the two parties, that is, the Democratic and the "Americanized" Black Republican; and the presentation of Mr. Fillmore's name, with a platform which shirks the whole question of slavery, is intended, so far as that section is concerned, like the present of the Grecian horse to ancient Troy, as a treacherous means of destruction;—its practical effect being to deceive as well as to divide, and thereby weaken the South, and to throw the election into the present House of Representatives, (an object equally desirable to Black Republicans and to Know-Nothings;) when we might chance to have the same kind of an "American to rule America" in the office of President, as the gentleman that House elected to the office of speaker,—that is, an *abolition Know-Nothing Union-slider.* This is no time for the *South* to be divided; she should be united as one man in this great crisis; all minor issues should be postponed; all personal prejudices or preferences waived or sacrificed upon the altar of our country; the Abolitionist should be told most emphatically, the South is a unit as against you and your schemes, and *you* need *never* to hope any thing from division among us.

It is a mistaken idea that the North as a body are against us. Let us do our duty, and be faithful to ourselves, and we shall have an overwhelming majority in the Northern States, composed of men who "carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union," in our favor. It is wrong to judge the North as a whole by her fanatics, and to denounce Northern men in a body. It weakens us and injures our friends there, who despise the Abolitionists as much as we do, and have them to fight *all* the time, while we are only called upon to battle with them occasionally. We should encourage our friends there, too, by union and concord among ourselves, and by a hearty co-operation with them in the good cause.

It is not a mere victory of the national party in November next, which will restore peace and quiet to the country. We must bury abolition, face downwards, so deep, and pile up such a commanding majority on its tombstone, that it can have no hope of a resurrection in our day and generation. Let us end *agitation*, and this unhappy strife between the North and the South, which so endangers and disgraces the Union.

Let us live together as friends and brethren, for we must so live, or else a separation will be inevitable. All we ask of the Abolitionist is to "*Let us alone.*" Negro slavery we believe to be right,—morally, socially, and politically,—a great physical necessity of our climate; and we intend to maintain and preserve the institution forever against all comers; and the sooner this is clearly understood, the better for all parties and all sections of the country. We believe that slavery is the true natural relation between the negro and the white race; that it is justified (we might say commanded) by the Almighty in His word, stamped by His hand in ineffaceable characters upon the African, his climate and condition, and sanctioned by the well-known usages of all ages; and that he who wars against it is the wicked enemy of the two races, and impiously wars both against nature and nature's God—pseudo-philosophy, pseudo-philanthropy, and sickly effeminate sentimentalism to the contrary notwithstanding.

The attempted syllogism of the Abolitionist, upon which he rests his whole creed, and his superstructure of "higher lawism," that "slavery is wrong, and therefore it is his duty to abolish it," is based upon a false postulate that cannot stand the test of truth, but vanishes before it, like chaff before the wind. Whoever admits the truth of this postulate yields up the whole argument to the Abolitionist, and so far justifies his acts. But whether the postulate be true or not, the deduction of the Abolitionist is doubly false, as I could show, if time would permit. Ever since the fiat of the Almighty, "Let there be light," and for countless ages, the negro in his natural or normal condition has been, and still is, a degraded creature, but a single remove from the brute beasts of the forest; and whenever he has been elevated at all in his social and moral condition, or to any considerable extent, it has been by the instrumentality of slavery, which seems, in the economy of Providence, to be the means designed for his further elevation, and perhaps, in the lapse of future ages, for the ultimate regeneration and Christianising of his race and country. If so intended, God, in his own good time, will accomplish it. Let us not presume to call Providence in question in "darkening council by words without knowledge." "Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall man be more pure than his Maker?"

I would ameliorate the condition of the slave as far as practicable and prudent, or send him to Liberia; but I would not *degrade* him by making a "free nigger" of him, and sending him to live among the Abolitionists, to be despised and oppressed and wronged by them, and thus to make his condition a thousand times worse than it is at present. I would not send him from the warm South, where both man and the climate are friendly to him, to the cold North, where both man and nature are his *unpitying* enemies; and where he becomes an outcast and a "Paria."

Before concluding, I would ask of every voter who hears me, of whatever party he may be, calmly to examine the question I have now presented, and to decide it for himself, without the least prejudice or party bias whatever. I presume there is, there *can* be none, within the sound of my voice, who, were he satisfied his single vote would determine the result between the national Democracy and the Black Republicans, between union and disunion, between harmony and discord, between public quiet and this ceaseless agitation, but would give it to the former, in each of these instances. If I am right in this belief, I would say to him that I honestly and sincerely hope he *will* so dispose of his vote in the coming elections, as if it *were* to be decisive of these issues. I think he will never regret doing so, but will always feel a proud satisfaction in knowing he stood in this great crisis as one of those patriotic men, who, sacrificing all selfish considerations, all party prejudices or predilections on the holy altar of the Union, aided by his vote in driving from the land the fell spirit of discord, and consigning Abolitionism and its kindred errors to a sleep that knows no waking; thus preserving the Union from destruction, the Constitution from violation.

The great, important, and distinct issue to be decided in the coming contest is made up between Abolitionism and Democracy, not between Abolitionism and some other ism. We do not need votes to *elect* the Democratic nominees, and to gain a victory by a decided majority,—we have enough for that, as I devoutly hope,—but we want one million extra to pile up on the tombstone of defunct Abolitionism; and I trust you will give us yours, (however some of you may differ with the Democracy on minor issues,) if only for this purpose equally desirable to each and all of us; for I do *believe*, and say it in all sincerity, that no national, Union-loving man, of *any* party in *all* this broad, ocean-bound Republic of ours, *can* properly discharge his duty to his God, to his country, and to himself, unless he does so. I trust not one of us will be willing to "let the Union slide," but that we shall *unanimously* agree it is worth *one* more great, strong, simultaneous, united effort to relieve it from present dangers, and to perpetuate it. But in this effort it is very idle, it would be *madness*, to ask the "mountain to go to Mahomet;" for if there is to be concert at the South and at the North, at the East and at the West, such a concert and such an effort as will (and only can) secure the all-important result, Mahomet must come to the mountain, the *only* mountain able to afford us refuge or safety now,—the NATIONAL, AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I fear I have taxed your patience too long; but the cause must excuse me. I have had no personal, individual objects to promote—no mere party obligations to discharge. It has been from no desire to introduce controversial, party questions, that I have ventured to offer these remarks on the present occasion, but simply to express my humble convictions upon the threatening and painful aspect of our public affairs at the present time. I trust this will not be considered presumption in me. Twenty-one years ago I joined the army of Texas as a private soldier, and on the plains of San Jacinto I aided to win the battles of the 20th and 21st of April, 1836. For ten subsequent years, sacrificing my private business and fortune, I served without intermission in her army, her halls of legislation, as her representative at a foreign court, in her cabinet councils, and in the office of her chief magistrate, to secure, as I did, the blessings you now enjoy. It was my fortune to serve Texas through the whole period of her difficulties, and almost without compensation. I restored her finances, replenished her exhausted treasury, gave security and peace to her frontiers, and established the supremacy of law and order. I obtained and presented to her in 1845 the offer of a full and perfect recognition of her national independence from Mexico, and the offer, simultaneously, of annexation to the United States, and subsequently, in 1846, I led her into the Union as a member of the great American family of sovereign States. I found her feeble and poor,—I left her service only when peace, with assured prosperity and unbounded wealth, was hers. Though,

> "Thrown when the war of winds was o'er,
> A lonely wreck on fortune's shore,"

I could not, whatever her conduct might have been towards *me*, *I could not* be indifferent to *her* welfare, nor to that of the Union into which I had introduced her. Recent events, "like a fire bell in the night," alarmed me, and I came here to-day as I went to Columbia in 1835, to take counsel with my fellow-citizens in the impending crisis of our national affairs. My voice, I know, must soon be hushed in the grave, towards which we are all hastening; but feeble as it is, I have felt it incumbent on me to raise it once more, and perhaps for the last time, in behalf of Texas, the State of my adoption, my pride, and my affections, and of the Union of which she is a part. What I have said has been from the honest convictions of my mind, and I shall sleep quietly to-night in the consciousness that I have endeavored to discharge an humble duty, which has been my sole purpose and object. I regret it could not have been more *ably* discharged, but I console myself in this regret, by the consciousness that it has been done *fairly and faithfully*. Excuse, I pray you, these references to myself. I thank you for the kind attention with which you have favored me; and trust you will be more fully compensated for it by the other speakers, who will make up for all my deficiencies and short-comings.

[*Mem.* Dec., 1856.—As one of the effects of this speech, which was widely circulated in Texas, it has been observed by many that this State gave to the Democratic candidates more than two-thirds of her popular vote, and the largest relative majority of any State in the Union—this, too, in opposition to the efforts of the most active and unscrupulous party ever organized in it, led on too by men hitherto the most influential.—A. J.]

[*From the Hon. D. S. Dickinson, of New York.*]

BINGHAMTON, October 18th, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was duly favored with your able and elaborate speech upon the great issues of the day, and return you my sincere acknowledgments, as well for your timely and fearless defence of the Constitution, as for your generous remembrance of my humble services in the councils of the nation. The receipt of the speech and accompanying note would have been sooner acknowledged, but that since August I have been almost constantly from home addressing the people of this and other States upon matters which deeply concern our common country.

We have, my dear sir, fallen upon evil times. It seems as if faction and fanaticism had embodied all the terrible elements of evil in one dark cloud which threatens to burst over us. If we can dispel the gloom and avert the calamity, it will be a triumph for the Union and the Constitution over such a trial as neither has before experienced. If we are defeated, I shall almost despair of the Republic, for such combinations neither reason nor recede, but, like the swollen stream, gather blackness and fury as they press onward and bear away all obstructions with them.

The struggle before us, and in which we are engaged, is no more nor less than a conflict between the friends and enemies of the Constitution—between fidelity and treason. The contest is near at hand, and may be finally decided before this reaches you. God grant that for the sake of a great and glorious country, a free and happy people, for the cause of civil and religious freedom, for down-trodden and oppressed humanity, the people may triumph over the machinations of the demagogue and fanatic.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration and regard, hastily, but sincerely, your friend, D. S. Dickinson.

Hon. Anson Jones.

[*To Hon. W. B. Stout.*]

Washington, Texas, December 6th, 1856.

Hon. Wm. B. Stout, Clarksville:

My dear Sir,—Your kind favor of the 17th ult. has just come to hand, and I hasten to comply with your request to put you in possession of my views in relation to the senatorship; thanking you cordially at the same time for the very friendly feelings you have been so good as to express in relation to myself, and the favorable and flattering sentiments contained in your letter concerning the manner in which, on former occasions, I discharged those public duties which by the voice of my fellow-citizens were devolved upon me.

It seems to me to be a matter settled, that some other than Gen. Houston will be chosen to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature which will be elected next summer, and convene in the November following. Any other conclusion than this would involve the acknowledgment of a power of "humbug" on the part of Gen. H., which, great as I acknowledge him to be in this line, cannot be conceded to him without involving at the same time the concession of an excess of "gullibility" on the part of the people of Texas, which for one I should be most unwilling to make; as I believe such a concession would be a slander upon their honesty, their intelligence, and their self-respect. I know it would be an easy task to name demagogues [from Absalom down] whose popularity has remained undiminished, while popular confidence has been withdrawn from a long line of patriot statesmen. Mr. Macaulay, in his history of England, has tritely enough observed that "while seven administrations were raised to power and lost it again, the profligate Wilkes retained his hold on the affections of a rabble whom he pillaged and ridiculed;" and also, as a deduction in the instances to which he referred, doubtless sufficiently plausible, that "the charge which may with justice be brought against the common people is, not that they are inconstant, but that they almost invariably choose their favorite so ill that their constancy is a vice and not a virtue." But I have an abiding confidence in "the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the people" of Texas, and therefore believe that, although they are disposed to yield very much in regard to Gen. H., there is a point at which their confidence in him will be forfeited and withdrawn, and that that point has now been reached. In 1848, by his vote upon the Oregon bill, many of his friends, myself among the number, were induced to think he had abandoned and betrayed his own constituents and the South in an overweening anxiety to secure the favor of Free-soilism, which he then, doubtless, believed was about to become the controlling element of political power. His course ever since that time has been in perfect harmony with his vote upon the Oregon bill, and with the motives and views which actuated him in that vote. He has, indeed, deserted and betrayed, in quick succession, his own State first, and simultaneously the interests of the Southern people; and then the principles of the Democracy and the parte by whose favor he was placed for three consecutive terms in the Senate of the United States. It does, therefore, appear to me next to an impossibility that a constituency so betrayed and deserted, as well as outraged and abused, "pillaged and ridiculed," will longer continue him in a position of power and influence, how much soever of a popular favorite he may at one time have been, when they see that same power and influence so unceasingly and persistingly used, and for almost nine years, for their serious injury, if not for the utter destruction of their dearest rights. "It was the last feather which broke the camel's back,—the last drop that made the cup run over."

You and I, my dear sir, have a right to speak plainly of Gen. H.'s acts, for we have, both of us, ever shown ourselves ready to sustain him whenever we could. We have fought his battles on many former occasions, and received not a few wounds in his defence. It was my fortune to co-operate with him longer and more closely than you did, or than fell to the lot of any other man to do. I was never unconscious of his very many faults, and was at no time one of his flatterers. Circumstances of great public interest and necessity induced me to hold important positions for a short time under his first administration as President, and during the whole of his second one; and I was, by the favor of the people, named as his successor. For the many reckless acts of his *first* administration, I am in no wise responsible, as my duties in connection with it were at a foreign court. I have been forced to say, what I affirm to be most just and true, and to which I challenge contradiction, that "I saved his *second* administration from the errors, the follies, and the wide-spread ruin of the first, and, succeeding him, carried out successfully a policy which I originated, and which led to that prosperity which Texas has enjoyed and is now enjoying." I carried out that policy, too, in the most vital and important emergencies, not only without his aid, but embarrassed by his obliquities, and in direct opposition to his views and opinions, and in spite of his attempts to thwart me. I know there are some men in Texas who would receive these assertions with extreme incredulity,—men who believe that every good, whether political or otherwise, which the country has, in all the past, experienced, has been of his procuring, and that all the evils it has suffered have been brought upon it by his enemies, and in opposition to his advice. Gen. H. has spent his life in successfully appropriating to himself the wise and beneficial acts of other men, and in fixing upon innocent parties the blame and the reproach of his own numerous bad ones; but, whenever the truth of history shall have been vindicated, as it will be at no very distant day, the fact will be made apparent that no prominent public man in Texas has, in reality, achieved so little of substantive good to the country as he has; while at the same time, as is *now* very apparent, no man has received credit for so much. My own deliberate conviction is, that in view of his entire public course, he has been a great positive injury and a great curse to the country, and brought upon it very many more and greater evils than benefits.

I have had the most abundant opportunity to know these things. After a service of some two years in the army, I was elected to the Congress of the Republic in 1837, having successfully opposed a favorite measure of Gen. H.'s administration,—"The Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company," which mammoth scheme I defeated. Upon THREE other great, vital, and still more important questions of administrative policy, I had adopted and maintained decided opinions. I believed the salvation of the country depended upon those views being successfully carried into practical effect; and I advocated them with unfaltering earnestness and constancy. Time has, long since, demonstrated their correctness, and they have been so acknowledged by the country. At my advent into the public councils these views were powerfully opposed by some of the ablest men in the Republic—men in whose patriotism and honesty I had, and still continue to have, the most perfect confidence. I struggled faithfully to win these men to my opinions, but failing to do this, the consequence was, I soon found myself arrayed in opposition to many with whom I should, under other circumstances, most cheerfully have co-operated. I was, however, more fortunate with Gen. H., and those with whom he acted; and he was *alarmed* at my triumph over the banking scheme, and joined me in my views of its impolicy. We soon found ourselves acting together upon the same "platform." This is the reason why I sustained him as I did; why I co-operated with him in our public affairs; and why I supported what was, popularly but falsely, known to the country as the "Houston policy." I had but one object in this, and in all my efforts in behalf of the country, and that was the final and ultimate triumph of Texas over all her dangers and all her difficulties. I succeeded, and I was indifferent to aught else. I was willing Gen. H. or Gen. anybody else should have all the glory, so the country was redeemed. I have no particular taste for partisan politics—no strong desire for the popularity, as I possess none of the arts, of the demagogue. I am by no means indifferent to the just approbation of my fellow-citizens, but I have never attempted to win it at the sacrifice of duty, truth, justice, or self-respect. It would have been an easy matter for me to have floated on the flood-tide of political preferment in 1845–'6, but it would have been at the expense of hazarding the independence and the annexation of Texas, and of sacrificing the good faith of the country towards England and France. I preferred sacrificing myself to jeopardizing the interests, or injuring, in the remotest degree, the fair name and fame, of Texas. I have not and I never shall regret this sacrifice. Others may be the idols of popular and fleeting public favor, so often "won without merit and lost without a crime;" I shall remain satisfied if it await me, with the fate and fame of Curtius.

But, my dear sir, I need not with you dwell longer upon these past reminiscences, as you are too familiar with our history to make it either requisite or proper; and I will, therefore, turn from the past to the present and to the future, which more deeply concern you and me, as well as every other citizen of Texas.

To use the language of a distinguished friend of mine, and one of the soundest, ablest, and best patriots and statesmen of America, Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, in a letter to myself written on the eve of the late Presidential election: "We have, my dear sir, fallen upon evil times. It seems as if faction and fanaticism had embodied all the terrible elements of evil in one black cloud, which threatens to burst over us. * * * Such combinations neither reason nor recede, but, like the swollen stream, gather blackness and fury as they press onward and bear away all obstructions with them. The struggle before us, and in which we are engaged, is no more nor less than a conflict between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution, between fidelity and treason." It is true in the recent glorious conflict the people have been victorious over the arts of fanatics and demagogues; but the strife is soon again to be renewed. The fate of the country is secured for the moment, but our enemies will rally for other contests. I trust Mr. Buchanan may so wisely direct and govern the ship of State as to escape the shoals and rocks by which it is now surrounded, but he will need the aid of every honest patriot in the land. The South, too, will require the services of her best men, and she must rid herself of her traitors, and her selfish, aspiring demagogues. The next four years will be full of destiny, for good or evil, to her and to the Union. Never before has the country been in so much peril as recently; the storm has lulled for the present, but it may soon return with equal, or even aggravated fury, and it will be the part of wisdom to prepare for the worst.

I should distrust my own abilities in the crisis in which we now seem to be placed. Texas has, doubtless, many men more adequate to the task of representing her in the Senate than myself, and if one of these should be selected I shall be quite contented to remain in the retirement which I have proposed to myself. If, on the contrary, I should be selected for so distinguished a position, I should accept it with feelings of pride and gratitude, and discharge its duties to the best of my ability, and with an eye single to the best interests of Texas and the Union.

It is proper in saying this that I should say a few words in reference to the position I have occupied in relation to public office. I have made it an invariable rule *never* to seek office, or to decline it when there appeared to me to be a necessity for my accepting public trust. In 1846, upon the annexation of Texas, and my withdrawal from the Presidency, I retired to my farm with the expectation of remaining there the remainder of my life. Recent events "like a fire-bell in the night alarmed me," and for the last eighteen months I have withdrawn from my seclusion, and actively participated in the advocacy of Democratic principles and of the Democratic party. I could not be indifferent, and consequently was not willing to remain silent.

When solicited in 1849 to become a candidate for Congress, I requested the editor of the *Texas Ranger* to reply as follows, under date of March 9th: "Some of our cotemporaries having stated that Dr. Anson Jones would doubtless be a candidate for Representative of the western district of Texas in the next Congress of the United States, we have been requested by that gentleman to say he is not a candidate for this office, and that he has no intention, desire, or expectation of being one at the biennial elections in August next; but adheres, as he has done, and will continue to do, without change or qualification, to the sentiments he expressed in reference to this subject [public office] at the period of his retiring from the Presidency in 1846; and that he sincerely hopes the time or the circumstances will not again occur, during his life, in the public affairs of Texas, when his sense of duty to the country would become paramount to his wishes for retirement and repose; but if, in this future destiny of the State, that time and those circumstances should arise, he would feel bound, as heretofore, to obey the call of his fellow-citizens to serve them." I regret that circumstances in the public affairs of the country *have* since arisen and do now exist, which will no longer permit me to decline a call of my fellow-citizens to serve them, should such a call be made upon me.

I have thus, with entire frankness and freedom, my dear sir, put you in possession of my views and feelings in relation to the subject-matter of your kind letter. There are many other points connected with the same, upon which I might touch, but I do not know that my views would be of sufficient interest to you to repay a perusal, and I have already extended this letter to a most unreasonable length. If, however, there should be any thing else upon which you would wish to know my views, I shall take pleasure in communicating them to you; and I shall be most happy to have a letter from you at any time when you can conveniently write me. I should be glad to hear from you on receipt of this, and for you to possess me fully of your views, and those of our friends in northern Texas, on the subjects in question.

Thanking you again, most heartily, for your kind interest in my behalf, I remain, as ever, my dear sir, with sincere regard, your friend, (Signed) ANSON JONES.

[*Endorsements on copy retained.*—The THREE points.

1st. Annexation.

2d. A more economical administration of the Government, and a consequent prompt reduction of the army, of civil, military, and naval *officers;* also, as a necessary coincident, a very limited issue of paper money.

3d. A *defensive* and conciliatory attitude towards Mexico, and peace with the Indians, believing it easy to *buy* their friendship, (which would be both just and humane;) but impossible to control or conquer them by any force at our disposition.

I was in favor of "Independence," as were all parties in Texas, but preferred annexation, if practicable; and was consequently desirous to adopt and pursue a line of policy, as I always did, which should result in one or the other, or in the presentation to the people of Texas of a free choice between these two alternatives. I believed the best way to secure either was to open the door wide to both. In this I stood "solitary and alone." Gen. H. cared little about the matter.

The Indian policy which I advocated was a very favorite one with Gen. Houston. He was governed in this by private and personal considerations; I, by entirely different ones. *His* course towards the Indians was prompted by his individual connection and relationship, as well as association, with the Cherokees, into which tribe he had married, and by which he had been adopted, and whose habits and mode of life he had assumed. *My* course was adopted from *no* partiality for the intruding or indigenous savages, but from views of humanity, public justice, policy, and expediency, which I believed to be correct and sound, and which time and experience have demonstrated to have been so. I had no difficulty, therefore, in the matter of Gen. Houston's adhering to the "Indian Policy," for to that he was unalterably wedded by personal feeling; but in every thing else he was very uncertain, wavering, and governed by whim, caprice, or the humor of the moment. While he apparently coincided with me in "a more economical administration of the Government," it was more often urged as a plausible reason for injuring or punishing those who had incurred his displeasure by refusing to worship him as the "golden calf," than followed as a principle of his first or second administration. Though always loud-mouthed on the subject of "economy and retrenchment," his first term of office was but a series of unbounded recklessness and extravagance; and during his second term I had infinite trouble to preserve the country from a similar fate; but succeeded with great pains and labor in doing so, to a very considerable extent. It is, however, a singular fact, and one by which I became very nearly discouraged and disheartened at the very threshold of my labors as a cabinet officer, that in his inaugural address, almost his first remark to the sixth or "retrenchment Congress" (as it was already called) was, that they had "pinioned his arms," and begging them not to "cripple him" more by refusing appropriations, &c., &c.

So in relation to a strictly defensive attitude towards Mexico, I was aided in this by his having already won at San Jacinto, (and by good luck,) all the laurels he could ever expect to gain by war, (for which he was qualified neither by military talent, education, nor much experience,) and he was determined no one else should have a chance to win any. By a *judicious management* of his *jealousies*, therefore, I was generally able to keep him close to the defensive line of policy; but he flew from it two or three times in my absence, as in the ill-advised and unfortunate Mier and Snively expeditions, and went in for offensive incursions. With his little, petty, unfortunate, and disgraceful wars upon the West, upon individuals, and the "honorable Congress," I had nothing to do except to condemn them to his face, as I often did.—A. J.]

[*From the Texas Ranger of September 20th*, 1856.]

"THE KNOW-NOTHING CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY."

The following letter from the Hon. Anson Jones to Andrew J. Donelson was written in 1852, and up to the present time, as we are credibly informed, *remains unanswered*,—the reason for which "delay" appears pretty plain upon the face and in the tenor of the document. First, urging "delay" upon the President here, and insisting strongly upon inaction; and then, afterwards, when he began to be alarmed at the consequences of a course he had so urged and insisted on, attempting to shift the blame of his own policy and acts upon another party, would certainly seem to be very *slippery* practice, even in the "greasy Tennessean," and not very creditable either to a foreign minister, as he then was, or to a candidate for the high office of Vice President, as he now is. With a single remark by way of explanation, we submit the letter to our readers. Mr. Donelson was counselling the President to delay and inaction until the announcement was made of the proposition from Mexico to acknowledge the independence of Texas by proclamation, dated June 4th. This announcement "woke up" Major Donelson, and *the very same day* he penned his letter to Mr. Buchanan, and essayed to escape expected censure by the artful dodge—not to characterize it by any harsher name—which Mr. Jones's letter so fully exposes. On the 16th of April Major Donelson was in ecstasies at the "prompt call of Congress," and expected the "Convention to assemble about the middle of *September*;" and on the 4th of June he censures Mr. Jones for "delay" in calling the Convention for the 4th July, or two and a half months sooner than the time suggested by himself!!

BARRINGTON, TEXAS, Jan. 26th, 1852.

HON. A. J. DONELSON:

SIR,—I have occupied some of my spare moments, recently, in preparing materials for a work on Texas; more particularly such as relate to matters that transpired under my own personal observation, which at a proper time will be published. Within the last few days I have been occupied with an account of the missions of Gov. Y——, Mr. W——, Com. S——, (as connected with Gen. S——,) as well as of your own; and in looking over your correspondence with Mr. Buchanan, I was forcibly struck with a passage in one of your letters in reference to my call of Congress and the Convention, which had before escaped my special observation; and as there appears to be in it a conflict with what I had put on record at the time, I hope you will excuse me for the liberty I now take in asking from you the favor of an explanation. My sole object is to subserve the cause of TRUTH, and I would not, willingly, do injustice to you or any one else. The passage to which I allude is the following, contained in your published despatch to Mr. Buchanan of June 4th, 1845: "But it is to be feared that, with all the means at his disposal, he" [Mr. Jones] "cannot now recover the advantage he gave to his enemy by the *delay* in calling Congress and the Convention."

Your despatch communicating the proposition for annexation, though shown to me on the 1st of April, was not formally delivered to the Secretary of State until the 12th, when you returned from the Trinity, (or Montgomery,) as I stated in my published letters in reply to Mr. Tyler, written in 1847. My recollections of the event, and my memorandum of it is, that you requested nothing to be done until your return, which was on the 12th, when I informed you I had determined to call Congress at the earliest possible day. I named a day earlier than the one finally fixed upon, but at your special request, and for reasons which you then gave, I fixed on the 16th June, as I have also stated in my published letters above referred to. Here then there was no *delay* on my part; for on the 12th your despatch was formally presented, and *on the instant* I called Congress, and at the *earliest moment* it was believed possible they could assemble. You also stated that "it was necessary you should be present at or before the time of meeting, and that you could not go to Mississippi or Louisiana, (as you were obliged to do,) and return before about the 16th June," which, in my opinion, constituted of itself a sufficient reason for fixing on that time, (as the earliest suitable period,) if even *physical necessity* had not required it to be so done.

A few days after convoking Congress I consulted with you about calling a convention of deputies, apportioning the representation, &c., &c., when you were not prepared to express a decided opinion. On the 29th April, however, you wrote me from Houston, recommending the measure; and on the 5th of May, again, (having changed your views,) saying that you "thought it the wiser course to await the action of Congress," that "I could gain only *about a month* in time, an object hardly sufficient to justify a risk on the score of discontent." However, before the receipt of your letters, I had called the Convention for the 4th of July, giving only a little more than two weeks for Congress to act on the weighty matters to be presented to them, and for the deputies to receive intelligence of that action at Austin. Now *here* was no *delay, although requested and advised by yourself*: for in the small space of eighty-three days I convened Congress, procured their action on the proposals for annexation, &c., apportioned the representation of the States, caused deputies to be elected, a Convention to assemble at Austin, and had the proposition for annexation accepted by the people, so far as the action of these deputies could do it; whereas had I waited for Congress, as you advised, it would have involved the necessity of not *one*, but two months additional "*delay*," and perhaps four or five, or even more.

I know not, therefore, what construction to put upon the words "delay in calling Congress and the Convention," as used by you. I would wish, however, to put the most favorable one possible, and therefore I trouble you with the request I have. For myself I have nothing to gain in this matter, for I knew as long ago as 1844 that the course I had determined upon, although the only one which could secure and promptly accomplish annexation would, probably, involve the sacrifice of my political prospects, if I had any, or else a breach of faith on the part of Texas towards England and France, and other serious injuries, as my letters written to various friends will show. But between these alternatives I could not hesitate, and I do not complain of the consequences,—for time will vindicate me, and demagogues have made all the capital out of it they ever can. My only object now is to subserve the cause of historical truth, and to do even-handed justice to all with whom I have had the honor at any time to co-operate, either in achieving the independence of Texas, leading her into the great family of American States, or promoting her subsequent welfare in the proud position she now occupies.

I remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ANSON JONES.

P. S.—I notice in your letter to Mr. Buchanan of April 16th, you speak of about the middle of September as the time when you expect the Convention will be assembled; and in your despatch of that date to Mr. Allen you express unqualified approbation of the call of Congress "so promptly made by the President of Texas."

[*From Same to Same.*]

WASHINGTON, TEXAS, Sept. 30th, 1852.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote the above in January last, intending to send it to you without any delay; but as you were much engaged at that period, I was, upon reflection, unwilling to trespass upon your time, and for this reason have retained it until now, when I hope it will better suit your convenience to reply.

Respectfully yours, ANSON JONES.

[*Same to Same.*]

WASHINGTON, Texas, April 16th, 1853.

Major A. J. DONELSON:

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure to address you a somewhat lengthy communication on the 30th September of last year, on the subject of some representations made by you to Mr. Buchanan, late Secretary of State of the United States, in reference to certain acts of mine as President of Texas, to which I have received no reply. I think it therefore probable my letter failed to reach you, in which case, if you will inform me of the fact, I will furnish you a copy of the same.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant, ANSON JONES.

(Original to Nashville, Tenn.—Duplicate to Washington City.)

[*Endorsement*—July, 1853.—Mr. Donelson having failed to reply to any of these communications, the inference with me is, that he is unable to relieve himself from the imputation of falsehood and misrepresentation which they contain, and which his conduct has given rise to.—A. J.]

[*From the Galveston News, August* 16*th*, 1855.]

The editorial and other correspondence in to-day's "*News*" relieves our pen to a considerable extent. The letter of Dr. Anson Jones reviews a matter familiar to many of our readers.

[COMMUNICATED.]

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11th, 1855.

EDITORS NEWS:—I notice in a late number of the *Civilian* of your city that the senior editor, Mr. Stuart, says, in substance, that on *one* occasion he differed in opinion with his friend Houston, that "we opposed annexation, while Gen. Houston favored it." This is contrary to my recollection; and as this question involves matters of much significance to Texas, I ask of you the favor of a small space in your widely read and useful paper, for the purpose of putting that question in its true light, and to show that the *Civilian*, in its opposition to this great American measure of annexation, acted in strict and undeviating accordance with the private and real sentiments of its friend.

In 1848, facts and circumstances came to my knowledge which forced upon my mind, in spite of myself, the conviction that it was a sacred duty I owed to the people of Texas and of the United States, to put them in possession of the fact that Gen. Houston was not only opposed to annexation, but that he had attempted to strike a blow for its defeat, if not for its annihilation; and with some explanatory remarks of my own, I gave to the public the proof of these facts, in the shape of an official document which emanated from the Executive Department over the sign manual of Gen. Houston, then President of the Republic. It is unnecessary to repeat the matters contained in that document, as it has been extensively published and read all over the country for the last seven years. On its appearance in 1848, Gen. Houston published a card in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington City, in which, while he did not attempt to deny (as he has not since) the charge of vital opposition to the measure, promised to explain his course at a future time, and when he could avail himself of a reference to the archives of the State. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to say more in reference to this document, or to repeat the fact that Gen. Houston has not fulfilled the promise made in his published card.

Subsequently, and in 1849 or '50, the *National Intelligencer* published a letter of Gen. Houston's to the American Minister, the Hon. A. J. Donelson, written in April, 1845, and during the pendency of the proposition from the United States for the annexation of Texas, in which he took bold and open ground against the proposition as made. The *Intelligencer*, in commenting upon this letter, spoke of it in the highest terms of commendation, as entertaining statesmanlike views, which were heartily approved, and claimed them as being in exact and perfect harmony and accord with its views, and with the doctrines held and advocated by the Whig party on the subject. The day before I issued the proclamation, convoking the Congress of the Republic, to act upon the proposition made by the President of the United States, the Hon. W. D. Miller read me the original manuscript copy of that letter, as he said, by request of Gen. Houston, for the purpose, as I then supposed, and as I now suppose, of trying to dissuade me from giving my consent to that proposition.

As a further proof of Gen. Houston's opposition to annexation, I refer to the fact that Major Donelson, (who was much in the habit of reading to me confidentially the letters and despatches he wrote to the President or Secretary of State of the United States,) read me a letter to Mr. Polk or to Mr. Buchanan, in which were these remarkable words: "If annexation depended upon the single vote of Gen. Houston, it would, I am reluctantly compelled to say, *be lost.*" This letter is now probably in the archives at Washington City, and I presume no one will think for a moment that Major Donelson was either ignorant of Gen. Houston's views on the subject, or that he would misrepresent them. All these facts, and many others of a similar kind, Mr. Stuart has had abundant opportunity to know, and can hardly have forgotten. The official document, and the letter of Gen. Houston to Major Donelson, both above referred to, have now been years before the public, and no refutation of the charge of opposition to annexation, based upon these, has ever been attempted either by Gen. Houston or his friend of the *Civilian*, or by any one else, and I think never will be. Still Mr. Stuart says, only yesterday as it were, that "Gen. Houston was in favor of annexation"—how falsely he says so let the above facts prove! and if they are not sufficient, I can inform him that I have plenty more of the same kind, which I will furnish him with if he wishes.

I know it has been claimed by Gen. Houston that his opposition was only "coquetry," that "the Government of Texas had only been coquetting with France and England," and he is said to have set up this claim himself in a public speech to 5,000 persons in New Orleans in the year 1845. This, if true, only makes the matter a thousand times worse; and I deem it a high and holy duty to Texas, to wipe from her escutcheon this foul and damnable stain of infamy. It is but justice to Gen. Houston that I should state, that on his return from New Orleans I spoke to him on this subject, and he emphatically assured me the newspapers had falsely reported his speech, and that he had said no such thing. In the Senate of the United States also, at a later period, in answer to a question by the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, he publicly denied having said, in his New Orleans speech, that he had "coquetted" with England. It is proper also that I should state, that upon an informal application to me by the British Minister, Capt. Charles Elliot, in 1845, to know if the Government of Texas wished to be understood as claiming to have acted in bad faith towards England and France, as Gen. Houston was reported to have asserted publicly in New Orleans, I told him I was authorized by Ex-President Houston to deny the charge so far as he (Houston) was concerned, and to say he had not made the assertions attributed to him by the New Orleans editors and newspaper reporters. I said to Capt. Elliot that I did not suppose it was at all necessary I should deny such an infamous proceeding, on my own part—it was, he said, of course wholly unnecessary; that both himself and the Count de Saligny, the French Minister, for whom he was authorized to speak, were perfectly satisfied with my conduct towards them as Secretary of State and as President, throughout the whole course of the protracted negotiations between their governments and Texas; that the most scrupulous good faith had, on every occasion, been observed by me; that they had nothing to complain of on my part, (sentiments which he repeated on taking leave of the Government officially in 1846,) and that he only now alluded to the subject in view of what the newspapers were everywhere saying, and the report given of Gen. Houston's New Orleans speech.

None of these facts will be denied, or can they be; nor can Texas justly be charged with the reproach implied in the explanation attempted of Gen. Houston's opposition to annexation. If, however, his friends still insist upon this explanation, and *if it be true*, as they say, that he made the vain and infamous boast attributed to him in New Orleans, implying that this great American measure had been effected by fraud and deception on his part, I cannot help it. I have done my part in disabusing the public mind on this subject, and in vindicating the fair fame of my country from this vile reproach, and her history from the foul dishonor of such conduct. Gen. Houston's friends may now take either horn they please of the dilemma—admit that he was vitally opposed to annexation, or that he accomplished it by "coquetry"—that is, by a course of "successful trickery;" but if they choose the latter, I shall be fully prepared to show that it was accomplished not only without his aid, but in direct opposition to his policy, and without coquetry, fraud, or the least dissimulation.

ANSON JONES.

[*From M. D. Ector.*]

HENDERSON, RUSK Co., June 5th, 1857.

Hon. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—It is understood here that Gen. Houston says that portion of the treaty of 1844 made at Washington by Van Zandt, Henderson, and Calhoun, for the annexation of Texas, by which it was agreed that all of the public lands of Texas should be given to the United States Government, in consideration that they would assume the payment of the public debt of Texas, was made without his (Houston's) authority, and against his express instructions. As you were Secretary of State at that time, I have addressed you this note, desiring, if it is consistent with your feelings, that you will inform me of the facts as they really existed. By attending to this promptly you will confer a favor. In doing so I hope you will give me a particular account of the whole matter for publication. I have been informed that in many instances instructions were given directly by Gen. Houston, and not through the Secretary of State,—if any are not in the archives of the Government, will you particularly specify such instructions as were given in your hearing, verbally, to Van Zandt and Henderson, or to either one of them separately.

Yours respectfully, M. D. ECTOR.

(I am editing the Henderson *Democrat.*)

BARRINGTON, June 17th, 1857.

DEAR [illegible]—Your letter of the 5th inst., requesting a statement of the facts in relation to the treaty of April 12th, 1844, between Texas and the United States, has been received; and in view of all the circumstances of the case, I do not feel at liberty to decline a compliance. I must premise, however, that the statement is made under the pressure of my daily farming occupations, and without an opportunity of referring to the archives of the Government, which must excuse any defects or omissions.

The assertion that the provisions of the above treaty ceding the public lands of Texas to the United States, in consideration of the payment of our public debt, "was made without Gen. Houston's authority, and against his express instructions," is contradicted by the entire record, and by the whole public history of the transaction. All the official instructions for the negotiation of that treaty were given by me to our plenipotentiaries, Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson, by the direction and with the approbation and authority of Gen. Houston; and this is the first time I ever heard an intimation that the provisions of the treaty, in relation to the public lands, were not conformable to those instructions, or not authorized by them. Gen. Houston did not think so at the time; as I know that, upon the reception of the treaty, he pronounced it "*very well*," which could not have been the case if Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson had, "without his authority, and in express violation of instructions," undertaken to dispose of one hundred and fifty millions of public land; the presumption of such a thing involves a gross and palpable absurdity. In brief, therefore, and as my answer to your inquiry upon this particular point, the provisions of the treaty referred to were authorized by the instructions given by me to our plenipotentiaries; those instructions were fully sanctioned by Gen. Houston, and, after the treaty was received in Texas, those provisions met his unqualified approbation. To prevent any doubt or cavil about the latter fact, I may add, that I received the assurance of it in writing from Gen. Houston, and have it now in my possession.

Personally, I was opposed to some of the provisions of the treaty in question, and to the whole policy of negotiating it at the time it was done. My objections to the latter, or some of them, are thus stated in my published "Letters on Annexation" in 1848, (p. 8, Philadelphia edition:) "It was not believed that the Executive of the United States would be sustained by the Senate, and that the treaty, if made, could not secure to its ratification but a very small number of votes; that to make a treaty without a *reasonable* prospect of eventual success would be worse than useless; that it would alienate from us the friendly feelings of France and England; that, in this situation, the apathy which the United States Government had always, until then, evinced towards us, thus deprived of two powerful friends, would probably return; that negotiations for peace were going on between the Commissioners of Texas and Mexico, with a fair prospect of success, which would thereby be broken off, and finally, that annexation failing, Texas would be no better off, as it regarded a settlement of difficulties with Mexico, than she was in 1841.

"But the manufacturers of 'astounding developments' and charges of 'treason, bribery, and corruption,' kept at work, and in a few months many very well-informed men were induced to believe that the time had arrived when a sufficient number of votes could be obtained to secure the ratification of a treaty, in which opinion I at no time coincided." The Congress of Texas, however, in February, 1844, having passed a secret joint resolution directing a treaty to be made, and a special minister to be sent to Washington City for the purpose, I yielded my individual opinions to this expression of public sentiment, and to the earnest wishes of the Executive, and consented to be the medium through which the requisite instructions for its negotiation were given. The treaty was rejected by a majority of two thirds of the United States Senate, and what was foreseen occurred. But however objectionable some of the conditions, and the general policy of the treaty may have been to me at the time, or however unfavorable those conditions may appear in public estimation at the present moment, I have no disposition to deny my share in the transaction, or to escape responsibility by attempting to impugn the official acts of the living statesman and patriot, J. Pinckney Henderson, much less by attempting to disturb the ashes of the departed one, Isaac Van Zandt. While the negotiations were pending which resulted in the treaty, the clamor all over Texas and the United States was, that I "opposed annexation," and was aiming to defeat the measure by exacting too "hard conditions" from the Government of the United States; and although a directly contrary clamor may now be raised, I should not apprehend for a moment that I could not demonstrate its entire injustice, and without a resort to falsehood or slanders upon the dead. The fact is, the treaty met the almost unanimous approval of the people of Texas at the time, and was the most favorable one for us the friends of annexation believed they had any chance, even, of passing the Senate of the United States under the violent opposition then waged against the measure by the Whig party, and all its stipulations were carefully framed in view of its having to pass that ordeal. Carefully as they were framed, and favorable as they would *now* seem, and most undoubtedly were to the United States, that body in its wisdom, or rather in its folly, rejected the offered boon: ten millions being then considered entirely too much for a domain, for one-tenth of which the United States, six years afterwards, tendered the same amount of money. I deem it but justice on my part, towards our agent at Washington City, to say this much. Gen. Henderson needs no defence from me, he is abundantly able to defend himself, and will not thank me for my feeble assistance. The Hon. Isaac Van Zandt, however, now many years deceased, and out of the reach of the tongue of falsehood and slanders, has left a memory dear to every honest Texan, and one which, in common with every such Texan, I shall always consider it a sacred duty to defend. Texas never had a more pure, honest, faithful, and patriotic public servant than him, and the assertion that he was guilty of malfeasance in his office of minister abroad, will, I trust, be credited by a very few, and *they* must be strangers to his person and his character. No man is more fully cognizant of all this than Gen. Houston, as I happen to know most certainly.

Upon Mr. Van Zandt tendering his resignation in June, 1844, General Houston then, at his home on the Trinity, wrote me, requesting the said resignation "should be accepted in the most courteous terms," and that I would "express to him (Mr. Van Zandt) the confidence of the Executive in his patriotism and integrity," which I did, adding my unqualified approbation of his conduct as our representative at Washington City. I can imagine, therefore, of no condemnation severe enough for a man who, knowing all this, and actuated by a low, sordid, grovelling ambition for a petty office, would assert to the contrary, unless there be, as Milton expresses it, "In the *lowest* depths a depth still *lower*," to which he might be appropriately consigned, with other hyenas in human form that prey upon the dead and "live on garbage." My unutterable loathing and disgust at such conduct will not permit me to dwell longer on this subject.

You requested me to specify any instructions given our Ministers abroad, directly by the President, and not through the State Department. Subsequent to the treaty for annexation two letters were written by him to our agent at Washington City, containing certain instructions, which comprise all that were ever given in this mode, that I am aware of. They were given under the following circumstances:

Early in the spring of 1844 Gen. Houston left the seat of Government, and did not return to it again until the close of his term, except at the end of each quarter, to receive payment of his salary from the Treasury. The Executive administration of the Government of Texas during this time, and much of 1843, in all its departments, was principally devolved upon me; the only connection he maintained with it being through the medium of an occasional letter and these quarterly visits to the Treasury. When it had become pretty apparent that annexation would fail before the Government of the United States, he was sojourning at the city of Houston, and he immediately determined upon a new policy; in his eager haste to accomplish which he wrote the despatches in question, and forwarded them to Washington City. This policy was, upon the contingency of the expected failure of the treaty, to obtain from England and France a "guarantee" as against Mexico, upon a pledge that "*Texas would never become annexed to the United States,*"—a policy which culminated in the Executive order of 24th September, 1844, (V. Letters on Annexation, p. 20,) to close with the joint proposal of these Governments made through Lord Aberdeen, the English Premier, to that effect. Gen. Houston in apologizing for this interference with my particular department, in the two letters of instruction as above, puts it upon the grounds of a necessity for great haste, and that "I would not have time to write." One of these letters of instruction he thus condenses: "If annexation is not effected at the present session of Congress, or if a treaty should fail, and the action of Congress be ineffectual, and they refuse to form an alliance with us, to call upon the English and French Ministers and ascertain the prospects of those Governments giving us a guarantee against further molestation from Mexico, and an indefinite truce." This was written about the middle of April, 1844. The other letter I believe Gen. Houston was ashamed to "*condense*" for me; but it is on record at Austin. It was published some years since, as a curiosity in diplomatic correspondence, and I presume, not one in a thousand of the people of Texas, who read it, but disbelieved it was ever written by the President. It seemed to me to be the practical application of the maxim—"in wine, truth," the instructions to our agents being to "make the foreign Ministers always drink two glasses of wine to your one, and thus extract their secrets from them." I am under the impression that this constitutes the substance of the letter of instructions in question; but it is a long time since I read it on the record.

So soon as it was known that Gen. Houston had changed front on the subject of annexation, and that he was so hastily seeking a foreign alliance which would defeat it, I received numerous letters from the friends of the measure in the U. S., imploring me to await the issue about to be made before the people of the U. S. in the election of President. I became satisfied that the cause of annexation, and the best interests of Texas required I should do so; and I resolved to await that issue. Gen. Houston took the opposite course, and had I coincided with him, the Foreign Alliance would have been consummated and Annexation defeated. Our Ministers at Washington City took grounds with me on the subject, and if they ever disobeyed instructions, they were those contained in Gen. Houston's letter, above mentioned. That they did not act upon them, I am pretty certain; but when their duties at the Capitol of the U. S. were, by these instructions, made utterly inconsistent with the welfare of their country and their individual sentiments of honor and honesty, they ceased to have any duty to perform there, by returning to private life. It was reserved for me, either to sacrifice myself, or see the measure of Annexation forever defeated;

between these alternatives, I did not hesitate for a moment—the result is before the people.

I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, yours,

ANSON JONES.

To M. D. ECTOR, ESQ., Henderson, Texas.

THE SENATORSHIP.

[*From the Texas Ranger*, *Aug.* 29, 1857.]

The subject is not one which we deem necessary to discuss in much detail, as the choice devolves upon an intelligent body of Democratic Senators and Representatives constituting our State Legislature, who have our entire confidence.

Other papers having spoken on the subject of a successor to Houston, and the claims and qualifications of each prominent aspirant having been ably set forth by the press, we deem it not improper to express our preference, for a gentleman, who, although no office hunter, and notwithstanding his worth and qualifications cannot be excelled, has been shamefully overlooked by the press, and for no other reason, as we conceive, but for his commendable modesty. That man is the Hon. ANSON JONES, and we here give some of the many reasons which actuate us in the selection we have made from a number of worthy and well-qualified gentlemen who have been named by their friends in connection with the office.

Anson Jones,—came to the country in 1833 from Louisiana, took an early and efficient part in our struggles for independence, for which, in a public meeting in Brazoria County, he was the first to offer and sustain resolutions—joined the army, fitted out volunteers, was at San Jacinto, appointed Judge Advocate General, held various military positions in 1836–'7—elected from Brazoria in the latter year to the second Congress, of which he was a leading member. In 1838 he was appointed minister to the United States, which post he ably filled—Mr. Calhoun complimenting him as the "ablest" of the Diplomatic Corps at Washington. In 1839 he was recalled, and elected Senator from Brazoria, in place of Hon. William H. Wharton, deceased. In 1840 chosen President of the Senate, and in consequence of the leave of absence granted General Lamar, became ex officio

Vice-President of the Republic, Judge Burnet discharging the duties of President.

In 1841 he was chosen Secretary of State, for three years, during the last two of which he was the *de facto* president, *all* the business of the Foreign Department of the Government, and most of that of the domestic one, having been devolved upon him. His State papers, covering a period of three years, are as able as any ever written by an American statesman.

In 1844 he was chosen President, which office he held until he consummated Annexation, in February, 1846, when he laid it down, together with its emoluments and honors, to carry out that great American measure, having then nearly two years of his term of office unexpired.

The wise acts of that administration are known to the country. Another has claimed the credit of them, (as is his wont,) but they belong to Anson Jones, and to him alone. We cannot, in our limited space, enumerate them all, but the following we point to as among the most important:

1. Texas was placed "at peace with the world."

2. Annexation was undertaken and consummated; and so far as Texas was concerned, peacefully.

3. An acknowledgment of our national independence was procured from Mexico—with the Rio Grande to its source, as a boundary, and without condition or indemnity.

4. Notwithstanding the position of extraordinary delicacy in which Texas was placed, by the progress of these two great events, in her relations with the great leading powers of the world and with Mexico, the public faith and honor were preserved *intact*.

5. The ATTITUDE of Texas was changed from that of a *suppliant* to the *reverse*, and the fact demonstrated in the face of Europe and America, that she was in a condition, physically, morally, and intellectually, to maintain and continue her independent position among the nations of the earth, if she thought proper to do so, and that Annexation, however desirable on some accounts, was not an "imperious necessity" to her, but the reverse.

6. Our frontiers were *efficiently* protected against both Mexicans and Indians. There have been more Indian murders and

depredations committed in any one month since February, 1846, than there were during President Jones's whole term. He had no difficulties with Mexico, but kept the peace with that country,—setting on foot no invasive expeditions. There were no disastrous efforts made to settle our difficulties with that nation by war, or abortive ones to settle them by negotiation.

7. The expenses of the Government were brought considerably within the receipts;—and this for the first time in the history of the country.

8. There were no debts of any kind or description incurred, but a large amount of former debt was paid off.

9. The currency of the Republic rose to par, soon after the commencement of this Administration, and continued so until its close—during all which time Texas did not issue a single bill of credit, or a dollar of paper money—and Texas passed from a *paper* currency to a *metallic* one.

10. At the close of the Administration, there was a *specie surplus* in the Treasury sufficient to support the Government for two years and more.

11. There was not a single defalcation during this term; not a dollar of the public money lost or squandered; and no act of repudiation of the currency committed or allowed.

12. The extraordinary expenses of a called session of Congress;—of a Convention of Deputies to form a Constitution; of a removal of the seat of Government, and of the rebuilding the dilapidated public buildings at Austin, were incurred, and without embarrassing the Treasury of the Republic.

13. Reduction was made in the Tariff and other taxation; and the foundation of other reductions laid.

14. The public lands were prudently husbanded, and the public domain preserved as a basis for the future developments of a system of education and internal improvements by railroads and rivers, &c.

15. The vexed question of the Seat of Government was harmoniously and satisfactorily settled, and erratic government restored to its proper habitation at Austin. All sectional strife was allayed, and the war between the "East" and the "West" terminated, as well as the unfortunate wranglings between the

Executive and Legislative branches of the Government, which, for the previous three years, had so disgraced the country.

16. The ratio of representation in the State Legislature was equalized, settled, and established upon just and satisfactory principles, and all complaint on this score allayed. This complaint had existed from 1835, and for ten years had continued to increase. President Jones, "solitary and alone," took the responsibility of forever settling it, in apportioning, as he did, the representatives to the Convention which formed our present Constitution;—an apportionment which continues to the present moment.

17. The laws throughout the Republic, which had been interrupted by organizations of Regulators, Moderators, &c., were efficiently enforced, and the administration of civil and criminal justice restored and uninterruptedly continued.

18. Immigration of a favorable kind was very large, and a new impulse was given to this and all the great interests of the country. Public and private confidence was restored, and the country made eminently prosperous and happy.

19. A decidedly favorable impulse was given to the cause of common schools, as well as to that of science, religion, and morality.

20. No ruinous *monopolies* were chartered, nor any ruinous public speculations during *this* term, permitted. The government was strictly practical, and had neither Quixotism nor humbug about it.

21. Finally, our present State Constitution was framed and adopted (by a Convention called into existence by the President alone), which is said to be the best in the world; in accordance with which our State Government was organized and put into peaceful, active, and successful operation, unattended by a single difficulty, foreign or domestic. Not a "ripple" even on the surface of public affairs attended our change of government—the surrender of our national sovereignty, and the incorporation of our peerless Empire with that of the United States.

All the acts and results enumerated in this resumé, may not have been performed or produced entirely in the time referred to, but they were principally so. What cannot be wholly referred to that period, were the result and consequence of Mr.

Jones's *actual* administration of the government for the previous three years in every thing connected with our foreign relations; and of his agency in controlling and managing our domestic ones.

Pres. Houston was absent from the seat of government during much of 1843, and nearly all of 1844, and when present, did little but "pet" his Indians and carry on his petty wars upon the "west," upon individuals, and the "Hon. Congress," (as he used to call that body, in derision.)

Anson Jones, as is well known to those who were here at that time, administered the government in all its departments—it was his hand, often unseen, which moved the whole Executive machinery.

And what has been his reward?

Rudely thrust aside in 1846, when he had consummated annexation and saved the country:—a vote of thanks to him in the lower branch of the Legislature, *negatived!* Traduced and wounded, he retired to private life, where he has quietly remained ever since.

Is nothing due him for achieving the annexation of Texas, and thus cutting himself off two years from the honors and emoluments of the Presidential office, to which he had been elected for *three* years?

Though in retirement he has not been an uninterested spectator of public affairs, nor in any respect indifferent to the welfare of his State and country.

He was *born* a Democrat, and has always been one.

No one has done more efficient service to our cause and to the South than him, as we (the Ranger) happen well to know—and while the democracy have had many valiant, worthy, active and efficient champions, to no one is our cause more indebted for success than to him. He was the first to denounce Gen. Houston, then his personal friend, for his recreancy to Texas and the South in the Oregon matter in 1848; he was among the first and most efficient in pointing out the errors and the consequences of Knownothingism, &c., and fighting it to the bitter end.

In 1849 Mr. Jones was called upon by his friends to become a candidate for Congress from this district. He declined through the columns of this paper; stating in addition that—"he hoped the time or the circumstances would not again occur, during his life, in the public affairs of Texas, when his sense of duty to the country would become paramount to his wishes for retirement and repose; but if, in this future destiny of the State and of the South, that time and those circumstances should arise, he would feel bound to obey the call of his fellow-citizens to serve them." His present position on the subject of holding office is thus defined by himself in an extract from a letter written a few months since to an old and worthy citizen of Eastern Texas, which has been kindly placed at our disposition. It is as follows:

"To use the language of a distinguished friend of mine, and one of the ablest, soundest, and best patriots and statesmen of America, DAN'L S. DICKINSON, of New York, in a letter to myself, written on the eve of the late Presidential election:—'We have, my dear sir, fallen upon evil times. It seems as if faction and fanaticism had embodied all the terrible elements of evil in one black cloud which threatens to burst over us. Such combinations neither reason nor recede, but, like the swollen stream, gather blackness and fury as they press onward and bear away all obstructions with them. The struggle before us, and in which we are engaged, is no more nor less than a conflict between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution, between FIDELITY AND TREASON!'

"It is true, in the recent glorious conflict the people have been victorious over the arts of fanatics and demagogues, but the strife is soon again to be renewed. The fate of the country is secured for the moment, but our enemies will rally for other contests. I trust Mr. Buchanan may so wisely direct and govern the ship of state, as to escape the rocks and shoals by which it is now surrounded; but he will need the aid of every honest patriot in the land. The South, too, will need the services of her best men, and she must rid herself of her traitors, and her selfish, aspiring demagogues. The next four years will be full of destiny, for good or evil, to her and to the Union. NEVER before has the country been in so much peril as recently:—the storm has lulled for the present, but it may soon return with equal, or even aggravated fury; and it will be the part of wisdom to *prepare for the worst*."

"I should distrust my own abilities in the *crisis* in which we now seem to be placed. Texas has, doubtless, many men more adequate to the task of representing her in the Senate than myself; and if one of these should be selected I shall be contented to remain in the retirement which, since 1846, I have proposed to myself. If, on the contrary, I should be selected for so distinguished a position, I should accept it with a proper appreciation of its honors and responsibilities, and with an eye single to the best interests of Texas and the Union."

"It is proper in saying this, that I should say a few words in reference to the position I have, all my life, occupied in relation to public office. I have made it an invariable rule *never* to seek office, and on the other hand never to decline it when there appeared to me to be a necessity for my accepting public trust, as was the case in my view of the matter from 1835 to 1846. In the latter year, upon the annexation of Texas and my withdrawal from the Presidency, I retired to my little farm with the expectation of remaining there during the remainder of my life, and in the hope that circumstances would not again arise, during my lifetime, in the affairs of the country, when my sense of public duty would become paramount to my wishes for retirement and repose from the cares of office. But recent events, 'like a fire bell in the night,' alarmed me, and for the last two years I have withdrawn from my seclusion, and actively participated in the advocacy of democratic principles and of the democratic party, to which I have always belonged. I could not be indifferent, and, consequently, was not willing to remain silent; and I sincerely regret that circumstances have recently arisen, and do *now* unfortunately exist in the public affairs of the country, which will no longer permit me to decline a call of my fellow-citizens to serve them, should such a call be made upon me."

It will be for the Legislature of Texas in November to determine upon this great question. Interests of immense magnitude are involved, interests which not only attach to the present inhabitants, but to the millions who are to succeed us. Mr. Jones's position upon the Southern question has been ably set forth by him in his letters and speeches published during the last two years, and needs no explanations from us.

We need sound, patriotic, conservative, faithful, Union-loving men in the Senate of the United States; not mere declaimers and aspirants for the Presidency—we have had "something too much of that" already.

It is due to Anson Jones to send him to the Senate—due to his talents, to his faithfulness, to his services. There is no one in Texas more capable, honest and faithful than him, and if his claims are ignored by our Legislature, however worthy the man selected may be, one thing is certain, the stain of ingratitude will be fixed, deep and indelible, upon the fair escutcheon of our gallant and proud young State, which "all great Ocean's water" can never wash out!

THE OLD CAPITOL IN AUSTIN.

This was a rather rudely constructed frame building, and was for a year or two the place of session for the Congress of the Republic of Texas. Its walls have reverberated to the eloquent appeals of many of the most patriotic and gifted sons of Texas. The Convention which formed our present State Constitution met in it, July 4th, 1845. There the Legislature continued to convene until the new Capitol was finished. Since then it has been used for various purposes. It is gone now—torn down, and a market and town hall will occupy the site.

One by one the vestiges of our former nationality disappear. To the old Texian these things produce a sorrowful impression, despite the conviction that they are the results of time and progress. He cannot forget the day when this humble house was the capitol of a nation few in numbers, but rich in the elements of patriotism—blindly and ardently devoted to the country, and ever ready with stout hands and brave hearts to defend it. His mind will revert to old times, old scenes and old men—to the period when every citizen was, perforce, a soldier, and all felt and acted as a band of brothers. And in no instance was the feeling more evident than on the 19th of February, 1846. When President Anson Jones, on the steps of that same old house, in an impressive and touching address, announced the change of government—the annexation of Texas to the Union; and concluded by saying, "The Republic of Texas is no more!" there was a smothering of sensations which all felt, yet few desired to display in public. Broad chests heaved—strong hands were clinched, and tears were flowing down cheeks where they had been strangers for long, long years. It was a moment of deep, intense emotion. Had any one doubted the affection of Texians for the beautiful land of their adoption, this scene would have removed all skepticism.

The old house is gone—it has disappeared before the resistless wave of progress—it is numbered with the things that were; yet there are loyal hearts which will beat faster when they think of the by-gone days when it was the capitol of a fearless people, who loved their own sunny land for itself alone, and were always in readiness to sacrifice property and life to sustain its honor and preserve its integrity. Linked as it is with our past history —with the brief, glorious and brilliant career of the "Lone Star Republic," they cannot think of it without endorsing the sentiment of the immortal Burns:—

> "Still o'er these scenes my memory wakes,
> And fondly broods with miser care;
> Time but the impression deeper makes,
> As streams their channels deeper wear."

[*Times.*

[*From the Ranger, Sept. 5th.*]

We noticed a short time since some remarks of the *Telegraph* in relation to a communication in this paper over the signature of "Many Citizens," proposing the name of Anson Jones for the Senate, which appeared simultaneously with another communication proposing the name of Col. White, as the successor of Gen. Rusk, in which remarks the editor of that paper fell into the unintentional error of supposing Dr. Jones was proposed as Gen. Rusk's successor. We were about preparing an article in reply, when we were happy to see that the *Telegraph* had itself noticed the error, and in correcting it, while expressing its personal preference for Gov. E. M. Pease, takes occasion to pay the following very just tribute to the merits and qualifications of Anson Jones.

"We learn that the name of this distinguished gentleman has been spoken of for months, as the proper man to take the place of Gen. Houston, both because of the high positions he has well and worthily filled, and of his judgment and talents, as well as his marked devotion to Southern institutions, thus affording a strong contrast to the course of the gentleman whose term of office will now shortly expire. We take pleasure in saying, that if the choice of the Legislature should fall upon the Ex-President, our State will have in him a representative in the Senate chamber who will reflect great credit upon its choice, who will well represent her interests, and always defend her cause."

We should have inserted the above last week, but unfortunately had mislaid our copy of the *Telegraph*. We take this occasion to say that the name of Col. White was proposed by one of his friends without his knowledge, and that we feel certain (or well assured) the Colonel has no desire or intention of being considered a candidate for Senator.

FRONTIER PROTECTION.

Sam Houston Votes against Giving Protection to the Frontier.

In 1856, Congress adjourned without granting supplies to the army, notwithstanding that actual hostilities with the whites were existing with various Indian tribes on the frontier. The President issued his proclamation, calling Congress together in extra session, when the following vote on the four regiment bill was taken in the U. S. Senate.

The President—If no further amendments be proposed, the question will be on engrossing the amendments, and ordering the bill to a third reading.

Mr. Houston—On that question I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 32, nays 7, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bell, Benjamin, Brodhead, Brown, Cass, Clayton, Dawson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Gwin, Hunter, James, Johnson, Jones of Tennessee, Mallory, Morton, Pearce, Petit, Reid, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Slidell, Stuart, Toucey, Weller, Wells, and Weight—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Brainerd, Chase, Gillette, Houston, Seward, Sumner, and Wade—7.

Thus every man who voted with Sam Houston against frontier protection was either a free soiler or an abolitionist.

HOUSTON PREACHES SUBMISSION TO FREMONT.

Mr. Houston, of Texas—"I have heard it in the streets—I have heard it from official gentlemen—it is not necessary, nor would it be proper for me to name them—that in a contingency, if a gentleman, who is now a candidate for the Presidency, should be elected, resistance will be made, and a thousand bayonets will be glistening in this avenue to resist him. Sir, that sentiment is not worthy of an American. If I had a twin brother who uttered it I should certainly rebuke him, if I did not chastise him."—*Cong. Globe for* 1856, (*Extra Session*,) *p* 78.

WHY SAM HOUSTON LEFT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Mr. Clay—"With the permission of the Senator, I should be glad to ask him a question."

Mr. Houston—"With great pleasure."

Mr. Clay—"I wish to understand the Senator distinctly. I understood him to say, that he left the democratic party because it advocated the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

Mr. Houston—"Yes, sir."—*Cong. Globe for* 1856, (*Extra Session*,) *p*. 77.

HOUSTON'S VOTE AGAINST RUNNING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE, 36° 30′, TO THE PACIFIC.

Upon the question to recede from the third amendment, being the section extending the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific ocean, the yeas and nays were ordered, and it was determined in the affirmative, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Baldwin, Benton, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Cameron, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Hannegan, Houston, Miller, Niles, Phelps, Spruance, Upham, Walker, and Webster—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson, of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Metcalfe, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Turney. Underwood, Westcott, and Yulee—24.—*See Cong. Globe, vol.* 18, *p.* 1078.

HOUSTON ADVOCATES SECRET POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

"The opponents of the American order exclaim, 'It is a political association, and, therefore, ought not to be secret.' I reply, yes, it is secret, and its name denotes its objects. Is it the first secret political society which has been organized in the United States?"

* * * * * * * *

"From my knowledge of the character of Washington, the sacrifices he made for his country, united with his fervid patriotism, and his preference for every thing American, I cannot doubt, for one moment, if he were now living, he would cheerfully sanction the principles of the American order. From my personal and familiar knowledge of the principles of Gen. Jackson, I am confident that, were he living to counteract the policy of European potentates and statesmen, to throw upon our shores their refuse population of convicts and paupers, to pervert our ballot boxes, and populate our poor houses, he would most cordially sanction and inculcate the principles of the American Order." * * * * * *

"I come forward with cheerfulness, and declare that *I believe the salvation of my country is only to be secured by adherence to the principles of the American Order*."—*Letter of Sam Houston, Independence, Texas, July* 24, 1855.

THE SLANDER JUST BEFORE AN ELECTION.

"I perceive, by the intelligence of the day, that one of the oldest Democratic statesmen, the standard-bearer of the party, Gen. Cass, has approved of the platform of the American order, as proclaimed to the world by the Convention at Philadelphia."—*Sam Houston's Independence Letter, July* 24, 1847.

HOUSTON BLAMES THE FRONTIER SETTLERS FOR THE INDIAN OUTRAGES.

Mr. Houston said—"The Indians have been charged with an aggressive and hostile spirit towards the whites; but we find, upon inquiry, that every instance of that sort which has been imputed to them, has been induced and provoked by the white man, either by acts of direct aggression upon the Indians, or by his own incaution, alluring them to a violation of the security against the cupidity of the Indians."—*Cong. Globe, p.* 437, *vol.* 30.

[*From the Petersburg Southside Democrat.*]

DISTINGUISHED COMPLIMENT FROM A HIGH QUARTER.

The annexed resolution was adopted with vociferous applause at a large and enthusiastic Black Republican State convention of New Jersey:

"*Resolved*, That one of the best fruits of this (Fremont's) triumph will be the removal, from the minds of Southern men, of an enormous prejudice against the North; and that it will sustain and justify such Southern patriots as Houston, Bates, and Botts; that the South will then see that the North is only resisting a monstrous wrong, and seeking nothing but what is strictly right; that consequently the brotherhood of the North and South, destroyed now by the pro-slavery demagogues, will be re-established; that peace and friendship shall be restored; that the North will commit no aggression, and the South attempt no secession; that it will be proved, in the language of Mr. Bates, that it is a slander and calumny upon the South to predict that it will not submit to Mr. Fremont's election; and that good men everywhere—in the South no less than in the North, East, and West—will join with the patriotic Houston in paying to the chosen chief magistrate of the people the tribute of their respectful homage."

"With Gen. Houston to lead the American (Know Nothing) forces, Texas will be redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled from democratic tyranny."—*Louisville Journal.*

VINDICATION OF THE 3,000 ABOLITION PREACHERS.

We give below an extract from the proceedings of the U. S. Senate, showing the position taken by Sam Houston, in vindication of the 3,000 Abolition preachers of New England:

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:*

"The undersigned, clergymen of different religious denominations in New England, hereby, in the name of Almighty God, and in his presence, do solemnly *protest against* the passage of what is known as the Nebraska Bill, or any repeal or modification of the existing legal prohibitions of slavery in that part of our national domain, which it is proposed to organize into the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. We protest against it *as a great moral wrong, as a breach of faith* eminently unjust to the moral principles of the community, and *subversive of all confidence in national engagements;* as a measure *full of danger* to the peace, and even the existence of our beloved Union, and exposing us to the *righteous judgment of the Almighty:* and your protestants, as in duty bound, will ever pray.—*Signed by* 3,050 *Clergymen of New England.*"

* * * * * * * *

Mr. Houston—"I think that a petition of this kind ought to be received, and that it is not subject to the charge brought against it by the Senator from Illinois. It does not arraign our action by being drawn up after that action was had. The Nebraska bill passed this body on the night of the 3d, or rather on the morning of the 4th instant. The memorial appears to be dated on the 1st of March. *I cannot think that it meant any indignity to the Senate.* There is nothing expressive of any such feeling in it. It is a right that all individuals in the community have, if their terms are respectful, to memorialize the Senate of the United States upon any subject. Whether there is any ulterior object in this I know not; but from the date of the memorial, and from the number of signers, I am induced to believe that the memorialists thought there was something wrong in that bill; and if they believed that its passage would be a *breach of faith* on the part of the Government, *they had a right to say so.* I took the liberty of making the same charge *here.*"

* * * * * * * *

"I do not believe that these ministers have sent this memorial here to manufacture political capital, to have it entered on the records of the Senate, so that it might be taken back and disseminated through the country. *Sir, it comes from the country.* I told you that there would be agitation; but it was denied upon this floor. Is not this agitation? *Three thousand* *ministers of the living God upon earth—his vicegerents—send a memorial here upon this subject*, and yet you tell me that there is no excitement in the country! Sir, you realise what I anticipated. The country has to bear the infliction."

Mr. Mason said—"I am willing to let any number of citizens protest against the measure which has recently passed the Senate.—They have a right to do so, in respectful language, such as becomes gentlemen in addressing each other. If thirty thousand, or three hundred thousand citizens come from New England, let them be heard. It is a respect due to them; but when they come here, not as citizens, but declaring that they come as ministers of the Gospel, and as the Senator from Texas [Mr. Houston] declared them to be, vicegerents of the Almighty—so I understood him to declare, possibly he meant viceregents to supervise and control the legislation of the country—I say, when they come here as a class unknown to the Government, a class that the Government does not mean to know in any form or shape, but to denounce our action as a great moral wrong, because they claim to be the 'vicegerents' of the Almighty, we are bound—not from disrespect to them as citizens, not from disrespect to the cloth which they do not grace, but from respect to the Government, from respect to that sacred public trust which has been committed to us—to carry out the policy of the Government and refuse to recognise them. Sir, their object, as was well said by the Senator from Illinois, has been agitation—agitation; and I presume that their cloth and their ministry will enable them to agitate with some success. I say, then, Mr. President, in my judgment it is due to the public trust which we are here to administer, that we should carry out the policy of the Government, and refuse to recognize these ministers of the Gospel in coming here. I move, therefore, the petition be not received, as the best evidence of the sense of the Senate of its character."

Mr. Butler—"It has been received, I believe, and all that is left is to protest against the protestants. I have great respect, Mr. President, for the pulpit. I have such a respect for it that I would almost submit to a rebuke from a minister of the Gospel, even in my official capacity; but they lose a portion of my respect when I see an organization for, I believe, the first time in the history of this Government, of clergymen within a local precinct, within the limits of New England, assuming to be, as the Senator from Texas said, *the vicegerents of Heaven*, coming to the Senate of the United States, not as citizens, as my friend from Virginia has said, but as the organs of God—for they do not come here petitioning or presenting their views under the sanction of the obligation and responsibilities of citizens under the Constitution of the United States, but they have dared to quit the pulpit and step into the political arena, and speak as the organs of Almighty God. Sir, they assume to be the foreman of the jury which is to pronounce the verdict and judgment of God upon earth. They do not protest as ordinary citizens do; but they mingle in the protest what they would have us believe is the judgment of the Almighty.—When the clergy quit the province which is assigned to them, in which they can dispense the Gospel—that Gospel which is represented as the lamb, not as the tiger or the lion—when they would convert the lamb into the lion, going about in the form of agitators, seeking whom they may devour, instead of the meek and lowly representatives of Christ, they divest themselves of all respect which I can give them. Sir, the ministers of the Gospel are the representatives of the lowly and poor lamb—of Christ; but when the men who have signed that paper—I do not know with what ends; I do not say a word against them as individuals, for I have no doubt they are good and respectable, and many of them Christians—assume to organize themselves as clergymen to come before the country and protest against the deliberations of the Senate of the United States, they deserve at least, the grave censure of that body.

Mr. Adams.—During the discussion of the Nebraska bill before the Senate, I did not open my mouth; nor should I now, but for the remarks which have fallen from the Senator from Texas, [Mr. Houston,] my old and familiar friend. He says there is agitation, and that the display upon your table is evidence of it. Suppose there is agitation; at whose door ought the fault to lie, if fault there be? Was the action of this body right or wrong? If we did what was right and proper, according to the republican institutions of this country, and agitation arises out of it, the responsibility neither rests upon the distinguished Senator who introduced the bill nor those who voted for it. What was that action? This body, by its vote, removed a legislative censure upon the institutions of the South—a censure which has existed for more than thirty years, and under which we had lived submissively until now, for the sake of peace. For the first time in thirty years when that censure could be repealed, when the Southern States place themselves as the Constitution places them, upon an equality with the Northen States, we are committing a very great outrage when we simply say that the people of every portion of this country within the limits of our constitutional authority shall be governed by their own laws in their own way. That is the whole of it."

HOUSTON'S VOTE AGAINST THE NEBRASKA-KANSAS BILL.

We have shown by our review of the crisis of 1848, the tendencies of Sam Houston to coquette the freesoil vote of the North. He even went so far as to recede from the amendment to run the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific, notwithstanding all his pretensions about holding that line sacred on account of the resolutions of annexation incorporating the Compromise line as a stipulation for receiving Texas into the Union. He has no night to boast of his respect for that Compromise, for he has done nothing to deserve it.

The people of Texas chose to try him again, and now we find him still more boldly playing into the hands of Northern men.

We will see how completely his vote in 1855 stands in opposition to his own declarations in 1850 on the power of Congress over the territories. On the 23d of January, he said in his place in the United States Senate:

"I believe, in the first place, that the *Congress of the United States does not possess the power to legislate upon the subject of slavery, either within the territories or any other section of the Union.*"—[See Cong. Globe for 1850.]

Now let us refer to his vote in 1854 upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill. We quote the following proceedings from the Congressional Globe, vol. 28, p. 421:

TERRITORY OF NEBRASKA.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska.

The pending question is on the amendment moved by Mr. Douglas, to the fourteenth section of the substitute reported by the Committee on Territories, to strike out the words

—"which [the Missouri Compromise act] was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is hereby declared inoperative,"

and to insert,

—"*which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories; as recognized by the legislation of* 1850, *commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom,* but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Seward called for the yeas and nays upon the amendment, and they were taken, and resulted—yeas 35, nays 10, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Bayard, Bell, Benjamin, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clayton, Dawson, Dixon, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Gwin, Hunter, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Jones of Tennessee, Mason, Morton, Norris, Pearce, Pettit, Pratt, Sebastian, Slidell, Stuart, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, Weller, and Williams—35.

NAYS.—Messrs. Allen, Chase, Dodge of Wisconsin, Everett, Fish, Foot, Houston, Seward, Sumner, and Wade—10.

Here then we present the record of Sam Houston, which shows that he not only voted in 1854, in direct opposition to his own declarations in 1850, but he did so in company with Free Soilers and Abolitionists unsupported by even Bell of Tennessee. There the damning record stands, and who can wipe it out? Who, we ask, can stand up, and in the face of Sam Houston's own declaration in 1850 directly and palpably violated and betrayed in 1854, vote in August next that he was justified in the act?

What palliation was there for this vote?

He deceived us in 1848.—*We trusted him once more, and were again betrayed in* 1854.

The Senate in 1848 amended the Oregon bill; extending the Missouri compromise line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific, and thus gave to the South some chance of obtaining slave territory in California; for no one doubts that thousands of slaves would have been sent to the mines of California had this amendment been passed, and security thus given for the protection of slave property. The bill, as amended, went to the House, when the amendment was stricken out, and the bill returned to the Senate.

Mr. Mason of Virginia moved to lay the bill on the table. The yeas and nays stood:

YEAS—Messrs. Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia King, Mangum, Mason, Pearce, RUSK, Turney, Westcott and Yulee—18.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Cameron, Clarke, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamilton, HOUSTON, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Walker and Webster—32.

Mr. Mason then moved to postpone the further consideration of this bill until half-past 5 o'clock. The yeas and nays stood:

YEAS—Messrs. Badger, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Louis, Mangum, Mason, Pearce, RUSK, Sebastian, Turney, Westcott and Yulee—23.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Cameron, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, HOUSTON, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Phelps, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Walker and Webster—34.

Mr. Calhoun expresses his apprehension that there was a fixed majority in this Senate and in the House opposed to any further trial at conciliation. Still he hopes the Senate would preserve a correct position, and vote for the appointment of a committee of conference. He might say, without any self-flattery, that he had all along foreseen this result. Let those who oppose the views of the South lay their cause before the country, and defend it as they could. The great strife between the North and the South is ended. The North is determined to exclude the property of the slaveholder, and of course the slaveholder himself, from its territory.

Sam Houston said—

"It could not be the interest of the North to destroy the South, notwithstanding the papers signed by old men, and old women, and pretty little girls, praying for abolition, got up in the very small coteries—these could not ruffle the Union. The *intelligent* and manly spirit of the North would rise up to defend the Union. He wished no separation of the States. *He had too much confidence in the North to fear any injury from that section.* And he thought the South—and he was a Southern man—should make some sacrifice for the purpose of reconciliation with the North."

"The South had no reason to complain because the North was the beneficiary of the favors of the Government."

Which prediction was right in 1854? But we proceed with the vote—

Under the question to recede from the third amendment, being the section extending the line of the *Missouri Compromise* to the Pacific Ocean, the yeas and nays were ordered, and it was determined in the affirmative, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Baldwin, Benton, Bradbury, Bright, Cameron. Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Douglas, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Hannegan, HOUSTON,* Miller, Niles, Phelps, Spruance, Upham, Walker and Webster—29.

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* Benton and Houston had it in their power in 1848 to prevent the Senate from receding from their amendment extending the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific. Their two votes changed to the negative would have made a tie, or 27 to 27, and under the rule (the Vice-President being absent) the motion to recede would have been lost.

A similar thing occurred in the Baltimore Convention the same year. The motion to admit the free soil delegation from New York was determined affirmatively by the casting vote of Texas—Houston controlling it. One vote changed to the negative would have defeated it.

Texas is under many obligations to the South, and it was base ingratitude to have deserted the cause of her friends in this hour of their greatest need; it was also a betrayal of the best interests of Texas herself.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Louis, Mangum, Mason, Metcalfe, Pearce, RUSK, Sebastian, Turney, Underwood, Westcott and Yulee—25.

The Senate thus having receded by a majority of only four votes from the amendment to extend the Missouri compromise line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific, the remaining amendments were separately receded from without a division, and the bill passed with a clause extending to Oregon the rights, privileges and advantages secured to the people of the Territory of the United States North-West of the river Ohio.

The prediction of every Southern Senator at that day was, that the North were determined to crush out slavery from every territory of the United States. Houston alone stood up, and with a confidence which a charlatan or demagogue in politics alone could assume, asserted that "he had *too much confidence in the North to fear any injury from that section.*" These were his memorable words—a sad tale for Texas to reflect upon. Her magnanimous people tried him again in 1855, and he once more deceived them, and crowned the measure of his treachery to the South by vindicating 3,000 *New England Abolition preachers*, while preaching a *crusade* against our institutions. These he applauded and eulogized as the "*vice-gerents of God.*" Can the measure of a man's treachery be more complete? He now denies the criminality of his act—denies the verdict rendered by the people of Texas in their last Legislature, and puts the issue upon his election for Governor.

We ask what man who expects Texas to be settled by Southern planters, with their slave property, can so far seek to prostrate our future hopes of immigrant population by electing Sam Houston to wield the destinies of the State, and thus retracting our censure of his infidelity to Southern institutions, give him a *carte blanche* for all further operations against the South? The National Democratic party contended against him and all the free soil factions of the North, and upon that party the future success of Southern rights in the Union alone depends. Texians, this truly is the hour of our danger!—*State Gazette, July 4th,* 1857, *copied by Galveston News.*

[*From the Congressional Globe, vol. 28, p. 532.*]

VOTE ON THE NEBRASKA-KANSAS BILL.

Analysis of the Senatorial vote on the Nebraska bill.

FOR THE BILL.
Southern Democrats.

Adams, of Mississippi,
Atchison, of Missouri,
Bayard, of Delaware,
Brown, of Mississippi,
Butler, of South Carolina,
Clay, of Alabama,
Evans, of South Carolina,
Fitzpatrick, of Alabama,
Hunter, of Virginia,
Johnson, of Arkansas,
Mason, of Virginia,
Rusk, of Texas,
Sebastian, of Arkansas,
Slidell, of Louisiana—14.

FOR THE BILL.
Southern Whigs.

Badger, of North Carolina,
Benjamin, of Louisiana,
Dawson, of Georgia,
Dixon, of Kentucky,
Greyer, of Missouri,
Jones, of Tennessee,
Morton, of Florida,
Pratt, of Maryland,
Thompson, of Kentucky—9.

FOR THE BILL.
Northern Democrats.

Brodhead, of Pennsylvania,
Cass, of Michigan,
Dodge, of Iowa,
Douglas, of Illinois,
Gwin, of California,
Jones, of Iowa,
Norris, of New Hampshire,
Pettit, of Indiana,
Shields, of Illinois,
Stewart, of Michigan,
Thompson, of New Jersey,
Toucey, of Connecticut,
Weller, of California,
Williams, of N. H.—14.

FOR THE BILL.
Northern Whigs.

☞ 0000!

AGAINST THE BILL.

Sam Houston, of Texas,
John Bell, of Tennessee.

Free soilers and Abolitionists.

Seward, of New York,
Smith, of Connecticut,
Chase, of Ohio,
Foot, of Vermont,
Walker, of Wisconsin,
Fish, of New York,
Sumner, of Massachusetts,
James, of Rhode Island,
Fessenden, of Maine,
Dodge, of Wisconsin,
Wade, of Ohio,
Hamlin, of Maine.

Nine Senators were not present when the vote was taken. It is understood they would have voted as follows:

FOR THE BILL.	FOR THE BILL.	AGAINST THE BILL.
Democrats.	*Whigs.*	
Bright, of Ind.,	Clayton, of Del.,	Everett, of Mass.,
Wright, of N. J.,	Pearce, of Md.,	Cooper, of Penn.,
Mallory, of Fla.	Toombs, of Ga.	Allen, of R. I.

Int. Improvement.—In a speech at Austin, in the latter part of 1853, Gen. Houston made a declaration against the policy of aiding Railroads by loans from the State, and said, "he would sooner see every dollar in the treasury sunk in the deepest hole in the Colorado than so loaned."

[*Houston Telegraph*, *Sept.* 23*d*, 1857.]

GALVESTON.—The News contains some correspondence from Ex-President Anson Jones, of considerable historical interest. We, with others, wish that Dr. Jones would write a history of his times, believing that such a book would be of great value to our State, and interest to the people.

IN a communication concerning Judge Williamson the other day, "Brazos" said that the Franco-Texian bill was finally defeated in the House. This, we are assured by one who was a member of Congress at that time, is a mistake.

Through the influence of Gen. Houston and his friends, it passed through the House, in one of the last days of the session. The Senate was about equally divided upon the bill, and it was understood that if the Senate *amended* it or sent it to a committee, it would be lost. There were but three days of the session left. It passed its first reading, but when it came up on the second day for the second reading, Dr. Barnet, of Washington, our informant thinks, rose and proposed an important amendment, which, after a high discussion, was put to vote, and carried by the casting vote of the president pro tem., Dr. Anson Jones. This decided the fate of the bill. Our informant gives the facts from recollection, but believes they are as given.

We published, last week, a communication from "Plunket," some of the sentiments of which we could not endorse. We did not deem it necessary to say so at the time, because all our readers, so far as we can learn, have good sense enough to discriminate between editorial and communicated matter. They will not be apt to attribute to us opinions which we do not hold, or to suppose that there is any thing "rotten in Denmark," be-because we give space to the opinions of others, who, we are fain to believe, are honest in their views, and as good lovers of their country as we are.

As to Plunket's idea that none but the Southern born should represent this State in the United States Senate, it would be well for him to bear in mind that the population of Texas is made up of immigration from all parts of the world. He would also know, if he had inquired into the matter, that the most thorough pro-slavery men now in the South, are not all among the descendants of the compatriots of Jefferson, not a few of whom look forward to the ultimate abolition of slavery as the final hope of the South; nor are those of doubtful position on this question to be found among those born elsewhere, who, from a love of the institutions of the South, and convictions of mature judgment of the right of these institutions, have laid their hearthstones here, and became entirely identified with the interests of this region.

ELECTION STATISTICS.

The first executive officer elected in Texas, after the revolution broke out, was a Provisional Governor, chosen by the "Consultation," on the 11th of November, 1835. The vote stood:

For Henry Smith, of Brazoria, . . .	31
Stephen F. Austin, ...	22
James W. Robinson, for Lieut. Governor,	52

On the adoption of the Constitution in March following, 1836, the Convention elected David G. Burnet, President *ad interim*, and Lorenzo de Zavala, Vice President, who served till the 22d of October following, 1836. We have not the vote.

For President, September, 1836.

Sam Houston,	4,374
Henry Smith,	743
Stephen F. Austin,	587—5,704
M. B. Lamar, majority, Vice President,	2,699

For President, September, 1838.

Mirabeau B. Lamar,	6,995
Robert Wilson,	252—7,247
D. G. Burnet, Vice President,	3,952
A. C. Horton,	1,971
Joseph Rowe,	1,215

For President in 1841.

Sam Houston,	7,915
David G. Burnet,	3,616—11,531
E. Burleson, Vice President,	6,141
Memucan Hunt,	4,336

For Last President in 1844.

Anson Jones,	7,037
Edward Burleson,	5,668
Scattering,	47—12,752

For First Governor, November, 1845.

J. P. Henderson,	7,853
Dr. J. B. Miller,	1,673
Scattering,	52—9,578
A. C. Horton, Lieut. Governor,	4,204
N. H. Darnell,	4,084

For Governor in 1847.

George T. Wood,	7,154
Dr. J. B. Miller,	5,106
N. H. Darnell,	1,276
J. J. Robinson,	379
Scattering,	852—14,767
J. A. Greer, Lieut. Governor,	4,890
E. H. Tarrant,	3,587
Edwin Waller,	2,979
—— Haynie,	327

For Governor in 1849.

P. H. Bell,	10,319	
G. T. Wood,	8,764	
J. T. Mills,	2,632	—21,715
J. A. Greer, Lieut. Governor,	10,599	
J. W. Henderson,	6,981	
——— Johnson,	1,289	

For Governor in 1851.

P. H. Bell,	13,595	
M. T. Johnson,	5,262	
J. A. Greer,	4,061	
B. H. Epperson,	2,971	
T. J. Chambers,	2,320	
Scattering,	100	—28,309
James W. Henderson, Lieut. Governor,	9,659	
Matt. Ward,	7,788	
Dr. Charles G. Keenan,	5,740	
James S. Gillet,	2,644	

For Governor, 1853.

Elisha M. Pease,	13,091	
William B. Ochiltree,	9,178	
George T. Wood,	5,983	
Lemuel D. Evans,	4,677	
Thomas J. Chambers,	2,449	
John W. Cancey,	315	
Scattering,	459	—36,152
David C. Dickson, Lieut. Governor,	14,215	
Dr. J. B. Robertson,	6,868	
Jared E. Kirby,	5,967	
Richard A. Goode,	885	
William C. Henry,	4,823	

For Governor, 1855.

Elisha M. Pease,	26,336	
David C. Dickson,	17,968	
Scattering,	1,035	—45,339
Hardin R. Runnels, Lieut. Governor,	21,073	
W. G. W. Jowers,	17,817	
Andrew Neill,	4,360	

Civilian.

[*Huntsville Item, Sept.* 26*th*, 1857.]

We copy the following from the Galveston News, not to post up democrats, but the opposition. What a history that of

Texas will be, when written without prejudice or partiality! Who will be the historian?

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.—It has become a trite remark that the political and party prejudices of the day, and the influences wielded by political aspirants, for the accomplishment of their selfish ends, have, in nearly all countries, generally so distorted facts in regard to contemporaneous events, that it has required many years to expose the errors with which the public have been deceived by interested and ambitious partisans, and unscrupulous office-seekers. Texas furnishes a striking illustration of these persevering efforts to distort, and even to falsify, some of the most important events of our revolutionary history.

[*From "News" of Oct. 13th.*]

SEGUIN, Sept. 30th, 1857.

EDS. NEWS:—It behooves the Democratic party to settle down upon one of the many candidates spoken of for U. S. Senator, for Western Texas. As regards the East, I think it nothing but fair that they should have the right to select their favorite, and it is only of the West that I wish to speak.

There are many able and experienced statesmen spoken of from the West; among them, Gov. Pease, Paschall, Scurry, Potter, Judge Hemphill, and others; all of them are worthy men, good and true, and whom the West would delight to honor. But there is another spoken of, and his friends are legion. I allude to the Hon. Anson Jones, who, I believe, would be more able to concentrate the Democratic vote, and bring about a much more unanimity of feeling and sentiment in our party. His devotion to principle, his unwavering adherence to the doctrine of State Rights, his long and faithful services rendered to the country and the Democratic party, combined with the patriotic heroism displayed by him in the early days of the Republic of Texas, place him pre-eminently ahead, and, in fact, the first choice of the people for that distinguished position. He was the first of the old friends of Gen. Houston who dared to brook his opposition, and to the bold, manly stand taken by him at the incipiency of Know Nothingism in our State, the democracy is greatly indebted for its success. Aside from his abilities, of which there is not a doubt—for the people of Texas have had evidences sufficient, in times long since past, of his powers as a statesman, chaste and forcible writer, and as an able and ready debater—we say he is peculiarly fitted for the position, and the *successor* of Sam Houston.

Enclosed you will please find an extract from a private letter written by the Hon. Anson Jones to a friend in this place, in reply to an urgent solicitation for him to become a candidate. It breathes a spirit of patriotism worthy the man and the cause he espouses. THE WEST.

WASHINGTON, TEXAS, Sept. 22d, 1857.

* * * * * I am leading a very retired life on my farm, and cannot well form an opinion as to who will be elected. There may be others more competent than myself to discharge the duties of this high trust, but I yield to none in long and faithful services to the country (Texas) and to the Democratic party; for I served the one for twenty-four, and the other for forty years, and in both instances without faltering, and to the best of my poor abilities. You do me but justice in your remarks about my early and earnest opposition to Know-Nothingism. I would have fought it harder if I could have respected it more, but my unutterable contempt for the party, and belief in the self-destroying corruption of its principles, restrained me. It is now dead, but it will have a successor in some form or other, and this successor, when he comes to claim his foul inheritance, we shall have to contend with. The situation of the country and the Union I regard as far from being safe. A million and a quarter of Black Republican votes given to the renegade Fremont—a divided and distracted South—the wedge of Abolitionism having just split the State of Missouri in two, through its very centre—Kansas probably lost to us, Virginia threatened with the fate of Missouri, attempts being about to be made to erect one or more Abolition States from the north-western and western portion of Texas, the fulminations of treasonable defiance from New Haven and elsewhere at the North, constitute a condition of public affairs any thing but satisfactory, and show the Democracy will have work enough to do for the next four or six years, and, perhaps, harder battles to fight than

any they have encountered heretofore. But we know now who our enemies are, and having rid ourselves of our Benedict Arnold, I confidently hope and trust the people will finally triumph over demagoguism and fanaticism, whatever shape or form they may take, even if it be "Distribution." * * *

* * * * * * * * *

Yours faithfully,

ANSON JONES.

THE SENATORSHIP.

[*From "Ranger" of Sept. 26th*, 1857.]

So far as we have been able to ascertain the sentiments of the people of Texas on the subject of a successor to Houston in the Senate of the United States, by conversation with gentlemen in attendance upon our District Court now in session, and by letters which have been received from various sections of the State since the announcement of the name of the HON. ANSON JONES for that office, that announcement appears to have been very favorably received, and we are induced to believe his election by the Legislature would give very general satisfaction. His eminent fitness for the position, and the various and important services he rendered the country in times past, are universally conceded and acknowledged. The following extract of a recent letter from a distinguished gentleman residing in Western Texas, speaks the general sentiment on this subject, as far as we have been able to ascertain it:

"This position is due to Dr. Jones, and it is due to his friends that he should at once announce his intentions to serve them in that capacity. He is the proper and legitimate successor of Houston. It is generally known, and conceded by all, that he was the first in our State to oppose this new-fangled party, and the very first to confront old SAM. Living as he did in the hotbed of Know-Nothingism, he sounded the alarm; he boldly proclaimed its tendencies, and defied them to the issue.

[*From "Item,"* 1857.]

What will become of the saying that "Republics are ungrateful, if an ex-President and an ex-Governor are sent from

Texas to the United States Senate? Already an ex-President has been there, and an ex-Chief Justice; should Anson Jones and J. Pinckney Henderson be chosen by the next Legislature, what a grand position will Texas occupy before the world! We believe, as to talent, both the gentlemen are equal at least to any in the State, and the locations of each render their election peculiarly fitting, to say nothing of their antecedents. We should not be at all surprised if both were chosen."

[MEM.: *Oct.* 21*st*, 1857.—Gen. Henderson deserves great credit for services rendered to Texas prior to 1846, and he is a statesman of some ability, and patriotic. But his election would be objectionable to *me*, on account of his extreme nullification, disunion, and *fillibustering* views, and his practices and habits, which are those of a gamester and a sot.]

[*From State Gazette, Nov. 7th*, 1857.]

THE HON. ANSON JONES.

MR. EDITOR:—In a few days the duty of electing two United States Senators will devolve upon the Legislature, and as a humble citizen of the State, whose interests are entirely identified with the same, we deem it not inappropriate to suggest, through the medium of your paper, the name of the distinguished individual which heads this article, as the most suitable person, in our opinion, that could be found within the limits of the State, to supersede Gen. Houston. His antecedents and constant loyalty to the party of which he is a member and an ornament, pre-eminently qualify him to occupy the position of United States Senator.

We are aware that many distinguished names have been suggested in connection with this honor, and that their claims will be advocated by their friends; but to every candid and impartial mind, and to all who will hold the scales of justice, and take into consideration the past services, the uniform course, and present position of the different individuals who are spoken of as candidates, the name of Anson Jones cannot fail to present itself as the proper one upon which the choice should fall.

We would not speak disparagingly of any one who is or may be a candidate before the Legislature, but must say, that at the present crisis, we need a man who is *now*, and *always* has been strictly a party man, a determined patriot, and a warm lover of his country—one whose character and principles make his country's interest inseparable from his own, and whose general views have always been the same, to support the peace and liberty of his country in that form and constitution of it which his fathers have transmitted to him. Such a man I know Anson Jones to be, and removed as he is, by age and experience, far above the intrigues of the demagogue or mere politician, is just the man that would devote his whole energies to the interests of his constituency.

And farthermore, we, as a member of the democratic party, cannot be satisfied unless Gen. Houston is superseded by Anson Jones; neither would we consider our victory complete, nor would Gen. Houston himself, unless some stanch old democrat be elected—one that has worked in the traces with him during days that have past; and to defeat such an one, and Jones in particular, he will set in motion every tool at his command. He has always been jealous of Jones' intellect and business capacity, and feared to see him in honorable position; consequently, he has publicly defamed and slandered him, whenever opportunity afforded—which, by-the-by, is one of the best evidences that we have of Jones' purity. 'Tis useless for us to say any thing farther in advocacy of Anson Jones. His history is identified with that of his country, and familiar to all. His services during the last Presidential campaign will long be remembered. Close upon the heels of Gen. Houston, he exposed the rottenness of Know-Nothingism with wonderful effect, and did more than any other one man to break down the K. N. majority in his own county, which secured three democratic representatives.

We bespeak for him a fair showing before the Legislature, and we have but little doubt as regards the result. F.

WASHINGTON Co., Oct. 25th, 1857.

[*Self to Hon. Oliver Jones.*]

BARRINGTON, Nov. 23d, 1857.

DEAR COUSIN:

* * * The result of the election for U. S. Senators was about what I expected, and what might reasonably enough have been calculated upon from a Legislature composed,

as ours is, of *lawyers*—some sixty or seventy of whom, having various private expectations of their own, were able to control the matter entirely. The election of Hemphill appears to have given the country "a chill," or, at least, to have been received very coldly; and the general expression, (so far as I have heard it,) is that in his selection we have lost all, or more than all the advantages we gained by our triumph in August. In either instance, the only jubilant parties over the result are the South Carolina fire-eaters and nullifiers, the filibusters, the bogus *Jackson Democrats*, with the disaffected ones, and the K. N.'s generally, with Gen. Houston in particular, who has been laboring *hard* for Hemphill since February, 1851, and *moderately* since 1841. The worst feature of Know-Nothingism has achieved a victory, i. e., the *proscription*, not of "foreigners and Catholics," but of native citizens, men who happened, half a century ago or more, to have been *born North* of Virginia! and a South Carolina birth, the practices of a gamester, and the habits of a drunkard, or a negro wife and family, with a life of licentiousness and *incest*, and a seventeen years' pensionship upon Texas have been declared (aside from selfish ones) paramount considerations in the choice of Senators. I erred, therefore, in the opinion expressed to you in my letter of the 5th of May last, published in the *News*, that "considerations of public interest * * doubtless will govern the Legislature in the choice," &c., and I now hasten to correct that error. The opinion was *premature*, and formed before the election of that body, and when I very sincerely *hoped* it would be constituted differently from what it is. "The wish was father to the thought," and if blame attaches for that thought, I trust you will charge it to the proper parent. * * * * * * *

ANSON JONES.

Hon. OLIVER JONES, Burleigh.

[*Mem.*—The above remarks will appear *harsh*, but the circumstances of the case must excuse that.]

[*From the Galveston News, Sept.* 16, 1857.]

The correspondence of Ex-President Anson Jones, in this paper, will doubtless attract considerable attention. Many of the facts of our past history, to which he refers, will of course be readily corroborated by living witnesses, as well as documentary evidence; but there are other particulars of no small importance in the chain of events, either as immediate causes or as results in the polititial drama of the past, which have never been so well understood, and about which there has been much difference of opinion. We may add, also, that Dr. Jones explains some of the diplomatic measures of his own and General Houston's administrations very differently from what we and most others understood them at the time. The long and intimate connection of Dr. Jones with our public affairs during our revolutionary struggle, doubtless makes him the best living witness at this day, of the motives which then controlled our diplomatic negotiations with other governments.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

AUSTIN COUNTY, May 2d, 1857.

HON. ANSON JONES:

DEAR SIR,—The time is at hand when there will be a vacancy in the United States Senate, by the expiration of the term of Sam Houston. It is not probable there will be a sufficient number of the K. N. order in the next Legislature to re-elect him, and he has so forfeited the confidence of his old friends, that they could not consistently support him for any office. The next question is relative to some suitable person to succeed him.

In my recent journeyings through the State, your name has been often mentioned in connection with that station; and I have been frequently requested, as a known friend of yours, to ascertain your views on this subject.

At your convenience please advise me if you are willing, again, to leave your present retirement for the turmoil of public life; and also, give me your views, generally, on the subject.

Yours truly, OLIVER JONES.

[REPLY.]

WASHINGTON, May 5th, 1857.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 2d inst., in relation to the Senatorship, has been received, and as I have already given an affirmative reply to very numerous letters, and requests in person, of a similar tenor, from gentlemen residing in different parts of the State, I have no hesitation in making a similar reply to the flattering request contained in your communication. As, however, you wish a general expression of my views upon the subject, I subjoin a copy (in substance) of a letter written to my friend, Judge Stout, of Red River county, last winter, which very fully expresses those views. I have, in this, dwelt very much upon the past, as I consider the truth of our history, which so many have been interested and active in perverting, required some vindication from me; and because I believed the *acts* of a public man constitute the best criterion by which to judge him, and above and beyond all mere *professions*, the very best assurance to the people for his future course. Considerations of public interest should, and doubtless will govern the Legislature in the selection of a Senator, but these considerations cannot be safely and certainly arrived at without some reference to the past, and to the wise and salutary teachings of experience.

For a full and detailed expression of my opinions upon all the *living issues* of the day, I refer you to my writings published during the late Presidential canvass.

Respectfully and truly yours,

ANSON JONES.

[MEM.—Sept. 30th. The recent election of some seventy or eighty briefless and reckless lawyers to the Legislature of Texas will probably discredit and falsify the opinion that "considerations of public interest will govern the Legislature in the selection of a Senator." The probability now is, that considerations directly the reverse of the above will control the elections of both the Senators.] A. J.

[COPY.]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6th, 1856.

HON. WILLIAM B. STOUT, CLARKSVILLE:

DEAR SIR,—Your kind favor of the 17th ult. has just come to hand, and I hasten to comply with your request to put you in possession of my views in relation to the senatorship; thanking you cordially at the same time, for the very friendly feelings you have been so good as to express in relation to myself, and the favorable and flattering sentiments contained in your letter concerning the manner in which, on former occasions, I discharged those public duties, which, by the voice of my fellow-citizens, were devolved upon me.

It seems to me to be a matter settled, that some other than General Houston will be chosen to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature which will be elected next summer, and convene in the November following. Any other conclusion than this would involve the acknowledgment of a power of "humbug" on his part, which, great as I acknowledge him to be in this line, cannot be conceded without involving, at the same time, the concession of an excess of "gullibility" on the part of the people of Texas, which for one, I should be most unwilling to make, as I believe and know such a concession would be a slander upon their honesty, their intelligence, and their self-respect. I am aware it would be an easy task to name demagogues whose popularity has remained undiminished, while popular confidence has been withdrawn from a long line of patriot statesmen. Mr. Macaulay, in his "History of England," has tritely enough observed, that "*while seven administrations were raised to power and lost it again, the profligate Wilkes retained his hold on the affections of a rabble whom he pillaged and ridiculed;*"—and also, as a deduction, in the instances to which *he* particularly referred, doubtless sufficiently plausible, that—"*the charge which may with justice be brought against the common people is, not that they are inconstant, but that they almost invariably choose their favorite so ill that their constancy is a vice and not a virtue!*"

But I have an abiding confidence in "the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the people" of Texas, and therefore believe that although they are disposed to yield very much in regard to General Houston, there is a point at which their confidence in him will be forfeited and withdrawn, and that that point has now been reached. In 1848, by his vote upon the Oregon bill, many persons, myself among the number, were induced to think he had abandoned and betrayed his own constituents and the South, in an overweening anxiety to secure the favor of the freesoil party, which he then doubtless believed was about to become the controlling political power. His course ever since that time has been in perfect harmony with his vote upon the Oregon bill, and with the motives and views which we believe actuated him in that vote. He has, indeed, deserted and betrayed, in quick succession, his own State first, and simultaneously, the interests of the Southern people, and then the principles of Democracy, and finally the Democratic party, by whose favor he was placed, for three consecutive terms, in the Senate of the United States. I need not specify the very numerous acts, votes and speeches by which this desertion and betrayal of a high trust has been evinced—they are but too well known to the country. It *does* therefore seem to me next to an impossibility that a constituency so betrayed and deserted, outraged and abused, "PILLAGED AND RIDICULED," will longer continue him in a position of power and influence, how much soever of a popular favorite he may, at one time, have been, when they see that same power and influence so unceasingly and persistently used, and for almost nine years, for their serious injury, if not for the utter destruction of their dearest rights.

You and I, my dear sir, have a right to speak *plainly* of Gen. H.'s acts, for we have both of us ever shown ourselves ready to sustain him whenever we could. We have fought his battles on many former occasions, and received not a few wounds in his defence. It was my fortune to co-operate with him longer and more closely than you did, or than fell to the lot of any other man to do. I was never unconscious of his very many faults, and was at no time one of his flatterers. *Circumstances* of great public interest and necessity induced me to hold important positions, for a short time, under his *first* administration as President, and during the whole of his second one; and I was, by the favor of the people, named as his successor. For the many reckless acts of his first administration I am in nowise responsible, as my duties in connection with it were at a foreign court. I have been forced to say, what I affirm to be most just and true, that "I saved his second administration from the errors, the follies, and the wide-spread ruin of the first, and succeeding him, carried out successfully a policy which I originated, and which led to the settlement of all our foreign and domestic difficulties, and to that prosperity which Texas has enjoyed and is now enjoying." I carried out that policy, too, during my own actual administration of the Government, and in the most vital and important emergencies, not only without his aid, but embarrassed by his obliquities or in direct opposition to his views and opinions, and in spite of his attempts to thwart me.

I know there are some men in Texas who would receive these assertions with extreme incredulity—men who believe that every good, whether political or otherwise, which the country has in all the past experienced, has been of his procuring, and that all the evils it has suffered have been brought upon it by his enemies, and in opposition to his advice. Gen. H. has spent his life in successfully appropriating to himself the wise and beneficial acts of other men, and in fixing upon innocent parties the blame and the reproach of his own numerous bad ones; but whenever the truth of history shall have been fairly and fully vindicated, *as will be the case at no very distant day*, the fact will be made apparent, that no prominent public man in Texas has, in reality, achieved so little of substantive benefit to the country as he has, while at the same time, as is now very apparent, no man has received credit for so much. My own deliberate conviction is that, in view of his entire public course, he has been a positive injury to the country, and brought upon it very many more and greater evils than benefits.

I have had the most abundant opportunity to know these things. After a service of some two years in the army, I was elected to the Congress of the Republic in 1837, having successfully opposed a favorite measure of Gen. Houston's administration, "The Texas R. R. Navigation and Banking Co.," which mammoth scheme of speculation I defeated, having been elected upon that issue. Upon three (*v. note*) other *great, vital and still more important* questions of administrative policy I had adopted and maintained decided opinions. I believed the salvation of the country depended upon these views being carried into practical effect, and I advocated them with unfaltering earnestness and constancy. Time has, long since, demonstrated their correctness, and they have been so acknowledged by the country. At my advent into the public councils of the nation, these views were powerfully opposed by some of the ablest men in the Republic—men in whose patriotism and honesty I had, and still continue to have, the most perfect confidence. I struggled, faithfully, to win these men to my opinions, but failing to do this, the consequence was I soon found myself arrayed in opposition to many, with whom, under other circumstances, I should most cheerfully have co-operated. I was more fortunate, however, with General Houston and those with whom he acted, and he was *alarmed* at my triumph over the Banking scheme, and, finally, joined me in my views of its impolicy. We soon found ourselves acting together upon the same "platform." *This* is the reason why I sustained him as I did—why I co-operated with him in our public affairs—and why I supported what was popularly, but falsely known as the "*Houston policy.*" I had but one object in this and in all my efforts in behalf of the country: and that was, *the final and ultimate triumph of Texas over all her dangers and all her difficulties.* I succeeded; and I was indifferent to aught else. I was willing General Houston, or General anybody else, should have all the credit and "glory," so the country was redeemed and saved. I have no particular taste for *mere* partisan politics—no strong desire for the popularity, as I possess none of the arts, of the demagogue. I am, by no means, indifferent to the just approbation of my fellow-citizens, but I have never attempted to win favor at the sacrifice of duty, truth, justice, self-respect, or the public welfare and safety. It would have been an easy matter for me to have floated on the flood-tide of political preferment in 1845–'6, but it would have been at the expense of hazarding the Independence and the Annexation of Texas, and of sacrificing the good faith of the country towards England, France, and other powers. I preferred sacrificing myself to jeopardizing the interests, or injuring, in the remotest degree, the fair name and fame of Texas. I have not, and never shall regret this sacrifice; and I have an abiding faith in the discriminating, though delayed, justice of the people of Texas.

But, my dear sir, I need not, with you, dwell longer on these past reminiscences, as you are too familiar with our history to make it either requisite or proper: and I will therefore turn from the past to the present and to the future, which more deeply concern you and me as well as every other citizen of Texas.

To use the language of a distinguished friend of mine, and one of the soundest, ablest, and best patriots and statesmen of

America, Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, in a letter to myself written on the eve of the late Presidential election: "We have, my dear sir, fallen upon evil times. It seems as if faction and fanaticism had embodied all the terrible elements of evil in one black cloud which threatens to burst over us. * * * * Such combinations neither reason nor recede, but like the swollen stream, gather blackness and fury as they press onward and bear away all obstructions with them. The struggle before us and in which we are engaged, is no more nor less than a conflict between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution, between fidelity and treason." It is true, in the recent glorious conflict, the people have been victorious over the arts of fanatics and demagogues; but the strife is soon again to be renewed. The fate of the country is secured for the moment, but our enemies will rally for other contests. I trust Mr. Buchanan may so wisely direct and govern the ship of State as to escape the shoals and rocks by which it is now surrounded, but he will need the aid of every honest patriot in the land. The South, too, will require the services of her best men, and she must rid herself, betimes, of her traitors, and her selfish, aspiring demagogues. The next four years will be full of destiny to her and to the Union. Never before has the country been in so much peril as recently. The storm has lulled for the present, but it may soon return with equal or aggravated fury, and it will be the part of wisdom to prepare for the worst.

I should distrust my own abilities in the condition in which we now seem to be placed. Texas has, doubtless, many men more adequate to the task of representing her in the Senate, than myself, and if one of these should be selected, I shall be contented to remain in the retirement which I have proposed to myself. If, on the contrary, I should be chosen for so distinguished a position, I should accept it with a proper appreciation of its honors and its responsibilities, and discharge its duties to the best of my ability, with an eye single to the best interests of Texas and the Union.

It is proper in saying this, that I should say a few words in reference to the position I have occupied in relation to public office. I have made it an invariable rule *never* to seek office; or to decline it when there appeared to me to be a necessity for my accepting public trust. In 1846, upon the annexation of Texas and my withdrawal from the Presidency, I retired to my farm with the expectation of remaining there the residue of my life. Recent events "like a fire-bell in the night" alarmed me, and for the last eighteen months I have withdrawn from my seclusion, and actively participated in the advocacy of Democratic principles and of the Democratic party. I could not be indifferent and consequently was unwilling to remain silent.

In reply to solicitations, in 1849, to become a candidate for Congress, I stated that it was opposed to my wishes, and that I adhered to the sentiments I expressed in reference to public office at the period of my retiring from the Presidency in 1846, and "that I hoped the time or the circumstances would not again occur in the public affairs of the country, during my lifetime, when my sense of duty to Texas would become paramount to my wishes for retirement and repose, but if, in this future destiny of the State, that time and those circumstances should arise, I would feel bound to obey the call of my fellow-citizens to serve them." I regret that circumstances *have* arisen and do now exist, which will no longer permit me to decline a call from my fellow-citizens to serve them, should such a call be made upon me.

I have thus, with entire frankness and freedom, put you in possession of my views and feelings in relation to the subject matters of your kind letter; and again, thanking you for your friendly interest in my behalf,

I remain, as ever, with sincere
regard, your friend,
ANSON JONES.

[NOTE.—The three points were:

1st. Annexation.

2d. A more economical administration of the government and a consequent prompt reduction of the army of civil, military and naval officers; also, as a necessay co-incident, a very limited issue of paper money.

3d. A *defensive* and conciliatory attitude towards Mexico, and peace with the Indians, believing it easy to *buy* their friendship (which would be both just and humane), but impossible to control or conquer them by any *force* at our disposition.

I was in favor of Independence, as were all parties in Texas, as an alternative, but I preferred Annexation, if practicable; and was, consequently, desirous to adopt and pursue a line of policy, as I always did, which should result in the one or the other, or in the presentation to the people of Texas of a free choice between these two alternatives: I believed the best way to secure *either* was to open the door wide to *both*. In this line of national policy I stood "solitary and alone."

The Indian policy which I advocated, was a very favorite one with General Houston. He was governed, in this, very much by private and personal considerations. His course towards the Indians was prompted by his individual connection and relationship, as well as association with the Cherokees, into which tribe he had *married*, and by which he had been *adopted*, and whose habits and mode of life he had *assumed*. My course was adopted from no partiality for the intruding or indigenous savages, but from views of public justice, policy, and expediency alone. I had no difficulty, in his adhering to the "Indian policy," for to that he was unalterably wedded by personal feeling, but in every thing else, he was very uncertain, wavering, and governed by whim, caprice, and the humor of the moment. While he apparently coincided with me in "a more economical administration of the government," it was more often urged as a plausible reason for injuring or punishing those who had incurred his displeasure by refusing to worship him as the "golden calf," than followed as a *principle* of his first or second administration. Though always loud-mouthed and blatant on the subject of "economy and retrenchment," his first term of office was but a series of unbounded recklessness and extravagance, and during his second term I had infinite trouble to preserve the country from a similar fate, but succeeded, with great pains and labor, in doing so to a very considerable extent. It is, however, a singular fact, and one by which I became very nearly discouraged and disheartened at the very threshold of my labors as a Cabinet officer, that in his inaugural address, almost the first remark to the sixth or "retrenchment Congress" (as it was already called) was, that they had "*pinioned his arms*," and begging them "*not to cripple him more*" by refusing appropriations.

In relation to a strictly "defensive attitude towards Mexico &c.," I was aided by his having already won at San Jacinto (by good luck) all the laurels he could ever expect to gain by war (for which he was qualified neither by military talent, education or much experience), and he was determined *no one else* should have a chance to win any. By a *judicious management* of his jealousies, therefore, I was, generally, able to keep him close to the defensive and conciliatory line of policy; but he flew from it two or three times in my absence, and went in for offensive incursions, as in the ill-advised and unfortunate Somerville and Snively expeditions.] A. J.

[*From "Item" of Sept. 26th*, 1857.]

We were surprised to notice in the last Civilian a studied attack on ex-President Anson Jones, apparently because his friends have named him for one of our next Senators. Does the writer suppose that the man whom Texians chose as their President when the lone Star banner floated free and untrammelled among the nations of the earth, is unfit to represent her in the Senate of the United States? If he does, he is cautious not to say so. He arrays against the doctor whatever of prejudice may have existed against him on account of his course on annexation. Is that fair? If all had been as mad for annexation as the people, what terms should we have gotten? It was necessary to have a cool head and a working mind at the helm during that momentous epoch, and in Anson Jones, just the man for the time was found. The people reverenced their President then; his talent and ability were acknowledged by all; nothing but the gratitude they owed to Houston and Rusk prevented his being selected as one of the delegates in the United States Senate. Things have changed since then. Houston has forfeited the confidence of his constituents; Rusk has gone to the spirit-land; two Senators have to be chosen to take the places of the illustrious departed: yet the Civilian, with a littleness unworthy of it, throws cold water on the name of Anson Jones, as though he were the last man in the State upon whom honor should be conferred. It may be deemed presumptuous in us to differ with our powerful island contemporary—

"O tremendous justice Midas!
Who shall oppose wise justice Midas!"

But perhaps it is unfortunate for us that we are not made of that sort of stuff which would allow silence when malice is inserting its envenomed fangs in the vitals of our friends. We are bound to strike a blow in their defence. Among the many names mentioned in connection with the coming election, we know of none who would more ably represent the interests of Texas, and of the South, than Dr. Anson Jones. Indeed, we know of but one whom we should individually prefer, and that one is James C. Wilson. We are quite willing to leave the election where it properly belongs—with the Legislature; but are not prepared to see its decision forestalled or anticipated, even by the mammoth Civilian.

[*Self to Hon. John Henry Brown.*]

BARRINGTON, near Washington, Texas, Oct. 13th, 1857.

HON. J. H. BROWN:

Galveston.—Dear sir. I returned from my trip to your very hospitable city on Sunday evening last, safe and well, and found all well here. The rains of Sunday and Monday, the 4th and 5th insts., and of last Sunday, were very heavy, and have thoroughly saturated the earth, and for the first time since the 13th May, 1856, or for just seventeen months. * * * So much for farming news;—for politics. I noticed some strictures in the *Civilian*, (by the "Junior," I presume,) upon my correspondence published in the *News* about a month since, to a part of which I beg leave to oppose some opinions expressed by the "Senior," on a subject embraced in that correspondence a few years since. I ask this in no spirit of unkindness, or as complaining of the strictures referred to, but with a sincere desire to place myself *rectus in curia*, with one whose good opinions I should be proud to merit and enjoy, and for whom I possess a high regard, not only for his own worth, but as the son of one whom I had the honor of ranking as my earliest and best friend in Texas, and for whose memory I have ever felt a most respectful and *grateful* remembrance. These opinions are contained in the two extracts which follow, from letters of Mr. Stuart, written, one in 1845, the other in 1847:

EXTRACT.

GALVESTON, Oct. 20th, 1845.

"It is useless for me, &c." to close of letter. V. vol. II., p. 474.

EXTRACT.

GALVESTON, Nov. 20th, 1847.

"I am glad to see you emerge, &c.," to close. V. vol. II., p. 503.

Mr. Stuart had abundant opportunity of being well-informed in relation to my public acts, and his intelligence and entire sincerity, (in the above,) nor you nor I will doubt. His remarks and opinions, as above, in connection with the course of the *Civilian* towards me, are very suggestive, but I will not dwell upon them now—I may at some other time. I will only remark, at present, that it has been with extreme reluctance, or *repugnance*, rather, that on the occasion to which he refers in his letter of 1847, and two or three times since, I "have come forward to vindicate the truth of history," under an imperative sense of public duty, as it became necessary, in making such "vindications," that I should speak much of myself, and thereby expose my conduct to the charge of selfishness or egotism, or both. Of course I cannot complain if inadvertently rebuked in this. But Gen. Houston, who has been for a long time so active, as well as deeply "interested in perverting the truth of history," and has attacked and impaired it by letters and speeches in nearly every town and newspaper in the United States, (Texas included,) during the last twelve years, and by the employment of an army of toadies and venal scribblers, claiming *all* the good acts of *every* man in Texas for his own, has been suffered to pass, not only without "rebuke" by a portion at least, if not the whole of the public press in Texas, at one time or another, but frequently, very frequently, with an open or a tacit endorsement of his innumerable mis-statements and his measureless egotisms! By this it would seem to be a virtue to *attack* the truth of history, but a vice to *defend* it.

In relation to my being a candidate for Senator in 1846, if it were so, it was from no wish of my own. I did *think* that my "traduced, but triumphant" administration should have received *some* mark of public approval, and I *desired* that it should; not so much on my own account, as on that of other members of the Government, who had faithfully served the country, and who were involved in the unjust "traduction" so freely heaped upon me. My friends thought an election to the Senate would constitute such a mark of public approbation as would vindicate my public course from the unjust or mistaken censures it had received. I did *not* myself wish the office. I was tired of a ten years' continuous service in different public capacities, and I needed repose; and my long-neglected business and my young family imperiously required my attention. I yielded to the urgent wishes of my friends when it was thought Gen. Rusk would not accept the office, but when I became satisfied he would, I positively *refused* to be a candidate in opposition to him.

I think there was some street talk, and some threats to defeat Gen. Houston, or to try to do so, if I went before the Legislature in opposition to Gen. R.; it was quite gratuitous and unnecessary, however, as I was willing to have a preference given to the claims of Gen. R. I thought it ungracious and *ungrateful*, however, in the Legislature, soon after *to negative a vote of thanks to me;* (a cheap commodity enough,) but I still have an abiding faith in the truth of Mr. Stuart's observation, that "public opinion will yet do you (me) justice in Texas, but it will probably be—after I am dead, and, partially expressed in a sentence, it will engrave on my tomb-stone, in the following plain words: "MURDERED BY A COUNTRY HE SERVED AND SAVED."

I have written this long letter to explain one or two matters which, misunderstood, might expose me to your individual censure, and for *no other* object; and I beg you to give me credit for perfect candor and sincerity in what I have now said. I will not trespass farther upon your time or your good nature, but subscribe myself, with the highest regard,

Truly yours,
(Signed,) ANSON JONES.

[Nov. 13th. The prediction in the above letter has, in one little month, been well nigh fulfilled. * * *]

It is a most significant fact connected with the recent election of Hon. J. Hemphill as Senator of the State, that in convention of the Democratic members of the Legislature, I, who for twenty-four years have been constantly sacrificing myself for the welfare of Texas and her institutions, should have been the *very first*, out of the candidates proposed for that office, to be sacrificed for the pretended or supposed welfare of the *party!! Credat Judæus!!!* It remains to be seen whether the *real* welfare of the party or of the country has been promoted by this sacrifice of a tried, known (and I may add, *faithful*) public servant, or not. One thing is most certain—the foul stain of black ingratitude has been indelibly fixed upon the escutcheon of Texas and the South, which "all great Ocean's water will ne'er wash out." A South Carolina birth, a negro wife and family, and a life of public and notorious licentiousness and INCEST, in the above instance have outweighed, in the opinion of the present Legislature of the State, all higher considerations, and by the aid of intriguing lawyers, selfish aspirants, and demagogues, been rewarded with a U. S. Senatorship. *

* * * * * * A. J.]

Mem. Nov. 25th. As examples of the unworthy course pursued towards me by the press of Texas generally, the unjust and ungenerous attack upon me by the *Civilian* of Sept. 22d ult., to which reference is made in the foregoing letter to J. H. Brown, and the extract from the *Item*, and the course of Mr. Morse, of the *Standard*, and Judge Mills, of the *Enquirer*, as set forth in the following extract of a letter from the Hon. Wm. B. Stout, are particularly truthful and suggestive.

EXTRACT.

[*From Hon. Wm B. Stout.*]

CLARKSVILLE, *Oct. 1st*, 1857.

DR. ANSON JONES:

MY DEAR SIR,— * * * A few weeks since I received a copy of the "Texas Ranger" [Aug. 29th], setting forth your claims, etc. I went to the "Standard" office with it, and requested De Morse to publish [the editorial]. He gave me an evasive answer. * * I went immediately to town again, and saw De Morse. He *positively* refused to publish—would not do it for love nor money. Judge Mills is not at home, but if I am able to travel I will go to Paris next week, and get it published in the "Enquirer." De Morse has not been friendly with you since you beat Burleson. He acknowledged to me that there was no man now spoken of for the office (U. S. Senator) that had more claims, or was better qualified; but still, you was a "man he did not fancy," and that he was determined to say nothing in your behalf.

De Morse was at the time preparing an article setting forth the claims of Henderson and Hemphill. As to Hemphill, the people of this section do not want him, and but few are favorably disposed to Henderson. His Southern, fire-eating doctrine, will not suit. True, he has generally voted with the Democrats but has invariably denounced them until this year, and his school of Democracy have already commenced their hue and cry against the present Administration, relative to Kansas. * *

(Signed,) W. B. Stout.

EXTRACT.

[*Self to Commodore J. G. Tod.*]

Barrington, *Nov. 16th*, 1857.

My Dear Sir:

* * * * *

On my return [from Austin] I had the good fortune to find my son, who had been dangerously ill, quite restored to health, and my two younger children, who were reported ill, much improved. All my family are now well, and my own health better than for the last six months, the trips to Galveston and Austin having proved of much service to me. My stay at the latter place, though very agreeable and satisfactory in most respects, was not entirely free from embarrassment. I could not wholly divest myself of an approach to a feeling that I was occupying a *false position*, or at least, of an apprehension that some might think such *was* the case; though I very carefully and invariably abstained from *electioneering* with any one, unless the merest civility to those I met might be so characterized or construed. The office of Senator, I deemed, should neither be sought nor declined by me, and I only aimed to declare by my presence at the seat of Government that I was ready and willing to respond, publicly or privately, to any questions the Representatives of the people, collectively or individually, might deem proper to ask relative to my views upon any subject, either of local or of national interest or policy. So soon as I had fairly done this I returned to this place, an additional motive for which was sickness in my family; but I had determined to leave when I did, before I received the tidings of that casualty. My MISSION to Austin was *accomplished;* the *duty* which I deemed I owed to the country, and that my friends had required of me, was fully *performed,* and I was most unwilling to remain a moment afterwards. The election of some other than myself I very plainly saw was a foregone conclusion of the Legislature; and when informed of the certain result, on Tuesday last, I was not in the least disappointed.

I am pleased to learn from you that my course in the above meets the approval of my friends and of the public. * *

(Signed,) ANSON JONES.

To COM. JOHN G. TOD, *Austin, Texas.*

[MEM.: *Nov.* 17*th.*—I think it most *unfortunate* for the country—the South particularly—and for the interests, character, peace, and happiness of Texas, as well as the stability and perpetuity of the Union, that the Legislature of our State should have selected for her Senators in Congress *two* South Carolina NULLIFIERS, and thus probably committed us to the extreme Southern fire-eating doctrines of the ultras, which I regard as being as unwise, mischievous, and unsafe as those of the ultra-Abolitionists of the North, and as leading to the same results—a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of an independent Southern confederacy, and the attempted conquest of Cuba, Mexico, Central America, etc., on one side, and (possibly) of the British North American Possessions on the other; and a general subversion of the present happy condition and progress of our great Republic, with a view to "plunder," and the gratification of the restless and feverish aspirations of demagogues and of "Young America"—the evil consequences of all which would be infinite and incalculable. So far as me and mine are concerned, we shall labor, in season and out of season, to defeat all such wicked and insane schemes, and I trust (in God) for the people's sake and our glorious institutions, that they may be *forever* defeated. A. J.]

[*Self to H. Stuart, Esq.*]

WASHINGTON, TEXAS, *Nov.* 25*th*, 1857.

H. STUART, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR,—I had occasion last month to address a letter to Mr. Brown on the subject of an article in the "Civilian," to which I received a prompt and obliging reply, in which he alludes to past and present relations between you and myself in terms of kindness that induced me to trouble you with a few words of explanation of a matter that perhaps should have been explained at the time—my quitting the "Civilian" in 1848–'9. I beg now to say that this was done from no unkind feelings to yourself personally; quite the contrary. When Gen. Houston gave his Oregon vote, I, from good data, was induced to believe he had played false to Texas and the South. I had in my individual and exclusive possession what I considered sufficient proof that he had done a similar thing in relation to Annexation; at least, putting the two acts together, I thought the case made out. I deemed it my duty to give to the people of Texas a document (the Ex. Order of Sept., 1844) which, under other circumstances, I should have taken the responsibility to have withheld. This I well knew would give offence to Gen. H. and to his friends, who were anxious to see him President of the United States, as he was anxious to be himself. I therefore withdrew from all connection with him and his friends, and prepared to meet that opposition which I was aware would be made against me, placing myself simply on the defensive. I should have been glad to have continued the "Civilian," as I much wanted a Galveston paper; but I knew your friendly relations to Gen. H., and I did not desire to see them interrupted, least of all, through any agency of mine. You had labored hard, and faithfully, and efficiently for him, and I did not want to see you fail of a suitable reward when he might have it in his power to make it. I did not wish you to feel embarrassed by the relations existing between you and myself. I therefore "left the 'Civilian' (as certain Englishmen did their country once) for the 'Civilian's' good," intending to return to it again after a while, and whenever its views should harmonize with my own. You may think this "a cock-and-bull story," but I assure you, in all candor, that it is strictly and sacredly true, and fairly answers the question, "Why I left the 'Civilian?'" I hope and trust it may be satisfactory.

Mr. Brown says, "Mr. S. feels kindly to you." I am not aware that you have ever given me reason to suppose the contrary, but it affords me pleasure to receive this assurance, and also to say that your friendly feelings are reciprocated on my part. There are many circumstances in the long, long past, which should have the effect to prevent all unkindness. If, "by inference I may have misjudged you" in any thing, I shall be most ready to correct the error, when I know in what it consists. Some unpleasant matters may have occurred recently, but, on my part, I am willing they should pass, and "let bygones be by-gones," trusting to your own sense of right to do me justice. In 1848 our roads *diverged*, but, probably, we were both aiming at the same ultimate destination. Judging from recent events, our roads are now rapidly *con*verging, and will, ere long, meet again. I trust we may be enabled to "jog along" the little distance that (to me) remains, in the old, friendly way; with this view, and in such a hope, I have written you this letter.

On Saturday last I contracted to sell out a part of my property in this county. It is my present purpose to remove to Galveston for a while, and I have already written to Mr. James to look out for a cottage for me. If I succeed in what I propose, we shall be neighbors in the local sense of that term, and, as I trust, in the social and *Scriptural* sense of it.

I shall be pleased to hear from you in reply, and remain, very respectfully and truly,

Your friend and servant,

(Signed) ANSON JONES.

[*From Item, Dec. 6th*, 1857.]

OUR friend "K" takes up the gauntlet for Judge Hemphill, in consequence of the remarks made in the *Item* on his election to the U. S. Senate. We hope he will have a good time of it. Will he tell our readers what qualifications or claims he had for election that were not possessed by Anson Jones, Bill Scurry, M. M. Potter, or Governor Pease? Each and all were, we think, the Judge's equals, and as speakers, the three first are as superior as day to night. The Judge has held an office in the gift of Texas as far back as we can recollect; but we never heard of his doing any thing to earn it, except that he was a good lawyer. Was he not paid for his services? has he not made his fortune by the office he held? Anson Jones is a poor man, and rendered valuable service to Texas in her trying hours; he labored hard, during the late canvass, to overthrow the Houston cohorts, so with Scurry, so with Potter, so with Oldham. Why not give some of them the benefits of our victory? Think you we fought for Hemphill? No, sir-ee! We wish to promote those who stand in the front of the battle, when danger surrounds on every side; men who are made the special marks for attack; men who braved every thing, so as not to imperil the success of the battle; these are the men the people delight to honor, and the Legislature is but the servant of the people. If wire-working would have done it, we suppose that body would have tried to throw Gen. Henderson overboard, because he was inimical to Gen. Houston. Every K. N. who tried to obtain a voice in the caucus was for Hemphill, so far as our knowledge goes, and why? because he was less objectionable than any other man to them. They cared not how strait a Democrat he was; but they did care to mortify the feelings of thirty-five thousand freemen, who had declared against their creed. Because the election is over, we are not bound to join in the hue and cry of laudation and adulation. We know it can't be helped now, but are we bound not to censure? There is a time coming when our present remarks will be of service; we may not live to see it, but Texas will; and depend upon it, a very different choice will then be made in lieu of Judge Hemphill. The sovereigns love justice, and they will obey her behests.

"Anson Jones rendered valuable services to Texas in her trying hours,"—for this that country has thought proper to murder me. Such is the reward Texas gives to one who served and saved her.
A. J.

[*From Southern Intelligencer, Dec. 9th.*]

OUR NEW SENATORS.

The Dallas *Herald* pays a very high and just compliment to our new Senators elect. He endorses their patriotism, and their firm States rights. And the editor shows a just appreciation of the spontaneous honor conferred without any electioneering or demagoguery on the part of the honored. This is all right; but we think the following remarks calculated to produce an unjust impression against others whose names were used:

"Neither of them had sought the office, both had scorned the low tricks of electioneering by which high stations are too often sought. Whilst others were raising heaven and earth, resorting to every species of log-rolling, wire-working, intrigue and management to secure the nomination, Henderson and Hemphill maintained a dignified passiveness and unconcern upon the subject, without any effort to bias or influence the action of the Representatives of the people. Their election vindicates the good sense and appreciative judgment of the Legislature, and is a merited rebuke to those who would make a position of such exalted dignity the legitimate object of a reckless scramble."

Now we know not how much of Heaven or earth may have been turned by others; but we feel very certain that Governor Pease, whose name was brought prominently forward before the election, never raised a finger to promote his own interests. He did not even instruct any friend to present his name to the caucus until called upon by some of the Bexar delegation an hour before the caucus met. He had asked no one for his vote, nor did he know who would support him. And we think we may say the same of Dr. Anson Jones. He knew he was spoken of, and was upon the ground a part of the time; but we have never heard of his conversing with a single member upon the subject. Nor have we heard that Colonel Hamilton did any thing to promote his prospects. Certainly the speech which his friends forced him to make did not improve them.—Right or wrong, he backed down not an inch from the avowal of sentiments, which he knew had been misinterpreted. He even avowed his sentiments more boldly than ever, and convinced every one that he is honest in his belief.

We know not whether others electioneered. We occasionally met letters; but altogether we think the canvass was conducted with better taste than usual, and we believe that all the aspirants are satisfied, that, next to themselves, they got their choice.

At any rate we are opposed to remarks which cicatrize any possible sores. The choices being made, we should give the incumbents a united support.

MEM.: *Dec. 19th.*—So far as I am concerned, the assertion of the Intelligencer is quite correct. I did not approach, directly or indirectly, any Member of the Legislature to influence his vote for United States Senator, either for myself or any other person.

A. J.

THE END.

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